

MORALITY, LOYALTY AND CITIZENSHIP: THE ORGANIZATION OF
YOUTH IN INTERWAR ALBANIA



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ABSTRACT

This study explores the interwar Albanian state youth organizations, the National Entity “The Albanian Youth” and the Federation of Artistic and Sports Associations “The Albanian Brotherhood.” They constitute the first examples of the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports that we find in present day Albania. These institutions, which related youth, education, sports and culture to a patriotic platform that deeply affected the political culture in the country, become for the first time the subject of a particular socio-historical research. This study proposes that these institutions advanced a project of citizenship for Albanian society. This project consists in the organization of national society through the youth and by projecting onto the city youth the good citizenship. Approaching national citizenship as being political this study suggests that the city emerges at the same time as a space of subversion of and compliance to power.

This work stands in the intersection of education, citizenship, and youth studies and it is based on the examination of many original documents that were not explored previously. Youth represents its key concept and term. The other dimensions, loyalty and morality, emerged as key elements in understanding diverse aspects of the good citizenship. The idea that intellectual elites could shape society according to what they regarded as “developed,” “western,” and “civilized,” patterned the state’s and regime’s logics of creating the good citizen. Nevertheless, this study shows that the values the state youth organizations promoted and the practices they advanced cannot be simply regarded as state or elite projects. On the contrary, they were the product of the interaction of multiple actors and dynamics that founded and shaped the state itself.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, “Arnavut Gençliği” Ulusal Kurumu ve “Arnavut Kardeşliği” Sanat ve Spor Denekleri Federasyonu, olarak bilinen iki savaş arası Arnavutluk devlet gençlik kurumlarını incelemektedir. Söz konusu kurumlar günümüz Arnavutluk’unda bulunan Gençlik, Spor ve Kültür Bakanlığının ilk örneklerini oluşturmaktadır. Gençlik, eğitim, spor ve kültürü milliyetçi bir platforma oturtan ve ülkenin siyasi kültüründe uzun vadeli etkileri olan bu iki kurum, ilk olarak bu çalışmayla ayrı bir sosyal-tarih araştırmasının konusu oluyorlar. Çalışma bu iki kurumun bir vatandaşlık projesi uygulamaya koyduklarını idda etmektedir. Bu proje ideal vatandası şehir gençliği üzerine kurarak, gençlik aracılığıyla bir ulusal toplum organizasyonu yapmakla ilgilidir. Ulusal vatandaşlığa politik olmak yaklaşımından bakan bu çalışmada şehir, iktidara bir direniş alanı olduğu kadar, bir rıaayet ve işbirliği ortamı olarak da ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Daha önce incelenmemiş önemli sayıda orijinal belgeye dayanan bu çalışma, eğitim, vatandaşlık ve gençlik araştırmalarının yol kesişiminde konumlanmıştır. Gençlik çalışmanın kilit kavramını teşkil etmektedir. Bağlılık ve ahlak gibi diğer öğeler ise ideal vatandaşlığı anlayabilme yolunda temel kavramalar olarak araştırma ilerledikçe ortaya çıkmıştır. Entelektüel elitlerin öne sürdüğü “gelişmiş,” “batılı,” “medeni,” değerlendirmelerine göre toplumu sekillendirebilecekleri düşüncesi ise devletin ve rejimin ideal vatandaş oluşturma fikirlerini önemli ölçüde etkilemişti. Ancak devlet gençlik organizasyonlarının desteklediği değerler ve ileri sürdüğü pratikler sadece bir devlet veya elit projesi şeklinde değerlendirilemez. Aksine, bunlar devleti sekillendiren ve onu yapan birçok aktör ve dinamiklerin etkileşim sürecinin ürünleriydiler.

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INTRODUCTION

More than twenty years have passed since the collapse of the totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe. Many questions persist concerning the foundation and development of these regimes. Contemporary dilemmas have been added to these questions, as many Eastern European societies appear deeply troubled in their struggle to build democratic societies and institutions assuring the viability of democratic regimes. What are presumed as post-totalitarian shortcomings, or contentions in the transition to democracy, cannot be overcome without an enhanced understanding of postwar dynamics and evolutions. Yet, as Thompson notes, what often is assumed to be postwar phenomena have roots in the interwar period.¹

Capturing the dynamics that dealt the definitive blow given to empires and those of the processes resulting in the hectic clash of the nation-states, makes this period a point of origin for ensuing transformations and evolutions. Valid for many countries this specificity of the interwar period was particularly meaningful for Albania, recognized in 1913 as an independent nation-state. The foundation of a largely-accepted national government in 1920 hastened the process of nationalization of the society. This process was ascribed to that of the transformation of remaining imperial institutions and foundation of the nation-state's institutional framework. This work focuses on an institution produced by the interweaving of these two complex processes.²

¹ "Much of what has often been assumed to be postwar phenomena, ... have roots in the interwar period." Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

² See Appendix B, note 1, Maps.

The state youth organization is the lenses through which this work explores the emergence of the Albanian national society and institutions. It re-considers the National Entity “The Albanian Youth” (henceforth, Enti) revising the widely accepted assumption that it was an imposition of the fascist Italian government. It brings to the attention of the researchers the poorly studied and highly underestimated successor institution, The Federation of Artistic and Sports Associations “The Albanian Brotherhood” (henceforth, the Federation) and will propose that these institutions advanced a project of citizenship for Albanian society. Enti, the Federation, the values they promoted and the practices they advanced, though at first glance may seem otherwise, cannot be simply regarded as state projects. On the contrary they were the product of the interaction of multiple of actors and dynamics that founded and shaped the state itself.

Defining the Subject

The research was originally driven by a question about the effects of education on youth in interwar Albania. The examination of sources, notably textbooks of interwar Albania, shifted attention to the moral content of education and its relationship with the concept of loyalty. Loyalty and morality emerged as prominent concepts, each affecting spheres well-beyond the schools. The development of an inquiry on education and youth represented a work of a vast scale that could not be limited to the main structures of education: schools, pedagogical dispositives, textbooks, politics of education or actors engaged in these fields. On the one hand, education was a key element in understanding the transformation of the society and particularly the nationalization. Taking into account the Ottoman past of Albanian society, an analysis on education also required an enhanced knowledge of late Ottoman education structures and dynamics.

Moreover, as far as it concerned interwar Albania an analysis on education necessitated research in multiple fields including minorities education rights, religious schools, various stages of education (elementary, high-school etc.) to elite formation, mobility etc. Apart from all this, education remains a concept with philosophic content.³ In interwar Albania there was an explicit differentiation between education as the system involving the above-mentioned main structures of education (*arsimi kombëtar*) and education as the totality of values to be transmitted to members of the national society (*edukata kombëtare*). As we will note through this work, the former have been more studied than the latter. Furthermore, the studies of the former had opened the indispensable paths necessitated to advance an exploration of the latter. In this regard, the focus of the inquiry was oriented more toward education as system of values (*edukata kombëtare*) and the practices forged by such values.

On the other hand, youth represented a rarely scrutinized topic in terms of different Balkan countries and it can be said that youth as a distinctive subject of research was barely taken under consideration as far as it concerns interwar Albania. While, the number of works done about the youth of this period for other countries, particularly Western European ones, is considerable. Youth is analyzed in various perspectives from working conditions and socio-economic position of the teenagers to education and citizenship. Various youth organizations from boy-scouts to state's and parties' organizations have also been the focus of previous works. The gender

³ In the following parts, this work includes various references on works on education in Albania and other neighboring countries as well as Turkey and late Ottoman Empire. However in order to offer an insight on what involves the work on education and the vast field of research it necessitates see David Carr, "Philosophy and the Meaning of 'Education,'" *Theory and Research on Education*, no. 1 (2003), pp. 195-212. Aaron Benavot, Phyllis Riddle, "The Expansion of Primary education, 1870-1940: Trends and Issues," *Sociology of Education* 61, no. 3 (July 1988), pp. 191-210.

dimension has been treated in a certain number of studies including those concerning fascism and female body. The studies about politics and practices of youth related to Fascism and Nazism hold an important place among the works on interwar youth. Physical education and militarism have taken the attention of a part of the researchers. Nevertheless well-known researchers of social sciences have focused their attention on the concept of youth, questioning the concept and underlining the idea that in and of itself “youth” is a socio-historical construction.

Taking into account this state of research on education and youth in interwar Albanian two main challenges were posed to the delineation of the subject of research. The first, regarded the detection of a research object at the intersection of education as system of values and youth as a distinctive subject of study. The second was related with the selection of an object of research that could be extensively explored, while enabling a delimitation of field of research. At this point, I was oriented to the state’s youth organizations Enti and the Federation. Enti was founded on 4 May 1928 and on 24 March 1934 with the law “On the transformation of the National Entity ‘The Albanian Youth’ into a section of the Ministry of Education” (*Mbi kthimin e Entit Kombtar “Djelmnia Shqiptare” në një seksion të Ministrisë s’Arsimit*) it became a section of the Ministry of Education entitled “The Section ‘The Albanian Youth’ for the National, Moral, Physical and Artistic Education of the Youth.”⁴

On 1 June 1939 was issued a royal decree “About the transfer of the National Entity ‘The Albanian Youth’ to the Entity ‘Italian Youth of the Lictor’” (*Dekret-*

⁴ Mbretëria Shqiptare, *Fletorja Zyrtare*, Vjetë i XIII, no. 16 (Tiranë: 24 March 1934), p. 1.

Mbretnuer mbi kalimin e Entit Kombtar “Djelmnia Shqiptar” n’Entin “Djelmnija e Liktoris Shqiptare,”)⁵ signed by Francesco Jacomoni, the Italian official pointed as governor of Albania after the fascist Italian annexation of the country on 7 April 1939. Actually, it was the section named “The Albanian Youth” in the Ministry of Education that passed to the ‘Italian Youth of the Lictor,’ not the organization, Enti that was dissolved and replaced on 13 August 1935 with the Federation. The Federation would continue its existence until 1939. It would not be dissolved, yet it had ceased to function. It operated through local artistic and sportive associations, whose activities had deeply evolved in the conditions of the Italian intervention and occupation of the country.

The first specificity of the interwar Albanian state youth organizations is the particular relation with the Italian government. This Italo-Albanian cooperation in the management of the Albanian state youth organization provides an opportunity to advance additional questioning on the nature of this dual relations. The research also opens paths in reconsidering circulation of models, and particularly of fascism its transmission and its effects. A second specificity of the Albanian case was the encompassing field of activity of the state youth organization from physical education to sportive and artistic activities in the country. In this regard, this work is ascribed to a variety of researches on interwar youth focusing on such state youth organization, most notably the Italian Balilla (Opera Nazionale Balilla- ONB). Yet, it enters this field with a different perspective, citizenship.

This study was not initially motivated by questions concerning citizenship. But, a close examination of dynamics around state youth organization had made

⁵ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1939, D. 451, p. 2.

apparent that one of the youth organizations' fundamental enterprises was related to fostering the creation of the ideal citizen. The most important aspect of this deduction was its capability of multiplying inquiry paths and interrogations related to our subject. There are points of intersection between education and youth studies and of studies of citizenship and youth. This work stands in the intersection of education, citizenship, and youth studies. Youth represents its key concept and term. The other dimensions, loyalty and morality, emerged as key elements in understanding diverse aspects of the (ideal) citizenship projected onto youth.

Sources and Methodology

“Morality, Loyalty and Citizenship: the organization of youth in Interwar Albania,” entails an interdisciplinary effort in the intersection of social-history and political science, combining empirical research and theoretical perspectives. A primary objective is to offer an enhanced case study that at the same time provides additional ground for comparison and dialogue with other cases in the region and beyond. The methodology of work could be defined as a simultaneous enterprise of evaluation of documents of the period, including memoirs, newspapers, various publications and examination of scholarly literature. Documents preserved in the Albanian Central Archives (AQSH),⁶ constitute the main source of documents dating from the interwar years. I have attempted an exhaustive examination of the collections/funds of Enti and the Federation. Similarly a particular attention was

⁶ The Albanian Central Archive (Arkivi Qëndror Shqiptar - AQSH) categorizes original documents in funds otherwise specific collections. Each fund is arranged in chronological order by year. Documents included in each year are classified in numbered dossiers. Each document is specified by number and name of fund, year, dossier and page number. I have followed this order to refer to these sources preserving at the beginning the abbreviation AQSH for the Albanian Central Archive: AQSH, F (Fund). Name of Found, Y (Year). D (Dossier). p (Page). Find the complete list of funds with the respective English translations at the Bibliography - Archival Sources.

given to the collection of the Ministry of Education. However, these sources responded very limitedly to my questioning on the reactions of everyday people to the activities of state youth organization.

In order to grasp such reactions, I enlarged the examination of sources with collections of various prefectures. In these funds was possible to find detailed reports directed to the Ministry of Interior on the activities of youth associations; correspondence, in many cases restricted, on problems with practices of the youth organization in the country and complaints of citizens related to youth activities. These documents enabled a questioning of perceptions and understandings of morality and loyalty beyond official discourse. The correspondence with citizens permitted a larger visibility on citizenship dispositions, as well as these latest's perception and utilization. The documentation included in the collections of Enti, the Federation and to a certain degree the Ministry of Education represented dynamics traversing localities. In a way, these latter were documentary reflections to the paths set to nationalization, while prefecture funds seized local dynamics that went contrary to these paths or simply offered alternative versions of socialization and communalization.

In order to make an in-depth examination, I had to select a few collections for closer scrutiny. These were the collections 1920-1939 of prefectures of Shkodra, Korça and Kavaja.⁷ Shkodra was the most important urban center of north Albania, surrounded by remote mountainous areas, whose integration to the state was limited.

⁷ In the Albanian language nouns, including proper nouns, change their form according to the function they have in a clause. For example, the city name Shkodra, can be used also as Shkodër, Shkodrës, etc. Throughout the text I have used the first form for city names such as Shkodra, Korça, etc. In footnotes there also are other forms. These are related with the use done in titles of articles, books or documents of the period.

A multiplicity of identities and social categories were found all together in the region; from catholic communities, to Slavic populations, secular intelligentsia, and groups attached to various Islamic practices. The interaction of these groups concentrated particularly in the city of Shkodra makes the region crucial in understanding the period and the afterwards. Moreover, such rich sociological structure offered a unique opportunity to studying the political as a contested area of both compliance and resistance.

Similarly, Korça was one of the most important urban centers of south Albania. The influence of Christian orthodox populations in this region, the intensity of cultural life in the town and the unparallel density of migratory relations that shaped in continuity the social mosaic of this prefecture, rendered the particular attention to Korça indispensable for the comprehension of local dynamics in the country. Kavaja, a small town and a sub prefecture in central Albania, was known for its overwhelming Muslim majority. The town was close to the capital Tirana and the important port city of Durrësi. While Shkodra and Korça could be considered dynamic centers even before the existence of the Albanian state, Kavaja represented a typical example of centers developing with the foundation of the nation-state. Thus, this selection of a few prefectures for closer exploration should not only serve to analyze alternative local reactions, but also to reflect the most distinctive transformations in the geography and sociology of power with the foundation and consolidation of the national society and its institutions.

Following the panorama and deductions deriving from the examination of sources and literature, I put as the goal of my analysis the highlighting of connections and interactions. I refer to connections in different levels from the local, translocal, to national, transnational and international. This included the reflection on

the mutual structuring of these categories. Interaction also should be considered at its largest sense. It included the interaction of individuals, groups, institutions, values, ideas, trends, interests, concerns and stakes. The crossing of multiple connections and interactions, while representing one of the particularities of this work, it may well constitute one of its main limitations. The concern to offer a large number of details, providing necessary groundwork for reflecting on the multiplicity of connections, has lead to descriptive sections, instead of a synthetic inquiry that would have enhanced the comprehension of the case.

Additionally, this work lacks a chapter of historical background to the interwar period. I refer particularly to setting an empire and post-empire dynamic socio-historical panorama of the geography that since 1912 is the Albanian nation-state. I tried to offer elements in this context in chapters three and four. However, apart from other shortcomings, a particular chapter on dynamics of youth organization in late Ottoman Empire and particularly its territories that would be included in the Albanian state remains missing in this work. This additional effort that would have required an examination of archival sources or at least additional literature prevails as a challenge not within the scope of this project.

Structure of the Work

The analysis unfolds over six parts that stand complementary to each other. The first part in an initial axis represents a search for an approach to the membership in the national society. Existing approaches are questioned in order to set a path with eventual conceptual formulations that will contribute in an enhanced understanding of the interwar Albanian case. I offer an explanation of how citizenship defined as being political overcomes the limits of other models, mainly those examining the

membership in the national society, while primarily and most importantly freeing citizenship from models. Yet, in the conclusion of this work, I revisit this approach to citizenship elaborating on how this work contributes in detecting its limits. The conclusion also offers a reflection on citizenship and youth as socio-historical constructions involved in a process of mutual structuring.

Chapter 2 provides a larger background of youth movements and organizations in other countries during the period, while concluding with a questioning on the vocabulary about youth in interwar Albania. The Albanian context regarding youth discussed in this second chapter was originally driven by the necessity to respond to a common drawback of various studies on Albania. This is the shortfall in placing the dynamics of the country in a larger framework of worldwide respective dynamics. Such concern has been determinant throughout the analysis. However, in this part it was translated in the effort to highlight circulations of ideas and the references used by Albanian intellectuals engaged in debates about youth, younger generations and citizenship values. Presenting a complete picture of the socio-cultural and political environment that affected the founding, and in which operated the state youth institution, was an additional concern shaping both of these parts.

The third part reveals the institutional framework of Enti, and then the Federation, based on the examination of hundred of original documents of the period. The chapters follow the institutional evolution of Enti and the Federation that could be regarded the first examples of what, in the present day Albania, we find as the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports (chapters 6-7). Questioning about the relations between institutional actors shaped the second axis of this part. It is in the subsequent chapter that the work proposes an alternative perspective on the interwar

Italo-Albanian relations. The common inclination is to consider separately the economic, cultural, political, military and geostrategic aspects of these relations. However, initiating a dialogue that considers such relations through correlation of all of these categories constitutes the main axis of chapter 8.

The fourth part proposes the concept of the *practice of citizenship* as a general descriptive definition for the activities forged by Enti, then the Federation. The aim here is not to capture diverse and multiple dynamics of various activities, from sports to arts and celebrations, within the frame of a concept, but to make use of the concept in highlighting the connections between different activities, spaces and actors. The fifth part is shaped by the effort to divulge what focusing on these activities might have overshadowed. It makes use of the concepts of *Acts of Citizenship* as framed by Işın and Nielsen combined with the conceptualization of *Insurgent Citizenship* of Holston, to analyze resistance and opposition to practices initiated by state's youth institutions (chapter 13). In an additional axis this part includes an examination of the limits of this citizenship project (chapter 12).

Similarly to every applied project, also this project of citizenship had its results involving socio-cultural and political aspect. In a first axis of the sixth part, I suggest a reflection on the most evident consequences and contradictory results of the state's enterprise in youth organization (chapter 14). In the second axis, I propose morality and loyalty as two important dynamics related to the interwar Albanian citizenship. This axis on the one hand, constitutes a resume of the uses of morality and loyalty as parts of the discourse related to youth and youth organization in interwar Albania. On the other hand, it contrasts the discourse and practice related to it. Referring also to uses of morality and particularly loyalty in cases beyond the Albanian one, the questioning involved here (chapter 15), is about the relation of

loyalty and morality with membership in this nation-state. Finally, the conclusion proposes a synthetic resume of the findings of the research and focuses on the eventual perspectives of research and analysis that could be advanced based on this work.



PART 1

CITIZENSHIP AND YOUTH

CHAPTER 1: AN APPROACH FOR CITIZENSHIP

Citizen is a *Nënshtetas*, *Shtetas* or *Qytetar*?

In interwar Albania three different terms were used for citizen; *qytetar*, *shtetas*, *nënshtetas*. The literal translation of citizen is *qytetar*, which derives from the word *qytet* (city). From *qytetar* originates *qytetari*, *qytetarësi* and also *qytetërim*, which can be translated as civilization in English. *Qytetarësi* points out to the habitation in the city, while *qytetari* is used both to define living in a city, the manners related to a city life as well as membership to a nation-state. Nonetheless, the Albanian constitutions⁸ have used only occasionally the word *qytetar* within their texts. It was used only once in the constitution of 1928, in the heading of the section “the obligations of citizens” (të drejtat e qytetarëve).⁹ Then, for citizen and citizenship were consistently used, respectively *shtetas*, *nënshtetas* and *shtetësi*, *nënshtetësi*. The word *shtetas* as well as *nënshtetas*, *shtetësi* or *nënshtetësi* derive from the word *shtet*, which means state. Consequently, a preliminary challenge related to studying citizenship in (interwar) Albania, involves a questioning on the multiple terms referring to citizen and citizenship.

The multiplicity of terms for citizenship employed in legal regulations, but also official as well intellectual discourse, represents a simplified reflection of the higher multiplicity in the understanding, living, and envisaging citizenship in interwar Albania. Embedded in this multiplicity, the city had a particular meaning

⁸ See *Kushtetuta e Shqipërisë* (Constitution of Albania), (1928). *Kushtetuta e Republikës Popullore Socialiste të Shqipërisë* (Constitution of the Popular Socialist Republic of Albania), Ligji Nr. 5506 (28 December 1976). *Kushtetuta e Republikës së Shqipërisë* (Constitution of the Republic of Albania), Botim i Qendrës së Publikimeve Zyrtare (Tiranë: October, 2003).

⁹ “Të drejtat e qytetarëve” (The rights of the citizens) in *Kushtetutat* (Constitutions), ed. Dritan Palnikaj (Tiranë: Grand Prind, 2006), pp. 209-251, p. 243.

and represented a particular site of citizenship. The issue of identifying a word for citizenship in interwar Albania is ascribed to two main interrelated dynamics one socio-historical and the other ontological. This first dynamic implies a study on the period, while the second a positioning *vis à vis* theoretical conceptualizations, otherwise definitions of citizen and citizenship. Thus, the part of the answer related to the first dynamic is embedded in this work and is better clarified toward its end. Yet in order to be able to pursue the analysis it is indispensable to designate an ontological definition, otherwise a way of approaching citizenship beyond legal status.

In his inspiring article “City, Democracy and Citizenship: Historical Images Contemporary Practices,” Işın writes that it is impossible “to separate the city, democracy and citizenship.”¹⁰ Then, regarding contemporary cities he suggests to investigate the “ways in which governing cities articulates ways of being political.”¹¹ In this regard *being political* constitutes a form of being as citizen. Obviously, this is not a “classical” definition or way of understanding citizenship. Actually, if “classical” were to refer to the ancient Greek cities,¹² and Rome,¹³ Işın says that this

¹⁰ Engin F. Işın, “City, Democracy and Citizenship” in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, eds. Engin F. Işın and Bryan S. Turner (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002), pp. 305-316, p. 307.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 314.

¹² P. E. Matheson, “Citizenship,” *International Journal of Ethics* 8, no.1 (October, 1897), pp. 22-40. In this historical article, the relation between city and citizenship is explained with reference to Ancient Greece. Doubtlessly, the approach to such relation has evolved substantially since the time this article was written. However, in the analysis of citizenship and the city, Ancient Greek cities and the Ancient city of Rome remain basic references. For a different perspective on this relation see David Burchell, “Ancient Citizenship and its heritors” in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, ed. Işın and Turner, pp. 87-104. See also Benjamin Isaac, “Proto-Racism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity,” *World Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (March 2006), pp. 32-47.

¹³ About obtaining/receiving the status of Roman citizen, see Herbert Box, “Roman Citizenship in Laconia: Part I,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 21 (1931), pp. 200-214. For

would be the precise definition.¹⁴ What I deal with in this work, however is primarily citizenship as membership in a nation-state. So, how can we make sense of citizenship as being political, and its inseparable relation with the city in this context? I will argue in this part that it is precisely this approach to citizenship that enables an enhanced understanding in this context by interrelating the ways of perceiving citizenship, the ways of studying citizenship, and the ways of living citizenship.

There are some basic models in understanding citizenship as membership in a nation-state. Based on the English case, T.H. Marshall¹⁵ defined three different aspects of citizenship in terms of rights; civil, political and finally social citizenship. Due to his emphasis on social rights and the idea that social rights represent the most developed step in the acquisition of citizenship rights, his model is known as *social citizenship*.¹⁶ However, in his comparison of citizenship in France and Germany, Brubaker offers two different models that in terms of development and formulation of content of citizenship he claims the opposite and in opposition to each other; the model of the French “laic republican” citizenship putting forward equality versus the German “romantic” citizenship emphasizing the common German identity.¹⁷ Often mentioned a fourth model is defined from the works of Alexis de Tocqueville, as the

an interesting work on Roman and Athenian Citizenship, see James H. Oliver, “Athenian Citizenship of Roman Emperors,” *Hesperia* 20, no. 4 (October - December 1951), pp. 346-349.

¹⁴ Işın, “City, Democracy and Citizenship.”

¹⁵ See Thomas Humphrey Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class and other essays*, (Cambridge at the University Press, 1950).

¹⁶ See Appendix A, note 1.

¹⁷ Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge-Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 1992).

American associational model of citizenship that emphasizes the importance of civil associations as part of a civil society.¹⁸

Moreover, it is possible to speak of models of citizenship in terms of republican, liberal, communitarian,¹⁹ and to refer to distinctive aspects for the sake of analysis. Yet, in the everydayness, various aspects of citizenship exist merged and in continual interaction with each other. Partly because it is categorized in models, - simplified ways of describing societies - and partly because all of these were “western” models, citizenship has been regarded as concept and social reality proper to the western societies and often is constructed upon the dichotomy of orient versus occident.²⁰ However, the imaginaries of “east” and “west” largely have been tackled questioned in scholarly works²¹ and citizenship conceptualizations have moved beyond the homogenizing and simplifying effect of this dichotomy.²² On the other hand, “east” and “west,” “western societies” and “eastern societies” were omnipresent concepts in the understanding of the world of many interwar intellectuals and state elites. Like many of their contemporaries, interwar Albanian

¹⁸ Chad Alan Goldberg, “Social Citizenship and a Reconstructed Tocqueville,” *American Sociological Review* 66, no. 2 (April 2001), pp. 289-315. Harvey Mitchell, “Tocqueville's Mirage or Reality? Political Freedom from Old Regime to Revolution,” *The Journal of Modern History* 60, no. 1 (March 1988), pp. 28-54.

¹⁹ For an analysis of citizenship models in terms of republican, liberal, communitarian etc. see David Miller, *Citizenship and National Identity* (Cambridge, Oxford, Malden: Polity Press, 2000).

²⁰ Engin F. İşin, “Citizenship after Orientalism” in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, edited by İsin and Turner, pp. 117-127. In his article İsin examines the “origins of the occidental sociology,” more precisely the idea and sociology of citizenship in the works of Max Weber.

²¹ See Appendix A, note 2.

²² İşin, “Citizenship after Orientalism.”

intellectuals and state representatives regarded the process of nationalization as congruent with westernization.

From this point of view, national citizenship was a western way of adhering to a state and as such it was to be followed by the western ways of being a citizen. Enti, then the Federation were two (state) institutions that pursued the aim of forming the young Albanian citizen as to “western” citizen. Definitely, their existence had far more complicated reasons than expressed in this discourse, which like these two institutions was embedded in the struggle for power and governance in the new nation-state. Indeed, interwar Albanian citizenship had the aspect of rights, included dynamics of associational life, and definitely was related to the creation of the national identity. It emerged in the process of defining the self as citizen, the self as national-society. It was subject of institutional regulations and new institutional and everyday practices.

However, what I refer to as citizenship transverses and goes beyond all of these aspects. What I refer to as citizenship enables the examination all of these aspects, without underestimating the geography of power while facilitating the grasping of local, trans and international dynamics by which institutions were deeply affected. The definition of citizenship that I refer to is a basically ontological definition that goes beyond models. Above all, it contributes to the evaluation of everyday-ordinary (individual struggles) inherent in the process of being a citizen or making a citizenship. I define citizenship, following the idea advanced by Işın²³, as being political.

²³ Işın points out to that this definition is rooted in the work of Rancière see Engin Işın, “Becoming Political” in *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*, Engin Işın (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. 277.

The Making of the Citizenship or/and the Making of the Nationhood

Albania passed through three different political regimes between 1920 and 1939; a principality 1913-1920 that was continued by the regency of a head-of state divided between four representatives from 1920 to 1924, a republic from 1925 to 1927 and a royal from monarchy 1928 to 1939. In terms of citizenship as a legal status, Krasniqi explains that a legal definition was made in 1914 in the Organic Statute. In article 25, Albanian citizens were considered to be all the Albanians who had moved to the country after the declaration of independence on 28 November 1912.²⁴ The Organic Statute stipulated also that Albanian citizens were all the individuals born and settled in Albania before the declaration of independence.²⁵ This legal regulation omitted dual citizenship and was based on the principle of *ius sanguinis* for the Albanian citizens residing abroad.²⁶ A detailed law about citizenship, representing the last citizenship status regulation for the period, was included in the Civil Code issued in 1929.²⁷ It limited the *ius sanguinis* to the citizenship of the father or stateless parents. While Albanian women could keep their citizenship if married foreign citizens, a foreign citizen woman was obliged to take Albanian citizenship if married to an Albanian citizen.²⁸

²⁴ “...with the exception of those who declared the opposite within six months after the promulgation of the Statute.” Afrim Krasniqi, “Country Report Albania”, in *EUDO Citizenship Observatory* (Italy, 2010/39), p. 4.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Krasniqi, “Country Report,” p. 4.

²⁷ Albanian constitutional history, see Aurela Anastasi, *Institucionet Politike dhe e Drejta Kushtetuese* (Tiranë, 1998). See also Arben Puto, *Shqipëria Politike 1912-1939* (Tiranë: Botimet Toena), 2009, particularly pp. 318, 391, 452, 469, 478. Also Krasniqi, “Country Report.”

²⁸ Krasniqi, “Country Report”, p. 5.

A particular analysis could be developed on these aspects of citizenship not only in terms of a “classical history” of status development, but particularly taking into account the anthropological claim that law regulations and statutes are embedded in socio-economic and cultural processes.²⁹ Eley and Palmowsky categorize the studies of citizenship into two main approaches, thin and thick citizenship. While the former refers to an analysis related to the legal status of the citizenship, the latter is concerned with its making - or constructedness,³⁰ for Eley and Palmowsky - through groups’ interaction embedded in cultural dynamics and social-political goals.³¹ This approach enables a questioning that is fundamental for my work here: “From a vantage point of citizenship, what forms exactly did that relationship between culture and politics take?”³²

Pursuing such questioning I focus on the cultural making of citizenship and all the political, institutional, socio-cultural interaction that shaped such construction in interwar Albania. The importance I attach to this questioning is related specifically to the socio-historical understanding in which it is embedded and the

²⁹ It represents primarily an anthropological approach to the process of citizenship see Natacha Gagné and Catherine Neveu, “Presentation: L’anthropologie et la « fabrique » des citoyennetés”, *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 33, no. 2 (2009), pp. 7 - 24.

³⁰ Geoff Eley and Jan Palmowski, “Citizenship and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Germany” eds. Geoff Eley and Jan Palmowski, *Citizenship and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2008), pp. 3-23, p. 6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³² “(...)citizenship can no longer be understood apart from its cultural contexts, which are of vital use in determining its meanings. Contentions about social, civic, or political entitlement have been closely related to how groups and individuals have seen themselves- and have been defined from outside-in relation to music, entertainment, consumer behavior, and taste. The question, then, is not so much whether culture possesses significance for a consideration of citizenship, but how. From a vantage point of citizenship, what forms exactly did that relationship between culture and politics take?” Eley and Palmowski, p. 16.

conceptualization of “citizenship as role”³³ to which it is ascribed. From a socio-historical perspective citizenship is historically constructed. Thus, its meanings, practices, related actions, acts and legal structures are in continual change and definitely do not rely on any core meanings and structures, cultural values or attitudes (that in their turn change through a mutual interaction).³⁴

This is not to imply a linear progress, but interactions, changes, disruptions and correlations bounded to variables of context or/and time and space.³⁵ Such approach rests in meticulous accordance with the definition of citizenship as being political, which untangles citizenship from models and relates it to agency, act, role, all basic dynamics traversing, while concomitantly designating and differentiating contexts. In this regard citizenship acquires a socio-historically useful definition, while retaining its crucial property that is framed by Eley and Palmowski as “the ability to provide a basis for bringing together an increasingly disparate historical field in the pursuit of a common range of questions.”³⁶

The differences of concentrating on citizenship rather than on (national) identity (in this case) are inherent in this approach. Duly, the examination does not

³³ Referring to Charles Tilly, Eley and Palmowski denote thick citizenship as “citizenship as role.” Charles Tilly in Eley and Palmowski, p. 6. See also Charles Tilly, ed. *Citizenship, Identity and Social History* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press), 1996. Charles Tilly, *Identity, Boundaries and Social Ties* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2005).

³⁴ About citizenship as a historical concept, see Eley and Palmowski, p. 18-19.

³⁵ The concepts of space and time, see Appendix A, note 3.

³⁶ Eley and Palmowski, p. 22. The difference between citizenship and national identity constitutes a central question also for other contributors in the volume. They regard these two conceptions as closely related, but the earlier enabling a more complex analysis of diverse self-definitions of the individuals. See *ibid.*, p. 35. See also Kathleen Canning, “Reflections on the Vocabulary of Citizenship in Twentieth-Century Germany,” in *ibid.*, pp. 214-232. Also Geoff Eley, “Some General Thoughts on Citizenship in Germany,” *ibid.*, pp. 233-246.

aim at a deconstruction of identifications, but a questioning of interactions that are driven by and also go beyond group identifications. A reflection on actions, taking into account particularly the complexity in self-definitions of individuals,³⁷ that actually, can abruptly, or continually also engage in acts and actions unrelated or/and contradictorily to these definitions. Moreover, as Anderson, Hroch, Hobsbawm, Gellner, Thiesse, Noiriel and in the case of Albania Clayer³⁸ have extensively proved national identity is a historical social (and cultural) construction that succeeds or is parallel to the construction of the nation, itself a production of the modern condition. National citizenship is related closely to both, but not limited to them as it is primarily concerned with the concrete relation between state and individuals in the everyday.

The examination of the activities of the two state youth organizations demonstrates that citizenship involved cultural engagements that basically, more than with the citizens' identity, entailed concerns about their loyalty. In addition, loyalty was closely related to acts and actions the relation of which was not so clear cut in terms of identifications. Besides, in the following parts, this work will unveil the entanglement of political regimes with national identifications, highlighting how these were shaped, as well as contradicted by the citizen(s) and in the way of being citizen as being political. Such perspective enables complex responses to questions about concrete aspects of the practice of state youth organizations: how did they use the practice of art and sport to produced common experiences, diminish differences between groups and individuals, and promote common values? How did local,

³⁷ Eley and Palmosky, p. 21.

³⁸ This does not imply that these writers' ideas were similar to each other or in total accord with each others ideas or aspects of their studies. See Appendix A, note 4.

individual, group values, attitudes and objects, became national? How did cultural activities intervene with the everydayness of individuals and groups to shape it? How did groups and individuals redefine themselves and their society through this cultural experience? How were political struggle and social inequity were expressed in the cultural sphere, and how were they reshaped, severed, or mutilated?³⁹ These represent only a glance at the analysis unfolded in the following parts, as well as only a path of examination within this approach to citizenship, which I think, provides additional important tools to divulge the effects of the interaction embedded in the everydayness and agency of everyday people.

The Practice of Citizenship, Practices of Citizens and Acts of Citizenship

The definition of citizen as being political combined with the approach of thick citizenship enables a diversified analysis of institutional operation. Concretely, it becomes possible to consider the activities of the state's youth organization(s) from three interrelated, but different perspectives: practice of citizenship, practices of citizens, and acts of citizenship. In the practice of citizenship, analyzed in the fourth part of this dissertation, are included the sportive and artistic activities organized and directed by the state youth organizations. These activities include such events as athletic matches, artistic exhibitions, cultural contests, festive parades, gymnastic manifestations and paramilitary trainings. The practices of citizens represent a larger sphere of interaction in which the practice of citizenship is embedded. I regard the practices of citizens as the ways each citizen or group of citizens experienced and/or

³⁹ This kind of questioning emerges from the innovatory perspective integrated to historical analysis by *the cultural turn*. See Appendix A, note 5.

dealt with practice of citizenship part of which were the activities of Enti and the Federation. The practice of citizenship I refer to in interwar Albania is not habitus defined as “ways of thought and conduct that are internalized over a relatively long period of time.”⁴⁰ This is the practice of making citizens, which already has such (legal) status. As Işın writes, “To put it another way, critical studies of citizenship over the last two decades have taught us that what is important is not only that citizenship is a legal status but that it also involves practices of making citizens – social, political, cultural and symbolic.”⁴¹

Acts disrupt the practices of citizenship, marking the emergence of a political actor or political subject. In the introduction of the book *Acts of Citizenship* Işın and Nielsen differentiate acts of citizenship from the practice of citizenship, defining the practice as substance of citizenship including the social, political cultural and symbolic and acts of citizenship as rupturing such practice.⁴² Duly, these acts do not represent a rejection of citizenship, but a claim to it. This is not a claim to adhere to its eventual homogenizing, exclusionary aspects, but an act, which results in the emergence of a claimant subject, so actor, thus demanding citizen. Using the logic of Nicolas Mariot referring to resistance, these acts go beyond the idea of personal

⁴⁰ Engin Işın, “Theorizing Acts of Citizenship,” in *Acts of Citizenship*, edited by Engin Işın and Greg M. Nielsen, (London: Zed Books, 2008), pp. 15-43, p.16.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.17.

⁴² “In this book we introduce the concept ‘acts of citizenship’ as an alternative way to investigate the citizenship. ... To investigate citizenship in a way that is irreducible to either status or practice, while still valuing the distinction, requires a focus on those acts when, regardless of status and substance, subjects constitute themselves as citizens or, better still, as those to whom the right to have rights is due. But the focus shifts from subjects as such to acts (or deeds) that produce such subjects. The difference we suggest is crucial. We propose to shift focus from institution of citizenship and the citizen as individual agent to acts of citizenship, - that is, collective or individual deeds that rupture social-history patterns.” Engin Işın & Greg M. Nielsen, “Introduction” in Işın and Nielsen, pp. 1-14, p. 2.

and individual choice that is categorized either as resistance or as consent in a typical way of considering acts of war violence.⁴³

Following the logic of Catherine Neveu about the notion of the horizontal dimension of citizenship processes, these acts are embedded in the collective practice and everyday routine in the way of being political.⁴⁴ And, as Işın comments, there is nothing heroic, or there is nothing necessarily heroic in these acts. They are not about heroism, but about disruption.⁴⁵ James Holston, though not mentioning acts, discloses through a case study an important aspect of what could constitute a basic element of the act of citizenship, insurgence.⁴⁶ He demonstrates how the habitants of suburbs in Brazilian cities transformed citizenship by claiming and imposing rights in the name of a citizenship, some practices of which had been putting them in the situation of second-class citizens.⁴⁷ Referring to the practices of citizens as put forward by Holston,⁴⁸ I regard acts of citizenship as an extraordinary form of practices of citizens (and the citizens I refer to, similarly to the case of Brazil studied by Holston, have already a legal status of citizenship).

⁴³ Nicolas Mariot, *Bains de foule. Les Voyages présidentiels en province, 1888-2002* (Paris: Belin, 2006), p. 311.

⁴⁴ Catherine Neveu, "Rescuing Citizenship from Its Theories: Anthropological Perspectives," in *Opening the Boundaries of Citizenship*, Panel 19: Colonial Legacies and Migration, International Conference (Milton Keynes: The Open University, 7 February 2012).

⁴⁵ Işın answering the remark of Neveu in Ibid.

⁴⁶ James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*, (Princeton University Press, 2008).

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Holston refers particularly to rights and duties, while in this work I refer mainly to cultural practices that are closely related with the "*political imagination*" that as Holston notes while explaining practices of citizens "*both produces and disrupts that citizenship*." Holston, p. 13.

Youth; from the Word to the Body of the Nation

“*La jeunesse n'est qu'un mot*” (Youth is nothing but a word), claimed Pierre Bourdieu⁴⁹ pointing out the totality of practices bounded by contextual and spatial particularities that interact in giving each time a specific meaning to this word. The simplicity conceiving this phrase of Bourdieu, in fact, underlines a complex reality that researchers have been studying further within the Bourdieu perspective and beyond.⁵⁰ Elaborating further on youth as the construction of a concept and its social meanings, Mauger maintains that the main classification made to structure youth is a categorization of age, which constitutes a form of social categorization, definition, delimitation, representation and base for the construction of identity. He sustains that all these elements forged by this categorization can be grouped in three main larger forms of representation: the ordinary, the political, and the scholarly. In this conceptualization each of these representations stand in correlation with particular efforts that Mauger identifies respectively as the activity of spatial positioning that everyone conducts in everyday life: the activity of engaging in the construction of political identities, and the scholarly activity of elaborating categories and simplified models.⁵¹

Referring to this conceptualization I would say that this work is concerned primarily with the first two representations of youth and the deconstruction of the

⁴⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, “*La jeunesse n'est qu'un mot*” (Youth is nothing, but a word), Interview interview by Anne-Marie Métaillé in Pierre Bourdieu, *Questions de sociologie* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1992), pp. 143-154.

⁵⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, “Youth is only a word” in Eckart Liebu, “‘Pluralisation’ des phases de la jeunesse,” in *Jeunesses et sociétés. Perspectives de la recherche en France et en Allemagne*, ed. Gérard Mauger, René Bendit, Christian von Wolffersdorff (Paris: Armand Colin, 1994), pp. 95-106, p. 97.

⁵¹ Gérard Mauger, “Unité et diversité de la jeunesse,” in *Ibid.*, pp. 21-49, p.22.

activities that contribute in producing each, taking into account the continual interaction among them. Then, examining the participation of young boys in paramilitary trainings, students (boys and girls) involvement in artistic and sportive public demonstrations, as well as participation in various cultural and sportive associations constitutes a form of examination of the activity of spatial positioning of individuals regarded as part of the population categorized as youth. Such spatial positioning was irreducibly, but inseparably related to their role as citizens. Thus, all the same it is not reducible, but inseparable by the activities forging construction of political identities, so political representations.

On the other hand, through the approach of practices of citizens and acts of citizenship based on a definition of citizenship as being political, the spatial positioning is considered within the struggles not only in terms of space, but also and principally in terms of role. In this respect, the activity of spatial positioning can be made up of acts producing actors, individuals or groups, whose existence represent meaning transcending spaces. From this point of view, the analysis of the construction of youth is important in terms of the actors it engages and produces through this construction and in opposition, disruption, and rejection of this construction or of some of its aspects.

Lieheu develops the idea of the (three different and main) representations of youth of Mauger, putting forward the creation of “extremely different ‘forms of youth’” through divisions of society in generations, gender, religions, nationalities, regions, and classes. He claims that each of these forms of youth has its ordinary, political, and sociological representation.⁵² This conceptualization of different forms of youth is important in understating the dynamics ascribed to citizenship, which

⁵² Lieheu, p. 97.

represents a totality of practices hastening and/or intensifying the confrontation among these diverse forms of youth, while facing each and all with eventual new forms (of youth) that would transverse or pretend to transverse these.

These different representations, actions, and ways of defining youth that correspond to socio-cultural divisions in society and as mentioned above, are called different forms of youth, hold particular meanings for citizenship. Each form has a specific relation or positioning *vis à vis* the citizenship evoking particular questioning. For example in terms of nationality and citizenship we would mainly discuss the included and excluded. Associating citizenship with gender, we could primarily refer to socio-cultural roles. A discussion about citizenship and generations could not be meaningful without including reciprocal definitions and perceptions of generations in mutual confrontation. In an analysis of religion and citizenship, moral would represent a compelling perspective of analysis. A study of the geography of power in regard to regional competition and citizenship evokes the question of loyalty. In the same way, the debate about classes and citizenship is pertinent in regard to rights.

All the divisions and differences in society are reflected in youth and all of these are confronted with each other, compete and negotiate in various forms in a process of the making of the citizenship. Accordingly, the process of construction of youth is an inherent part of the process of the making of the citizenship. Moreover it is crucial part of this process, as the young citizen becomes the subject on which is projected and presented the model of good citizenship. Youth becomes the category on which a model of society is projected and as such it becomes as a whole subject of struggles and tensions that in their turn distinguish and define societies. The young, as actors, as construction, as ordinary and/or political representatives of

socio-cultural divisions within various forms of youth or traversing each of these, reside at the center of the struggles for power as its mirror and nest, as a candidate to access power and subject to it.

This intersection of processes, representations, differences and models provides a unique moment in the understanding of society and particularly interwar societies confronting generations with very different experiences. One part had experienced empires and their ends, then the birth of nations not only as macro events, but also as dynamics that affected the lives of everyday people. Others had not experienced empires, but nation-states, their fierce competition over imperial heritages, and crises that devastated and transformed the lives of groups and individuals. These deep and harsh changes were not experienced only through individual conditions, the greater involvement of groups of population, but also through extreme political regimes. These regimes not only projected their ideal subject on the young citizen as did the majority of regimes during the period, but they also projected the regime and the nation onto youth, through youth, by youth. Among the various regimes involved in such practices, fascism became the hallmark of such enterprises.

According to Dietschy, at the heart of the fascist project lay the making of a new man who was first of all a soldier-citizen.⁵³ The fascist citizen should have a strong body trained through physical education. He was to be a athletic, energetic man ready to fight for the nation. This physically educated body was the individual citizen as much as the nation itself. The fascist nation was the reflection of each trained young man, and all these young men at once. Actually, through the youth

⁵³ Paul Dietschy, "Sport, éducation physique et fascisme sous le regard de l'historien," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, no. 55-3 (2008/3), pp. 61-84, p. 68.

organization the training of women was also provided. Yet, as Gori explains, the participation of women in society represented a contradiction. On the one hand, an active physically trained woman was promoted, while on the other hand, woman was mother, the part of the society that was given the responsibility of the children and home.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, women completed an important element of the national body, the morality; they were represented as devoted wives, careful mothers, and young girls who aspired to be so. Each citizen and the nation as the body⁵⁵ of each and all of these citizens together was a strong organism donated by *good morality*. This crucial importance of body, in terms of the physical and morality, related the project of citizenship mainly and particularly to youth. This nation was not every body, but a young body that, as Dietschy mentioned evoked the eternal youth, was full of energy, physically trained, enthusiastic, and had a combative spirit.⁵⁶ However, the centrality of physical training, sports as well as artistic activities in which were engaged mainly young people, went far beyond the concerns about image or advancing specific imagination. They were closely related to the creation of a mass culture, mobilization and control.

⁵⁴ Giliola Gori, *Italian Fascism and the Female Body. Sport, Submissive Women and Strong Mothers* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 1. See Appendix A, note 6.

⁵⁵ This body is basically the Foucauldian body as “the individual body is directly plunged in the middle of an political field, the ongoing rapports of power have over it an immediate grasp: they invest in it, mark it, wear it, torment it, bind and force it to works, oblige to ceremonies, ask from it symbols.” See Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), p. 34. Yet, I think it goes beyond this at the point the individual body, the collective body and the nation become inextricably related, constituting what I tend to consider a particularity of fascist ideology and regimes affected and shaped by such ideology. See Appendix A, note 7.

⁵⁶ Dietschy, “Sport, éducation physique,” p.69.

The importance of physical training also known as gymnastic movement was not a trend that started in interwar years, but one that started at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germanic and Scandinavian countries.⁵⁷ Moreover the importance given to the individual body of the subjects or citizens also was not a discovery of fascism. Researchers trace this idea back to the nineteenth century⁵⁸ and even further, to the Enlightenment.⁵⁹ In her article “Building a British Superman: Physical Culture in Interwar Britain,” Bargielowska⁶⁰ maintains that such emphasis on physical training and strong citizens that embody the nation and secure its future, prosperity and “eternal youth” should not necessarily be regarded as peculiar to fascism. She maintains that these ideas were developed also in interwar England, but that until 1932 they were not related directly to any fascist party or leader as they

⁵⁷ Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales. Europe XVIII-XIX siècle*. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001), p. 242.

⁵⁸ “*La nation a été intellectuellement construite comme un organisme immuable, toujours identique à lui-même à travers les vicissitudes de l’histoire. (...) C’est au moment où triomphe l’Etat-nation comme forme d’organisation politique par excellence, à la fin du XIXe siècle, que le discours sur la décadence de la nation prend toute sa force (...)*” Ibid., p. 235. On the other hand, analyzing the approach of the Kemalist regime toward public health and sport Akın refers to bio-politics of Foucault. Moreover he traces back such trends to the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire and underlines the Victorian England as the place of the first establishment of the relation between physical training and public health. See Akın, *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar*, pp.87, 89, 94-95, 97-108. Bucur analysis the Romanian case in terms of bio-politics, see Maria Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press), 2002. For a general and larger perspective on social Darwinism, eugenics, bio-politics see M. Asım Karaömerlioglu, “Darwin ve Sosyal Bilimler,” *Birikim*, no. 251-252 (March-April 2010).

⁵⁹ “*Les enseignements corporels naissent alors en Europe, tant comme principe de modernisation de l’enseignement, que comme principe d’inculcation, ou encore de discipline de jeunes, le phénomène débutant avec le 18ème siècle marqué par les Lumières*» in G. Demet Lüküslü, p.35.

⁶⁰ Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, “Building a British Superman: Physical Culture in Interwar Britain,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 4 (October 2006), pp. 595-610.

were in Germany or Italy. She maintains that it was in 1932 that England started to adopt a German model in these matters.⁶¹

The physically well-trained, enthusiastic, athletic, active (mainly masculine) citizenship was a characteristic that traversed nation-states, regimes and ideologies in the interwar period. The relation of these trends to the nature of regimes represents an ongoing debate; in some cases, like that of Turkey, even related to present day politics.⁶² This work would represent a contribution to this debate in the Albanian case where physical education has been an important point of discussion particularly related to the patriotic education of young people since the early twentieth century. One of the public organizations analyzed in this thesis was founded under Italian control with the aim of directing and shaping the “physical and patriotic education” of the Albanian youth. Similar Italian organizations, particularly the Opera Nazionale Balilla (henceforth referred to as Balilla or ONB),⁶³ offered not only inspiration, but also a model.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 609. The article does not deny the affinity of such ideas with fascism or extreme right. Yet, in spite of the centrality of these trends in physical education, it emphasizes the failure of fascism in Great Britain due to internal developments.

⁶² I refer to the debates over the figure and role of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in contemporary Turkey.

⁶³ See this in work, “Balilla and its particular meaning for Albania.”

CHAPTER 2: A CONTEXT AND A VOCABULARY FOR YOUTH

“These young men and women ... who have to bear the burden of Empire in the new reign' rejoiced 'in that disciplined vigour of the body which is the first security for the facing of political, moral, and spiritual problems with the sane intelligence required of a free people'” The Time, Editorial, 5 July 1937.⁶⁴

Interwar Youth Movements and Organizations

One of the trends that traversed national borders in the interwar era was the foundation and direction of youth organizations by central state authorities. The most known example of these, the Italian Balilla, will be given particular attention in the following part. However, much more remains to be discussed. The Sokols or Falcons were known in Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Bosnia, Macedonia and they became a Yugoslavian central public youth organization (Sokol Kraljevine Jugoslavije) in 1929 with the ban by King Alexander of all other organizations.⁶⁵ The Sokol was originally a Czech movement founded in 1862 by Miroslav Tyrš.⁶⁶ The Sokol (Falcon) was regarded as the reincarnation of the national spirit as all the symbols used by the Sokols in flags or badges illustrate the nation.⁶⁷ According to Thiesse, the Sokol played an important role in the spread of the national conscience in the country; their celebrations resembled huge common exercises of such conscience.

⁶⁴ The Time in Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, “Building a British Superman: Physical Culture in Interwar Britain,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 4 (October 2006), pp. 595-610, p. 595.

⁶⁵ Sandra Prlenda, “Young, Religious, and Radical: The Croat Catholic Youth Organizations, 1922-1945”, in *Ideologies and National Identities The Case of Twentieth Century-Southeastern Europe*, edited by John Lampe and Mark Mazower (Budapest, New York: CEU Press 2004), pp.82-109, p.91.

⁶⁶ Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*, p. 244.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Masaryk, the first Czechoslovak president after the First World War, was a member of the Sokol, which became the mass organization of the new state.⁶⁸

Prlenda maintains that Sokol (Falcon) “(...)spread in a couple of decades to other Slavic people. It combined mass physical exercises in a military (...) The aim was to built healthy and disciplined youth with a developed national consciousness, ready to fight, when the moment came for national liberation. The Slovene (1863) and Croat (1874) Falcons had similar goals, even more so the Serb Falcons. Serb branches emerged in 1904 and 1906 in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Croatia, espousing a common nationalistic program for the unification of all Serbs. Eventually, some Falcon leaders began to cooperate with each other and promote Yugoslav unification. In 1918 armed squads of Falcons were therefore engaged by the new political authorities in Zagreb to help establish the Yugoslav state. As we can see, the link between physical education and political ideas was there from the beginning.”⁶⁹

In Turkey there was no particular central public youth organization during the period, yet the youth was organized through the *Halkevleri* (Peoples Houses 1932)⁷⁰ founded following the model of the Italian *Dopolavoro* (OND-*Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro*).⁷¹ However, Lüküslü explains that at the beginning of the First World War, the Party of Union and Progress was convinced of the necessity to create better organized youth organizations and to help in fulfilling such, it invited von Hoff to share the German experience in this field. Assisted by Selim (Sırrı) Tarcan in 1916 the efforts were finalized with the foundation Youth Associations (*Genç Dernekleri*)

⁶⁸ Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*, p.244.

⁶⁹ Prlenda, p.86.

⁷⁰ For Halkevleri see Sefa Simsek, *Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi Halkevleri 1932-1951* (Istanbul: Bogaziçi Yayınevi, 2002). See also Alexandros Lamprou, “Between Central state and the Local Society. The People House Institution and the Domestication of Reform in Turkey (1932-1951)” (Ph.D. Diss., Unversiteit Leiden, 2009). For previous developments, youth organizations at the end of Ottoman Empire and in the first years of Turkish Republic, see Zafer Toprak, “II. Mesrutiyet Doneminde Paramiliter Gençlik Orgutleri,” in *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 1985). Füsün Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları (1912-1931)* (İstambul: İletisim Yayınları, 1997).

⁷¹ See Victoria de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent*. See also Aristotle Kallis ed. *The Fascism Reader*, (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 393-395.

that were focused mainly on the military education of young Muslim boys 12 years and older.

Following Toprak, she notes that in 1917, 351 associations were founded in various departments (*vilayet*) and 355 in autonomous departments (*müstakil sancak*).⁷² The first Gymnastic Celebration of the Republic in 1928 explained plainly the importance given by the Republic to strong and healthy citizens. Moreover, the declaration of 19 May, the symbolical start of the Independence War with the arrival of Kemal Atatürk at Samsun, as the Day of Youth and Sport was the clearest expression of the Republic's desire to create a new society whose symbol was the youth.⁷³

Doubtlessly, the German central youth organizations were an example of efficiency in terms of promoting national identity, ideology, nationhood as well as governable subjects. Youth camping was the key practice and a symbol of such organizations. Hitler's Youth⁷⁴ became a symbol of the regime, a symbol of discipline, unity, harshness, physical performance, obedience and patriotism. Governmentality,⁷⁵ mass mobilization, control and the symbols of collectivity were

⁷² Lüküslü, p. 29. See also Toprak, "II. Mesrutiyet Doneminde Paramiliter Gençlik." Zafer Toprak, "Taksim Stadında Mini-Olimpiyat 1922," *Toplumsal Tarih* 1, no. 4 (April 1994), pp. 15-18.

⁷³ Lüküslü, p. 36.

⁷⁴ For youth organizations in interwar Germany and particularly Hitler's Youth and Nazi Youth Organizations see Michael H. Kater, *Hitler youth*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁷⁵ For the concept of governmentality see Thomas Lemke, "'The Birth of Biopolitics': Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality," *Economy and Society* 30, (2001), pp. 190-207. Thomas Lemke, "Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique," Accessed, 10.12.2009, Available [online] at <<http://www.andociasociology.net/resources/Foucault%2C+Governmentality%2C+and+Critique+IV-2.pdf>> Barry Allen, "Government in Foucault," *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 21, no. 4, (December 1991), pp. 421-440. Jack Z. Bratich, Jeremy Packer, Cameron McCarthy,

at their peak. Cuper proposes to see this as the performance of the central organization that included in itself all the previous youth organizations. While reframing and restricting all the youth movements in 1933, it took over many of the already established practices. Furthermore, he maintains that:

What is certain is that the NSDAP's seizure of control in 1933 and the subsequent Gleichschaltung which included the youth movements, had devastating effects on the German youth, (...). The political goal of the Hitlerjugend was to supply a form of pre-military education exclusively for German boys, who were prepared either for direct incorporation into the army, or for a political career in the new Reich. (...)the Hitlerjugend took on many of their existing social practices: the Zeltlager, the Große Fahrt, the campfires and the hiking continued to be central to the Hitlerjugend organization. In the Nazis' attempts to mobilize the German youth as a vanguard for the expansion of the Reich, the youth camp was used as an essential instrument: 'Every youth leader knows the community-building power of the camp, he knows that, without camp education, modern youth edification as aligned to the national-socialist imperial idea is barely conceivable.'⁷⁶

I agree with Cuper's idea that the youth camps were a trend that crossed borders and influenced organizations in the period. He gives the example of the scouts in the United States and their outdoor practice with the aim of being "better citizens" by creating a distance to the city in order to achieve, among other things, a *moral purification*.⁷⁷ The Scouts,⁷⁸ known as a trend of British origin, were largely

Foucault, Cultural Studies, and Governmentality, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003). Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*, (London: Sage, 1999).

⁷⁶ Kenny Cupers, "Governing Through Nature: Camps and Youth Movements in Interwar Germany and the United States," *Cultural Geographies*, no. 15 (2008), pp.173–205, pp.180-181.

⁷⁷ "Despite important points of divergence, national youth movements across the Atlantic were held together by a common set of social activities, many of which revolved around the experience of the youth camp. Through common practices such as hiking, scouting and setting up camp in the natural landscape, these voluntary associations – established on a national scale and gradually under the aegis of the state – linked meanings of adolescence and youthfulness to experiences of nature, while evoking feelings of community, nation and/or citizenship." Cupers, p.174, see also pp.186-193.

know at the end of nineteenth century and an important trend of youth organizations of the interwar period. There were scout organizations in different countries from Romania to South Africa,⁷⁹ and we can see them in this period also in Albania.

In many cases, as in that of Albania, the Scouts were welcomed even supported by the state authorities. Yet, the organization's relations with the state included a known tension of the period, that between state and religion. The relation of scout practices and ideas to Christianity and/or with the church as for example in the Italian case, were not welcomed by state authorities who competed with the church in the field of control and mobilization of youth. In the Italian case state youth organization tried to limit scouts activities and replace them,⁸⁰ while in Albania they were given a strictly secular content.

The contest between state and religion in terms of youth organizations is detectable not only through the scouts, but also through many other organizations. The examples of Croatia and Romania are revelatory in this case. As described by Prlenda, the catholic youth movements of *Croatia Hrvatski orlovski savez* (The Croat

⁷⁸ Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy-Scout movement 1890–1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Michael Rosenthal, *The character Factory: Baden- Powell and the Origins of the Boy-Scout Movement* (London: Collins, 1986). Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2006). Philippe Laneyrie, *Les Scouts de France: l'Évolution du Mouvement des Origins aux Années 80* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1985). Jay Mechling, *On My Honor: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁷⁹ Tammy M. Proctor, "A Separate Path": Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, no. 3 (July 2000), pp. 605-631. Silviu Hariton, "Childhood in Romain Context: Les Petits Dorobants," 29th *International Standing Conference for the History Education* (Hamburg: 25-28 July 2007), particularly p. 72. For the scouting movement analyzed together and in comparison with the girls Guide movement, see Tammy M. Proctor, "A Separate Path," and also Kristine Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism during the 1920s and 1930s," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 1 (Baltimore: Winter 2009), pp. 37-65.

⁸⁰ See this work "Balilla and Its Particular Meaning for Albania"

Eagle Union, 1923-1929) and its successor *Krizarska organizacija* (The Crusaders Organization, 1930-1945), also operated in the field of gymnastics and physical education. They used religious symbols in their emblems and flags and predicated a Catholic revival through the youth discipline that would carry the apostolic spirit and evoke a Christianization of the public sphere.⁸¹ The organizations were caught in the middle of the contest between laic Croatian nationalism, laic Yugoslavism, Catholic Croatian nationalism and universal Christianity. The Legion of the Archangel Michael, and its leader Corneliu Zelea Codreanu analyzed thoroughly by Iordachi as a charismatic leader, tried to spread throughout Romania a Catholic message, Catholic national conscience and a public sphere shaped by Catholic symbolism.⁸² The clashes of the Archangel Legion with the state authorities, but also other youth organizations and its extreme position toward communism represent a particularly colored expression of the struggle between youth organizations as well as the struggles of ideologies and politics over youth.

In the example of Austria the importance of youth activism for political parties is obvious. In his article about Austrian Social Democratic Youth Movement, Rabinach demonstrates that youth organizations were regarded as of utmost importance for the party.⁸³ Apparently, the Social Democrat Party adopted its youth organizations to include different ages: for the youngest the model of boy-scouts; for

⁸¹ Prlenda, particularly pp. 87-89.

⁸² Constantin Iordachi, "Charisma, Religion, and Ideology: Romania's Interwar Legion of the Archangel Michael," in *Ideologies and National Identities The Case of Twentieth Century-Southeastern Europe*, edited by John Lampe and Mark Mazower (Budapest, New York: CEU Press 2004), pp. 19-42. The Archangel Michael Legion is also known as the Iron Guard. See also Stanley G. Pane, *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Wisconsin University Press, 1980), particularly pp. 115-117.

⁸³ Anson Rabinbach, "Politics and Pedagogy: Austrian Social Democratic Youth Movement 1931-1932," *The Journal of Contemporary History* 13, no. 2 Special Issue: Workers' Culture (April 1978), pp. 337-356.

12-16 years old the Soviet Pioneer⁸⁴ model; for the 16 to 21 years old *Verein Jugendlicher Arbeiter*, the party's main organization for youth.⁸⁵ As Rabinach explains, the concerns about youth first were related to education. There was an ongoing debate on the pedagogical models to be employed, the politics of education, the directions of the schools and the education system in general within the party and in the country.⁸⁶ However, to mobilize greater number of young people in terms of ideology of the party, to achieve their support, and even to provoke changes within the party it appeared necessary to enlarge the youth organization, which was engaged in sportive and cultural activities with a continually growing number of members throughout the period.⁸⁷

The struggle of youth and over youth between leftist and rightist parties and groups is evident in interwar Poland. In an article about Polish Youth in the thirties Micewski maintains that there was a clash of generations.⁸⁸ The article represents this clash as being embedded in the struggle between nationalist rightist and leftist groups, the former represented by the National Democratic headed by Roman Dmowski, and the latter by the Pilsudski faction. The conflict between these groups is represented as having been hastened and growing since the coup d'état of May 1926. The author maintains that this struggle in the between wars in Poland

⁸⁴ See Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *A. Small Comrades, Revolutionizing Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917-1932*, (New York, London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001). Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2001).

⁸⁵ Rabinach "Politics and Pedagogy," pp. 340. See also Appendix A, note 8.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 3-4. See also Appendix A, note 9.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 341-342.

⁸⁸ Andrzej Micewski, "Polish Youth in the Thirties," *Journal of Contemporary History* 4, no. 3 (July 1969), pp. 155-167.

represented a revolt of the youth and the victors was to be decided by their support.⁸⁹

The account of Aline Coutrot about the French youth in thirties reveals once again the multiplicity of trends, meanings, forms and tensions embedded in the interwar youth activity and activism.

The first remarkable thing is the way that youth organizations flourished in the thirties and the growth in their membership up to the Second World War. Some of them had been in existence before 1914, such as the Unions chretiennes de jeunes gens, the French section of the YMCA, or the Association catholique de la jeunesse frangaise (ACJF); but the great majority came into being in the decade 1925-35; leagues and groups of political allegiance, such as the Jeunesses Patriotes, Jeunesses Communistes, Faucons rouges, Federation nationale des jeunesses democrates populaires; Catholic action movement such as the Jeunesse ouvriere catholique (JOC), and its rural and student equivalents, JAC and JEC; French Catholic scouting associations- French scouts and French guides - which were established later than the Protestant and secular scouts; then there were other movements, such as the social action groups (equipes sociales) of Robert Garric, Marc Sangnier's PeaceVolunteers, Joseph Folliet's Companions of St Francis, the French youth hostels association, etc.⁹⁰

Through the analysis of the two successive youth organizations in Albania, the Enti (1928-1934), and the Federation (1935-1939), we will examine the major part of these trends in youth activism and the tensions mentioned. In the foundation and operation of these two organizations are revealed tensions between state and religion(s), the central authority and local preferences, different ideological orientations, generations and definitions of generations, various cultural associations, and diverse interests as well as national and international projects. There were no formal political parties in this period in Albania. As such, the clashes between different ideological groups were not revealed in terms of tensions between parties.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 156.

⁹⁰ Aline Coutrot, "Youth Movements in France in the 30's," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, No. 1, Generations in Conflict (1970), pp.23-35, p. 25. See also Susan B. Whitney, "Gender, class, and generation in interwar French Catholicism: The case of the Jeunesse Ouvriere Chretienne Feminine," *Journal of Family History* 26, no. 4 (October 2001), pp. 480-508.

This case would contribute to the analysis of a less studied dimension of youth mobilization in the period, artistic activities. Nevertheless, the role of the *charisma of the leader* - more precisely, the King declared in 1928 - will be examined and the effort to built a charismatic image through youth will be analyzed.

The Albanian Context

Evaluating the political evolutions during the interwar period in South Eastern Europe Ivan Berend, describes as a common occurrence in the region the transition from national revolutions to nationalist authoritarianism.⁹¹ He evaluates these authoritarian regimes antiparliamentary, anticommunist, antisocialist and anti-liberal, having ‘elements, organizational structures and even symbols of fascism, but lacking a fascist party behind the ruling government.’⁹² Berend’s description precisely defines trends circulated in the region during the period. This increases the importance of an inquiry about the reflexivity of political systems in particular areas and neighboring countries as this congruity in trends should not lead to an underestimation of local, national intersections and inter-regional interactions. I try here to analyze the evolutions particularly related to the politics, initiatives and debates about youth in interwar Albania within the prism of such intersections.

The congress of Lushnja starting on 21 January 1920 represents a landmark in the macro-political developments of the country. After a long period of tensions between groups claiming authority over different localities, the congress succeeded

⁹¹ Ivan T. Berend, *Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe Before World War II* (Berkeley.Calif: University of California Press, 1998), p. 185. See also Appendix A, note 10.

⁹² Ibid., p.301.

at forming general consensus on a government whose authority included all the country. Actually, disputes on the borders continued,⁹³ enhancing the instability. Multiple disagreements would open the way to frequent changes in government's composition. However, the government in Tirana was hereafter the unique claimant of authority over all the country. The political struggle of after 1920 from a struggle between governments was transformed into a struggle for the government. The country continued to be a monarchy as decided in the Conference of Ambassadors of 1913, but it was declared a parliamentary monarchy. A high council, otherwise as regency made of four persons representing four different confessions (Sunni Muslim, Bektashi Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic) embodied the highest authority. The executive power was to be performed by a government headed by a prime minister.⁹⁴

The parliament convened four months later on 21 April 1921 after the parliamentary elections held in February-March 1921.⁹⁵ Ahmet Zogu⁹⁶ crowned

⁹³ Changes in border would continue through the period. However, the main international disagreements on this issue were somehow settled in 1922. For agreements and documents on borders see Arben Puto, *Çështja shqiptare në aktet ndërkombëtare të periudhës së imperializmit 1918-1926*. Volum 3 (Tiranë: n.p 2001). See also Appendix A, note 11.

⁹⁴ The members of the regency were Abdi Bej Toptani, Aqif Pashë Elbasani, Mihal Turtulli and Luigj Bumçi. The Prime Minister of the government formed after the Congress of Lushnjë was Sulejman Delvina. For the names of the members of national assembly and parliament since 1920 see, Diana Estrefi, përg. *Ligjvënësit Shqiptarë 1920-2005* (Tiranë: Botim i Kuvendi Republika e Shqipërisë, 2005). For details on the administrative framework and members of governments through the period, see Komisioni i Kreutimeve të 25 Vjetorit të Vet-Qeverimit 1912-1937, *Shqipëria më 1937. Veprimi Shtetnor Gjatë njëzet e pesë vjetëve të vetqeverimit*. Vëllimi 1 (Tiranë: Botimet e Shtypshkronjës “Kristo Luarasi, 1937).

⁹⁵ For details of these elections as well as names of the members of parliament and government, see Kastriot Dervishi, *Historia e Shtetit Shqiptar 1912-2005. Organizimi shtetëror, jeta politike, ngjarjet kryesore, të gjithë ligjvënësit, ministrat dhe kryetarët e shtetit shqiptar* (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 55, 2006), pp. 99-111.

⁹⁶ Fischer maintained that surname Zogu was an adaptation of the surname Zogolli, - otherwise Zog-oglu, having the Turkish suffix son of, - to a western form. Bernd Fischer, *King Zog and the Struggle for Stability in Albania* (New York: East European Monographs, Boulder & Colombia University Press, 1984), p. 39. However, the change to ‘Zog’ brings

King of Albanian on 1 September 1928, was at the time a 26 years old deputy entering the parliament in spite of the limit of candidates being 30 years old. Actually, he had already performed the duties of Governor of Shkodra and Minister of Interior. He would continue the duty of Minister of Interior until the beginning of the movement known as the June Revolution in 1924. These four years, alike the following years were characterized, as Pirro Misha explains by the dispersion of public administration and a destruction of existing local autonomies.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, the period was characterized by frequent changes in alliances for power. Frequent were the examples of strongly opposed individuals becoming close allies and vice versa. Zogu constitutes a distinctive example in this regard. In the first parliament including 78 deputies divided mainly in two groups, the Popular Party (*Partia Popullore*) and the Progressive Party (*Partia Përparimtare*), Zogu was part of the Popular Party together with the main figures of the “June Revolution,” such as Fan Noli and Luigj Gurakuqi.⁹⁸ The June Revolution would be a movement opposing the rule of Ahmet Zogu, who immediately after regaining power in 1925 would be implicated in the murders of opposition figures, notably Luigj Gurakuqi.⁹⁹

Referring to Noli and Zogu as being in the same part for a period, I do not refer either to an ideological or social concern based association. Actually, another

also to mind an adaptation to the Albanian version of the surname. Zogolli would not bear meaning in Albanian, while *zog* means bird. In this sense apart from a commitment to westernization it may be also related to nationalization and aspirations in Albanian politics. See also Appendix A, note 12.

⁹⁷ Pirro Misha, “Invention of Nationalism Myth and Amnesia,” in *Albanian Identities Myth and History*, ed. Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer (London: Hurst and Company, 2002), pp. 33-48, p. 46.

⁹⁸ For detail about these political groups see Afrim Krasniqi, *Partitë Politike në Shqipëri 1920-2006* (Tiranë: Instituti Shqiptar i Studimit të Politikave, 2006).

⁹⁹ For brief details on their life and work, see Appendix A, note 13.

characteristic of the period was political alliances based on aspirations to power. Ahmet Zogu¹⁰⁰ was the son of a landowner family, while Fan Noli was a highly educated, matured intellectual from a small peasant family. The population of the country was largely peasant. According to the numbers given by an official publication of 1927, the country had a population of 833,618.¹⁰¹ The largest prefectures were those of Shkodra (114,308), Korça (131,150), Gjirokastra (127,000) and Elbasani (82,402 habitants). The smaller, but particularly important ones were those of Tirana (34,598 habitants) and Durrësi (58,375 habitants).

Only 9 to 20% of the population lived in the main cities except for the prefecture of Tirana where the rate was 50%.¹⁰² Nevertheless, as we see in the Bulgarian, and even the Yugoslavian example, there was no peasant party in Albania throughout the period.¹⁰³ Truly, after the failure of the June Revolution there was no party at all. Nevertheless, the period should not be generalized, as it is possible to scrutinize it in terms of important struggles and evolutions.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ A biography of Zog by Dako known as a supporter of King Zog, see Kristo Dako, *Ahmet Zogu Mbret i Shqiptarëve* (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese Luarasi, 1937). See also Appendix A, note 14.

¹⁰¹ Teki Selenica, *Shqipëria më 1927* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja ‘Tirana’, 1928), p.213.

¹⁰² Ibid. For calculations and figures, see Appendix A, note 15. For an analysis of rural development in Albania see Örjan Sjöberg, *Rural Change and Development in Albania* (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1991), for the interwar period particularly pp. 19-39.

¹⁰³ For an analysis of peasant mobilization in the region after the First World War see Bideleux and Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe*, p. 315, pp. 351-352, pp. 353-359.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix A, note 16.

Evolution and Struggles

1920-1924: When Multiplicity Still Survived

I divide the interwar years in Albania in four main periods: 1920-1924, 1925-1929, 1930-1936, and 1937-1939. The first period starts with the Congress of Lushnjë on 21 January 1920 and ends with the failure of the June Revolution and the return - on 24 December 1924 - of Zogu from Yugoslavia in triumph. These four years can be regarded as the phase in which multiplicity survived. I refer to a multiplicity of articulation of different opponent and opposing ideas, and initiatives related to youth. For instance, an important initiative of the young generation was the association *Bashkimi* (Unity) lead by Avni Rustemi,¹⁰⁵ who was killed in April 1924, aggravating the large popular and intellectual anger that exploded in the June movement leading to the June Revolution. In the association *Bashkimi*¹⁰⁶ were assembled teachers of Albanian schools opened mainly since 1912. They were for the most part young people who studied at the pedagogical school at Elbasan (opened in 1909)¹⁰⁷ or even in other countries. The association promoted Albanian nationalism, regarded Albanian schools as a basic utility to spread it and supported of reforms in favor of larger groups among the population.

Further study is required to explain its ideological orientations, leftist or liberal allegiances. However, the association operated within middle class and rural

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix A, note 17.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix A, note 18. See also the explication about the “union of young Albanians” organized by Avni Rustemi in *Fischer, King Zog*, p.60.

¹⁰⁷ For details on the foundation of the pedagogical school of Elbasan, see Hysni Myzyri, “Shkollat Kombëtar shqipe në vitet 1908-1912,” in ed. Bedri Dedja et al., *Historia e Arsimit dhe Mendimit Pedagogjik Shqiptar*, Volumi 1 (Tirana: Instituti i Studimeve Pedagogjike, 2003), pp. 173-223.

networks with the ability to mobilize the lower strata of society. Such mobilization would have fatal results for the landowners, chieftains, and some local traditional patriarchal hierarchies. The murder of Rrustemi orchestrated by Zogu - as it is often maintained - or not¹⁰⁸ eliminated one of the individuals at the heart of the mobilization of the middle class intellectuals and rural younger generations as well as a potential coeval leader. Although many intellectuals including priests that had left after the six months “revolutionary” government returned the country and even collaborated with the following governments, the era of freedom of expression and political movement had come to an end. The four years with the potential to open way to relevant changes in the socio-political conditions of the country were concluded in violence. Henceforth, every kind of political engagement was forbidden. On the other hand, young citizens became the main subjects of the official nationalist discourse and the state’s cultural policies.

In 1920 the number of elementary schools with two, three or five grades was 50 while those with one grade was 410. There were only two high schools. The number of students was 25.197, meaning that approximately only 3% of the population attended schools. There were about 800 teachers, resulting in a proportion of 1 teacher for 1000 inhabitants. Only 1 inhabitant in 36 had an elementary level education and almost 85% of the population was analphabet.¹⁰⁹ According to the

¹⁰⁸ For details on the murder of Avni Rrustemi, see Puto, *Shqipëria Politike*, pp.347-349.

¹⁰⁹ Ministria e Arsimit dhe Shkences Instituti i Studimeve Pedagogjike, *Historia e Arsimit dhe e Mendimit Pedagogjik Shqiptar* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja “Nënë Tereza,” 2003), p. 383, p. 463. See also Appendix A, note 19.

numbers given by the General Director of Education S. Papahristo¹¹⁰ in 1925, 511 elementary schools existed with 650 teachers and three dormitories for the students of these schools collecting approximately 300 pupils from highland Albania.

Papahristo explained that there were two pedagogical high schools, in Elbasan and Korça, two lyceums in French, in Korça and Gjirokastra, one state gymnasium in Shkodra and a technical high school founded by the American Red Cross in Tirana. The positive quantitative evolutions continued throughout the period. In 1938 when 1 in 18 habitants attended elementary education, the number of high schools was far greater, reaching 22.¹¹¹ In spite of the ameliorations, these rates remained among the lowest among Southeastern European countries.¹¹² On the other hand, the spread of schools opened by the state did not resolve the tension between the authority of Zogu and the teachers, particularly his coeval generation teachers, exacerbated by their participation in the June movement and support of the June Revolution.

1925-1929: Transition to Authoritarianism

I regard the election of Zogu as first president of Albania on 21 January 1925 as the starting point for this second period and the acceptance of the Albanian Civil

¹¹⁰ Interview of the period with the General Director of Education in the Ministry of Education. See Gjergj Bubani, *Publicistikë, Shënime Udhëtimi (1919-1944)* (Tiranë: OMSCA-1, 2000), p. 83.

¹¹¹ Hajrullah Koliqi, *Historia e Arsimit dhe Mendimit Pedagogjik Shqiptar* (Prishtinë: Shtëpia Botuese Libri Shkollor, 2002), p. 366.

¹¹² For figures about the region see Derek H. Aldcroft, *Europe's Third World. The European Periphery in the Interwar Years* (London: Ashgate, 2006).

Code on 1 April 1929¹¹³ as its end.¹¹⁴ The strengthening of central institutions, adaption of important laws such as the penal (1928), commercial (1928) and civil codes, the formation of a state youth organization (1928) and declaration of Zogu, King of Albanians (1 September 1928) represents the most important landmarks of this phase. Important the multi-spectral agreements were made with Italy in 1925-1926.¹¹⁵ The previous multiplicity in collaborations with various governments hereafter left their place to Italian domination. These bilateral relations experienced a crisis in the early thirties that were restored afterwards although under different mutual expectations.

During this period, the state undertook various important enterprises, while after 1928, it became increasingly identified with the King. In the following parts I will explore the content of the personification of the regime and public authority. It should be emphasized here that it was not uncontested even in the conditions of a growing authoritarianism. For example, the development of a state bureaucracy, on the one hand, strengthened the state institutions. On the other, it constituted a process of struggle over influence over the population and a share in governance. Truly, the tensions with the public administration derived from the time of the June Movement, when members of the public administration and middle strata intellectuals had an active role.

¹¹³ See Mbretëria Shqiptare, Ministria e Drejtësisë, *Kodi Civil 1929* (Tiranë: Papirus, 2010).

¹¹⁴ It is more common to end or start a historical interval in interwar Albania with the coronation of King Zogu. However, I believe that his coronation was a result of complex socio-cultural dynamics. Consequently, I regard the date of coronation (1 September 1928) as an important symbolic of power and regime. Yet, it does not represent the heydays of Zogu's rule, which was consolidated in the following two years.

¹¹⁵ Economic military and political agreements. See Appendix A, note 20.

This was the reason why the structure of government was revised in 1925 curtailing two ministries; the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of War. Immediately after the restoration to power of Zogu the government distributed a “warning” to young people. In the newspaper *Brezi i Ri* (New Generation) of Shkodra we find a circular sent by Press Department in the Ministry of Interior Affairs together with the appeal to publish its content.

The Turkish journal *Tanin*, n. 822 date 25 January 1925 published an article of the well-known Turkish writer Hüseyin Cavit. The article responds to the behavior of a part of the youth that showed brutality shaking the basis of the state, while becoming a blind tool in the hands of some adventurer; to enable awareness we are traducing it entirely hoping that these young people in the wrong way will be penitent and rescued from the dangerous ideas.”¹¹⁶

In the article translated for the young citizens involved in the June movement, the youth was described as the best part of a human life; a time full of dreams and aspirations. According to the author, youth represented the future of the fatherland and all hopes lay with youth. Though, continued the text, this fact should not be regarded as an approval to do whatever. Young citizens were not going to obtain any additional rights. Because, the author noted, youth constituted a quality only when donated with good moral virtues. Young people with social and moral virtues would fulfill the duties toward the fatherland, otherwise “youth” was just a meaningless word.¹¹⁷

The circular described, young individuals or following the article “people in their 20s”¹¹⁸ collaborators in the June Movement and thus dangerous for the state. The government sought to undermine such danger in various ways. Increased control

¹¹⁶ *Brezi i Ri* (New Generation), Fletore e Përjavshme (Weekly Magazine), no. 4, (Shkodra, 19 February 1925). See Appendix A, note 21.

¹¹⁷ *Brezi i Ri*, Fletore e përjavshme, no. 4 (Shkodra, 19 February 1925).

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

over education, state youth organizations and interdiction to involve in politics represented some of these. Such steps did not result however, in success in easing tensions between the regime and the younger generations. A few open confrontations, but mainly concealed resistance continued throughout the period emerging in several socio-cultural aspects. During this phase, Zogu consolidated his authority. It can be regarded as a time of transition from relative socio-cultural and political multiplicity to regime's enterprises for institutional consolidation, associated with steps toward cultural homogenization, the monopolization of economic life, and the personification of state institutions.

1930-1936: A Regime and Its Dead-Ends

The thirties bear the mark of debates and tensions that I regard as stances on youth. Accordingly, this period started with the publication of *Neo-Shqiptarizma* (Neo-Albanianism) in July 1930¹¹⁹ and ended with the fall of the government of Mehdi Frashëri in November 1936. In 1930 important journals like *Hylli i Dritës*, representative of the Franciscan community of Shkodra, reopened after five years of closure. *Hylli i Dritës* had taken the decision to close down in protest of Zogu's return in power.¹²⁰ During 1925-1929 the tensions between the religious Catholic community of Shkodra and the government were reconfigured and *Hylli i Dritës* returned to be an important part of the intellectual debate, although, hereafter criticism toward Zogu or the regime was prohibited. It was in this atmosphere that

¹¹⁹ *Neo-Shqiptarizma, Revistë Mujore për organizimin e jetës kulturale kombëtare, Viti I, Drejtorë Branko Merxhani, Vangjel Koça, Qendra e Redaksisë dhe e administratës Gjirokastrë* (June, 1930).

¹²⁰ See Appendix A, note 22.

developed the discourse of Neo-Shqiptarizma (hereafter, Neo-Albanianism) and the debate between “the young” and “the old” took place.

Tensions and reconciliation with Italy, economic crisis, debates on the nationalization of schools and reformation of the public youth organization were among the most important events that marked this period. Popular discontent,¹²¹ and increased the state fostered isolation grew, while the literary and artistic production flourished. The increasing censorship toward literature and the press, the evolution of the official moral discourse and the control put on the mobility of people and their activity out of the country showed the increasing concerns of the authorities about various sources of reaction. Hereafter, the pressure of population was felt in additional domains. The augmentation of the graduates opened way to a growing demand of positions that the weak economy of the country could offer primarily in administration.

This social demand seemed to give a result with the appointment of Mehdi Frashëri as prime minister in October 1935. The young nationalist intellectuals as well as the religious Catholic community of Shkodra, although not with quite the same reasons, had supported his appointment. Yet the government could not resist the pressures of many actors that previously had dominated the governments reinforcing the local and translocal networks that supported their power. The fall of the Frashëri government in November 1936 also marked the end of the debate between “The Young” and “The Old.” Though the nationalist discourse had gained increasingly importance since the beginning of the period and quite in keeping with

¹²¹ Most notably the uprising in high-north Albania January 1935, the movement of Fier in mid-August 1935, and the protest known as the *Bread Demonstration* in Korça beginning of February 1936. See Appendix A, note 23.

trans and international trends, its accent rested on the future of the nation, thus on the youth of the country.

1937-1939: The Multiple Downfalls

The last interval of the interwar period in Albania started with the revolt known as the Movement of Delvina (*Lëvizja e Delvinës*) in May 1937¹²² and ended with the invasion of Albania by fascist Italian troops on 7 April 1939. The revolt has a particular meaning in terms of opposition to the regime as well as its relations with young intellectuals. The two initiators of the movement were the brothers Et'hem and Ismet Toto. Et'hem held the position of Minister of Interior in the government of Mehdi Frashëri, who was supported by the group of intellectuals who were denominated - during the period and afterwards - and self-nominated by some of its members, "the young." The immediate reason of the revolt was the restoration to power of a government the members of which had been harshly criticized by "the young." Et'hem Toto was replaced as Minister of Interior by Musa Juka, who had occupied this position for long years and was openly accused by "the young" of corruption and dubious tactics in the fulfillment of his duties as minister. The same was valid for Koço Kota, who replaced Mehdi Frashëri as prime minister. Et'hem used his position as head of the gendarmerie of Delvina to start a revolt, which was soon suppressed by government forces. HE committed suicide in conditions of siege. Ismet was given the death penalty by hanging.

¹²² For details about the movement see Bernd J. Fischer, *Mbreti Zog dhe Perpjekja për Stabilitet në Shqipëri*, trans. Krenar Hajderi (Tiranë: Çabej, 1996), pp.260-272. See also Puto, *Shqipëria Politike*, pp. 595-597.

The revolt was an explicit demonstration of the unrest accumulated in the diverse strata of society. The discontent was not the invention and construction of some communist propaganda as the government tried to portray it.¹²³ It represented a complex socio-cultural condition embedded in tensions that the government could not, did not want, or simply failed to address. Antagonism between the generations held an important place in this complexity. The murder of Avni Rustemi in 1924 and execution of Ismet Toto stood as two important symbols, demonstrating that the central state authority had serious trouble in managing the “new generation” of citizens who had passed through public secondary education mainly during the interwar period.

Apart from the rise of this interior discontent, the years 1937-1939 also represented a rapid fall of Albanian state authority and submission to fascist Italy. On the other hand, the state as well as religious communities and rightist nationalists became increasingly agitated toward the rising effect of communism and its potential to mobilize the population. The accusations of communist activities to Ismet Toto, who in his writings had not propagated leftist ideas; the increasing censorship of books; and the intensified anti-communist propaganda represented some aspects of this agitation.

¹²³ A.Q.SH. Fondi 251, D.78, *Fletorja Politika*, Nr.10/49, (10 May 1937) in Sazan Pipa, “Kryengritja e Delvinës e vitit 1937,” Accessed March 2012, Available [online] at < <http://gazeta-atdheu.tripod.com/dossier/> >

Speaking of Youth

“Following the circular of the Ministry of Education Nr.II20/18 d.9.v.928 we have the honor to send you - attached to this letter- a copy of the regulation of the physical, moral and patriotic education of the Albanian youth (*djelmnisë*).”

The director of the public student residence in Shkodër¹²⁴

“For the new generation (*brezi i ri*), upon which bear the hopes of our families and nation, the smallest incautiousness could be a crime, because through the child our race is transmitted and the fatherland rendered everlasting. (...) Many countries saw and resolved these problems before us. Scouts, Wander-vögel, Sokols etc. are nothing but channels to direct the youth (*rininë*) toward the rightful aims.”

Rrok Zojzi¹²⁵

The above excerpts represent a small demonstration of the many terms employed when referring to young citizens. In this section I attempt to make a socio-historical analysis of these various ways of referring to them. As mentioned in the previous part, youth, in many different versions that will be discussed below, had become a central subject of the intellectual, but also state discourse since the early 1920s. Moreover, at least since the June movement of 1924, it was a subject claimant in governance and threatening to the power. The circular sent in 1925 by the Press Department of the Ministry of Interior¹²⁶ demonstrated that all the parts involved in the struggle for power were conscious of the potential of this subject. So, youth, in all of its versions represented a political subject, a citizenship beyond status as well as rights and duties. Yet, the struggle was ongoing on the dispositions of this political

¹²⁴ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 236, F. 7. See Appendix A, note 24.

¹²⁵ Rrok Zojzi, “Për Organizimin e djelmnis jasht-shkollore,” *Cirka*, no. 47 (12 June 1938). See Appendix A, note 25.

¹²⁶ See this work, p. 53.

subjectivity. The employment of term to ascribe, decide, denote youth constituted an important state lying at the heart of such struggle.

Djalëria/Djelmënia

Djalëria/Djalëria was one of the words most commonly used to refer to youth in interwar Albania. It was used in two versions. *Djalëria*, according to the southern, and *djelmënia/djelmnia* according to the northern Albanian dialects. It derives from the word “boy” (*djal-djalë* or plural *djelm-djem*). It was used in popular speech, the press as well as in the official language. Analyzing several sources I came to the result that this word was more frequently used before 1930 than after it, when a multiplicity of terms referring to youth can be discussed. So, with reference to the above division in phases, *djalëria/djelmënia* was the word used for youth particularly in the first two intervals of the interwar period in Albania. The remarks about the differentiation in the employment of the terms referring to youth during the period do not imply a clear-cut demarcation in their use.

The insistence on the word “boy” in this version of youth was related to the division of roles in terms of gender in society. Even though earlier activists of Albanian nationalism insisted on the education of women,¹²⁷ men dominated public spaces as well as all the decision making levels in society. Women were associated with the house, the honor of the father or a husband, and in the best case, responsible for the education of the child. This does not mean that there weren't examples of

¹²⁷ It was mainly an insistence related to the necessity to follow schools. See Appendix A, note 26. I have worked about the attitude toward the education of women of the Albanian intellectuals of the period in Falma Fshazi, February 2008, “Education and Politics: Society as Conceptualized in Textbooks: The Albanian Case,” Accessed, February 2010, Available [online] at <<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW10/Fshazi,%20Falma%20GSW10%20submission.pdf>>

women who took public initiatives. An important case was that of the Qiriazhi sisters (Parashqevi and Sevasti)¹²⁸ who opened a school for girls in Korça and were active in the Albanian intellectual networks at the end of nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the women's cultural association *Ylli i Mëngjesit* (Morning Star) was founded in 1908.¹²⁹ However still at the beginning of the twentieth century women were not an active part of the public life, while the boy, the man, was regarded as a natural part of it. Consequently, the word youth, *djalëria/djelmënia*, referring to a group of individuals acting in public spaces and crucial for the future of the country and the continuation of regimes, had a clear connotation of masculinity and a direct relation with the young form of man, the boy (djali).

Rinia

In the third and fourth (1930-1936, 1937-1939) interwar years' intervals in Albania the word *rinia* became widely used to refer to youth in the speeches of the state actors as well as intellectual discourse.¹³⁰ *Rinia*¹³¹ refers to a group of young

¹²⁸ See for the details about their enterprise, lives and the situation of Albanian schools at the end of nineteenth and beginning of twentieth century, see Appendix A, note 27.

¹²⁹ Accessed November 2011, Available [online] at <http://www.teatrikombetar.gov.al/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2%3Ahistoriku-i-teatrit-kombetar&catid=2%3Ateatri&Itemid=3&lang=en>

¹³⁰ For such use among many examples see for instance: Tajar Zavalani, "Misionerët e lartë të rinjve," *Minerva*, no. 11 (15 June), pp. 3-4. Ismet Toto (Borealis), "Recka të reja plot sëmundje. Mbi kontrastet midis elementeve anadollakë dhe të rinjve," *Rilindja e Arbënis*, no. 37-38(87-88) (26 October 1930), p. 1. Arsimitari, "Të rinjtë t'onë. Mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë dhe perspektivën e të rinjve," *Arbënia*, no. 55 (7 August 1930), p. 2.

¹³¹ This has also the forms *të rinjtë* or *të rejat*. *Të rinjtë*, although during the interwar was used for youth in general, is the plural masculine for youth. While *të rejat*, almost not used at all during the period is the plural feminine of youth. It should be also mentioned that the masculine plural was regarded by many as a general plural for both and sustained that it is not needed to mention each form, feminine and masculine plural of each.

people without a-priori implying any differentiation of gender. This does not mean that the word *djelmënia/djalëria* was not used anymore. It also was widely used. Particularly when referring to the mobilization or movements of youth.¹³² Alike, it should be said that even the word *rinia* was used in many cases to refer to the demands of young people who were envisaged mainly as men.¹³³ It was evident that women were still secondary.¹³⁴ After all, also during these later phases men dominated public spaces and all the decision taking instances from the local to the national level. However, I understand the multiplicity in terms of youth employed mainly after 1929 as an indicator of an evolution in the position of women in society.

The reformation of the militarist state youth organization into an entity concerned with sports and arts in 1930 and the introduction in the public life of the King's sisters was one of the aspects requiring the use of a more general word while referring to youth. The spread of schools and increase in the attendance of women enhanced their possibility and the capacity of mobilization. Thus in these years, there was an increase of women presence in public spaces. They were present in students

¹³² “Djelmunia a Sovranit t’onë: Festimet në Elbasan me rastin e ditëlindjes së Mbretit,” *Vullneti i Popullit*, no.153 (12 October 1929), p. 3. Fiqri Llagami, “Si duhet t’i rritim djelmt dhe vajzat. Marrja me sport dhe pajisja me kulturë e shëndet të mirë për t’i shërbyer sa më mirë Atdheut,” *Jeta*, no. 2, (15 October 1930), pp. 58-62. Dh. Canco, “Lufta midis djalërisë dhe anadollakëve. (Letra që konfiskohen pa urdhër të qeverisë). Mbi mungesën e lirive demokratike dhe nevojën e një partie të rinjsh kundra anadollakëve,” *Shqipëria e Re*, no. 445, (12 November 1930), p. 1.

¹³³ Ismet Toto, “Gjak i ri. Mbi vendosjen në punët e administratave të djemve të rinj që zevendesojnë mendatlitet e ndryshkura,” *Rilindja e Arbënis*, no. 21(71), (21 September 1930), f.1. Ismet Toto (Borealis), “Punët në dorë të të rinjve! Mbi klasën sunduese që po bëhet pengesë e organizimit shtetëror modern dhe rinisë që mund ta ndryshojë këtë gjendje,” *Rilindja e Arbënis*, no.26(76), (3 October 1931), p. 1.

¹³⁴ For an analysis of the situation of women during the period with a particular emphasis in terms of legislation, see Fatmira Musaj, *Gruaja në Shqipëri 1912-1939* (Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, 2002).

manifestations organized by the youth organization, in schools as teachers, and in various artistic activities.

Moreover, particularly after 1935 women were more active in the associational space. This was valid for the state controlled association called The Albanian Woman¹³⁵ as well as for underground activities such as the communist movement. On the other hand, due to the censorship and interdiction of political activity the situation of women became apparent as a socio-cultural concern, beyond the state discourse of achievements of the regime in the education and organization of youth or reforms regarding women, particularly through literature. It was particularly through artistic activity¹³⁶ and literature that the woman, young woman who rejected the multiple limits posed to her became visible. The novel *If I Was a Boy* (*Sikur t'isha djalë*-1936) of Haki Stërmilli constitutes one of the clearest examples in this respect.¹³⁷ Thus, the use of *rinia* for youth was imposed by an evolving social conditions and by many visible and invisible struggles on various levels that opened the way to changes, even though minor and slow.

Brezi i ri

Another word used to refer to young people in interwar Albania was *brezi i ri*, meaning the new or/and young generation. Although masculine in its grammatical form, this word did not transmit a-priori a gender division. However, the employment of this word during the period and particularly after the 1930s reflected

¹³⁵ See this work p. 288

¹³⁶ See this work, Part 5, section *Gender Dynamics*.

¹³⁷ The novel was reprinted several times during the socialist period (1945-1991). See Haki Stërmilli, *Sikur t'isha djalë* (Tiranë: Rilindja, 1976). See also Appendix, note 28.

another important division. In the official discourse *brezi i ri* represented people to be educated.¹³⁸ This education had to be in schools or out of schools through states youth organizations. However, in the eyes of the central authority the unique exigency of the new generation was education. This was a mental and physical education. According to the official stand the new generation was the future of the country. As such, in the present the duty of the members of the new generation was civil, cultural and military education. It seemed like once one had finished this process of education one could no longer be a part of the new/young generation.

So, for the authorities, the particular disposition of this subject was education. Once this was over, he/she could continue to be part of the larger community of subjects that had rights and duties. The word *brezi i ri* in the intellectual discourse conceived an important differentiation in content with this use. *Brezi i ri*, for many intellectuals and writers of the period stood for young people who were already educated.¹³⁹ For them, the new generation (*brezi i ri*) was fulfilled in terms of education and it represented the group of individuals ready to undertake responsibilities in the governance of the country. Thus, this new generation had demands and exigencies related to governing and, as such, indirectly to power. They did not articulate in these terms the difference between their attitude and that of the government or the King. Actually, due to the existence of political crimes, the explanation of differences in positioning particularly *vis à vis* the King was officially impossible. Nevertheless, it was evident that the *brezi i ri* in the King's speeches did

¹³⁸ *Ligjja Organike e Arsimit*, (1928), p. 1. See Appendix A, note 29.

¹³⁹ Stefan Shundi, "Rryma e neo-shqiptarizmës. Brezi i kaluar nuk mund t'ju përgjigjet nevojave të kohës," no. 54/104 (26 November 1930). Stefan Shundi, "Pas besës së dhënë... Mbi triumfin e neo-shqiptarizmës, ideali i brezit të ri," *Rilindja e Arbënis*, no. 57-58(107-108), (3 December 1930).

not concur with the *brezi i ri* discourse employed in many articles about youth written by various intellectuals particularly since the 1930s.

The late referred to the social and cultural transformations the new generation could advance, while the earlier to the attitudes and values to be adopted and duties to be carried out. Thus, the new generation for many intellectuals started where the new generation for the state (institutions) ended. There were some common points in these two different stands toward the new generation. Both regarded six to seventeen year old individuals as young and referred to them mainly as *djalëria/djelmënia*; eighteen or/and nineteen to thirty year old individuals made up the new generation (*brezi i ri*), while both of the groups formed the youth (*rinia*). For the authorities nineteen, twenty to twenty two year old civil servants were also considered part of *djelmënia/djalëria* when it came to participation in paramilitary trainings military service or participation in state youth associations.

Following the logic of generations, there were different age groups included in the categorization of youth throughout the period. A pupil, a student, and their young teacher could be all at once regarded part of the youth. In fact, for all the parts the distinction in age was a secondary element in ascribing, describing, engendering youth. It came after, or let's say was inseparable from, the social identification, which for the state was frozen in 1925 as "to be educated," while for the members of youth was an ongoing struggle. This struggle was closely related to being political, and having and obtaining a share in governance. Put in terms of generations, it denoted the impact of groups of individuals on their socio-cultural existence, evolution and continuity. Thus, the tension was, though inseparable from clashes over rights and duties, about being subjects actors in the designations of their own rights and duties.

PART 2

YOUTH IN INTERWAR ALBANIA: SIMILARITIES, CIRCULATIONS, DIVERSITIES



A main question drives the analysis in the following part: What was at stake in terms of the young citizen and/or youth in interwar Albania? The possible answers are sought through the explanation of smaller questions: What were the debates about youth in interwar Albania? What was the terminology used and what was its social meanings? Who were the actors in these debates and what did they represent? What were their relations to “youth” in the larger socio-economic context of the country and how did their socio-economic position as well as their discourse evolve through the period? What were the references used in the debates about youth, the proclaimed or less evident inspirations and the examples offered? What was the place and role given to the youth in these debates? How did the intellectual stand effect the education, mobilization and organization of the youth? How was it positioned vis à vis the state actors? What were the social demands and the ideological stands of those who spoke in name of the youth?

The examination is structured in three main chapters. The first one emerges the question of morality and loyalty, considered through different stands about school, the content of textbooks and the ideological formation of the citizen. I analyze the changes in the content of textbooks in terms of morality, marking evolutions in the morality discourse of the state. Among other things the chapter shows the centrality of morality and the moral language during the period in Albania. Consequently, it emphasizes that being the source of morality, roughly the decision-maker about such issues as “the good” and “the bad” values and attitudes was regarded as crucial in the way of gaining political legitimacy. The role given to the youth and various discourses about it conceive the second chapter formulated in order to confront socio-cultural roles and discourses, discourses and actors. In the last chapter of this part, I focus on mobilization of youth, the existing and the

solicited. I examine the limits of the mobilizing, discourses pointing out the controversial results of some political and cultural projects.



“Mazar Shehu (...) Mazari taught morality (the course about behavior in community)... The publishing house Dhori Kopi issued textbooks and notebooks that many times gave them to us for free.” Vasil Morska, student of the period¹⁴⁰

“The Citizen Requires a Morality”

Education had been a major field of tension between various socio-cultural and political groups since the last period under the Ottoman Empire and even previously with the Ottoman reforms known as the Tanzimat.¹⁴¹ Education continued to be a locus of tensions, although in a reshaped context, throughout the interwar period in Albania.¹⁴² The central government dedicated a particular importance to schools regarded as an important instrument to promote national identifications and national culture.¹⁴³ Although there was an evolution of the ideas about the functionality of schools and their content, throughout the period laic intellectuals and state representatives of education insisted on two main points. The first regarded the spread of Albanian and state schools that were considered a primary condition for the existence of a nation-state, while the second conveyed the conviction that school should teach morality and that this course's content should be determined by the government, otherwise the Ministry of Education.

¹⁴⁰ Vasil Morska, interview by Falma Fshazi, Notes, Korça, Albania, 15 August 2009. Vasil Morska is born in 1922 in Drenova a village close to Korça.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix A, note 30.

¹⁴² See Appendix A, note 31.

¹⁴³ See Appendix A, note 32.

The magazine *Agimi* (Dawn), organ of the association *Vllaznija* (Brotherhood) in an article of June 1921 signed by Gimaj maintained that there was but one choice for the government, “School or Failure” (*Shkollë apo humbje*).¹⁴⁴ This article, in the press organ of this association, the members of which were majorly Catholic intellectuals of Shkodra, underlined the idea that only school could offer the culture required to a prospering peaceful society. The author explained that there was chaos in the ideas about education in the country and there were obstacles to the spread of state schools. He tried to make it clear that every effort to obstruct the national education system was an effort against the country, which could not move ahead if school did not provide a culture that could overcome the limits included in popular morality.¹⁴⁵ The same magazine would support the analytical and synthetic school program of 1922 introducing in schools the teaching of morality.¹⁴⁶

The ideas about the role of the school were explained in an article titled “The Importance of School” (*Randsija e Shkollës*) in the same magazine.¹⁴⁷ It was maintained that schools developed the intelligence of the individuals, fed his heart with value, supported the development of a healthy body and prepared him for social duties, while one of its main purposes was to shape the morality of the population, without which a family, a nation, a state could not prosper. The author quoted Giuseppe Giusti: “The world can prosper without learned people, but cannot without

¹⁴⁴ Gimaj, “Shkollë apo humbje,” *Agimi*, Organ i Shoqnis Vllaznija, Drejton Karl Gurakuqi, Vjeti 3, no. 3 (Shkodër: Shtypshkronja Nikaj, July 1921).

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p.43.

¹⁴⁶ “Sistemi i ri shkolluer,” *Agimi*, Vjeti 3, no.10 (10 October 1922), pp. 457-464.

¹⁴⁷ K.K. “Randsija e shkollës,” *Agimi*, Organ i Shoqërise Vllaznia, Del në fillim çdo dy muaji e drejton Karl Gurakuqi, Vjeti 2, no.11 (Shkodër: March 1921), pp.149-152.

virtuous ones, so without people with good character and morality.”¹⁴⁸ Whereas, the article was concluded with a reference to S.J.Simon¹⁴⁹ emphasizing “his saying,” “Healthy mind in a healthy body.” Like many Albanian writers in the press of the period, as well as the author of this article, while on the one hand introduced foreign authors ideas to back their owns, on the other adapted these circulating ideas to the Albanian context.

Quite the same line followed the magazine *Shkolla e re*¹⁵⁰ (New School) directed by Gasper Mikeli, a Catholic intellectual who in 1921 was the director of one of the schools of the city and then for a period also inspector of education in the prefecture of Shkoder. The article “Morality Course” (*Mësimi Moral*) explicated the importance of morality and school, which according to him was the unique place of formation of the citizens (*nënshtetasve*). He maintained that a pupil did not attend school only to learn reading, writing and other basic knowledge, but also to learn morality. Moreover, the course of morality was essential and this was undeniable as all the future progress was based on it.¹⁵¹ “The Albanian teacher should care above all about the course of morality. Only in this way children would be able to distinct the right from the wrong,”¹⁵² he said. In the text, morality was defined as the totality of the rules of behaviors as well as of values that shape the reactions of

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.150. Giuseppe Giusti (12 May 1809 - 30 March 1950) Italian poet active participant in the debates on the unification of Italy.

¹⁴⁹ English author (1904-1948).

¹⁵⁰ K.L. “Mësimi Moral,” *Shkolla e Re*, Organ i Mësuesvet, no. 4 (1929), pp. 66-69.

¹⁵¹ “Të gjithë thonë se shkolla asht i vetmi institucion qi gaton njerz si duhet d.m.th. nënshtetas të mirë e të ndershëm e puntorë të shkathët.” Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁵² K.L. “Mësimi Moral,” *Shkolla e Re*, p. 66. See Appendix A, note 33.

individuals.¹⁵³ Again, the ideas on morality and the insistence on its prominence were given with reference to foreign authors such as Plutarch, Rousseau and Berthollet.¹⁵⁴

The Analytical and Synthetic School Programs of 1921 and 1922 prepared by a group of intellectuals from various localities and different religions¹⁵⁵ were based on the same ideas. The program of 1921¹⁵⁶ delineated all the obligatory courses for the first fifth grades of elementary school describing in detail their content and aims. In the description of the language course among other things it explained that an optimal selection of texts should be made. Hence, the course could best serve to moral, artistic and state education.¹⁵⁷ The program mentioned the course of religion without envisaging a specific aim and content, which was left in the responsibility of the direction of each religious community. Yet, obviously, the moral education was not regarded as a specific aim of the religious course. This tendency would become quite evident with the school program of 1922.¹⁵⁸ In this program, too, the religion course was particular and left to the religious communities, yet morality had a separate textbook different from that of language and literature. The elementary

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix A, note 34.

¹⁵⁵ For details on the members of various public commissions on education and schools programs, see Xhevat Rrepishti, et al. "Përpyjekjet për demokratizimin dhe laicizimin e Shkollës në Vitet 1920-1924," in *Historia e Arsimit dhe Mendimit Pedagogjik Shqiptar*, edited by Bedri Dedja et al., pp. 377-424.

¹⁵⁶ *Programa Synthetike e Analytike e Shkollave Filllore* (Shkodër: Shtypshkronja Nikaj, 1921).

¹⁵⁷ "Tuke u-zgjedhun si duhet landa si e lypë qëllimi, mësimi i gjuhës i shërben kështu ma së miri arsimit moral, artistik e shtetnuer." Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ "Programi Sintetik i Arsimit," *Revista Arsimitari*, Organ i Lidhjes së Mësuesve, no. 2 (September 1922), pp. 6-21.

education was regulated in three phase according to the age of the students, six to nine, nine to eleven, eleven to thirteen years old.¹⁵⁹

The religious course was envisaged only for the first phase when courses should offer basic knowledge. Then, in the second phase when the pupil “should be educated with the importance of the family, school and country,” a particular textbook of “literary and moral pieces”¹⁶⁰ was foreseen. Moreover, in the third phase the name of the book treating morality was noted as the book of *Morality and Citizenship Knowledge* (Libra të Veçanta Morali e Dijeni qytetare.) One of the aims of this phase was denoted as education of “general and social morality.”¹⁶¹

On the other hand, I should underline that morality was not an issue regarding only elementary, but also secondary education. *The Laws on Education* of 1928 and 1934¹⁶² envisaged the textbook of *Moral and Citizenship Education* (Edukata Morale e Qytetare) also for the high schools. Evidently, secular intellectuals and official public representatives were convinced that citizenship education included as a basic element the moral education that should be provided by the state and particularly through public education, regarded as the most basic condition for the existence of a nation-state.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ “Programi Sintetik i Arsimit.”

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² A law on education was issued on 12 April 1926. Then it was subject to amending on 12 February 1927, 13 April, 10 May and 22 June 1928. A reformed and enlarged law was issued in 1934. Mbretinija Shqiptare, Minsitrija e Arsimit, *Dekret Ligja Organike e Arsimit* in Fletore Zyrtare, no. 54 (28. September 1934) (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja e Ministris s’ Arsimit, 1937).

The Quarrel over the Sources of Citizens' Morality

The importance given to morality by state actors in education and various intellectuals of the period should be considered also in the context of the socio-cultural heritage in the country. The nation state inherited a society in which religion(s) shaped the education and judicial system. In spite of differences between localities and existence of customary laws, religions constituted a major source of regulations for individual behavior.¹⁶³ Thus, the importance given to moral education was not detached by the prominence that morality had already in the society with the difference that it was a religious morality, meaning that its source were religious principles.

As such, religious authorities emerged as the fiercest opponents of a morality whose content was decided by the state. The article of a representative of the catholic clerics of Shkodra Ambroz Marlaskaj¹⁶⁴ illustrates most explicitly the religious opposition in this regard. The long article, first published at *Hylli i Dritës*, was printed in a booklet titled *A historical Monument of Incompetence in the Field of Education in Albania*.¹⁶⁵ The clergyman, known for his activity in the field of education in Albania, was referring to the analytical and synthetic school program of 1922 (*Programa Analytike Sintetike*).

¹⁶³ For a socio-historical analysis on religious dynamics in Albania during the period see Nathalie Clayer, "Behind the Veil. The Reform of Islam in Inter-war Albania or the search for a 'Modern' and 'European' Islam," in ed. by Nathalie Clayer and Eric Germain, *Islam in Interwar Europe* (London: Hurst & Company, 2008), pp. 128-155.

¹⁶⁴ Born in Kusheni, Mirdita, a zone of northern Albania in 1884. He passed away in 1939 in Italy. Ambroz was his Christian name, while Lesh his name at birth. He studied theology and worked in various universities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Engaged in the June revolution Marlaskaj had to leave Albania in 1924.

¹⁶⁵ P. Ambroz Marlaskaj, "*Nji Monument Historik Pazotsije në Lamë t'Arsimit në Shqypni*," (Shkodër: Shtypshkronja Françeskane, 1922).

According to him, those who had prepared this program had no pedagogic experience and did not understand at all the psychology of population.¹⁶⁶ Actually, those who had prepared the program were mostly people with pedagogical formation that had been operating in the field of national education since the first years of independence. However, the real objection of Marlaskaj would appear clearer when emphasized that they were under the effect of the materialist and pantheist philosophy that had “poisoned the century.”¹⁶⁷ The source of this philosophy was France, which according to the author, was on its way to destroy society due to the tendencies of Paul Bert and Jules Ferry to exclude religion course from schools.¹⁶⁸ Marlaskaj sustained that giving public teachers the authority to speak about God and put forward a morality without belief would necessitate a search of morality in nature creating a society in permanent state of rebellion as in France.¹⁶⁹ In his view, this would not develop nationalism, as the makers of the school program maintained, but destroy it. Explaining that the program before 1921 had followed the Austro-Hungarian one, respectful to Christian principles, he accused the public authority of being either anti-Catholic or anti-religious.

Many Catholic intellectuals supported the school program, participating in its structuring and as evident from the previous section sharing the same attitude toward

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p.4

¹⁶⁷ Marlaskaj, p. 6.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶⁹ Marlaskaj., p. 33. Almost the same objection was put forward by the catholic authorities in France. “*Établir un enseignement moral et civique sans l’appui de la religion catholique est inconvennable. Seul la crainte de Dieu peut, selon eux, garantir l’observation des devoirs civique.*” See Yves Déloye, *École et Cittoyenneté. L’individualisme républicaine de Jules Ferry à Vichy: controverses*, (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1994), p. 14. In his article, Marlaskaj, made an analysis of the ideas on morality and education using full references in French, German, Italian. See Marlaskaj pp. 24-39

morality. Thus, the attitude in this case was not anti-Catholic, although it was definitely not in favor of religion. There was an antagonism between the secular, nationalist and centralist versus a religious and particularistic attitude in terms of morality. Actually, all the parts acting in the field of education shared the belief that morality was crucial. Their ideas about the function of morality and its definition were quite alike. All believed that it shaped the totality of values that structured individual actions and delineated socio-political hierarchies. Yet, the point of departure was the source and, accordingly, the content of this morality. "Morality is acting according the laws of God. Morality for us is the totality of free and logical acts in conformity with God lessons," wrote Marlaskaj¹⁷⁰ Duties, values, hierarchies derived from morality and what was not right morally could not be right politically.¹⁷¹

Marlaskaj used the word citizens (*shtetas-gjytetas*)¹⁷² and his concern was explicitly addressed to the morality of the citizens. According to this attitude, the head of the hierarchy producing the values that conceived the actions of the citizens was God, a unique source of morality that had the power of creation. God was to be regarded as an undisputable authority having also the means of enforcement. The belief in God prevented rebellion and encouraged heroism. This, for Marlaskaj, represented the stability, which was in the interest of the state authority.¹⁷³ What he did not mention was that second in this hierarchy led by God was the church, the transmitter of His values on earth. Obviously, the central state authority, not only in

¹⁷⁰ Marlaskaj, f. 9.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁷² Ibid., pp.14, 15.

¹⁷³ Marlaskaj.

Albania, but also in many other countries, was not willing to leave the monopoly of socio-cultural values that shaped the citizens acts and reactions to the church or any other (similar) authority.

The work of Déloye shows clearly the harsh clash between religious and catholic authorities in France on the same matter during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁴ Not in vain, France was a reference to those who prepared the school program as well as inspiration to many intellectuals opposing a religious morality as citizenship morality. For Marlaskaj, Kant¹⁷⁵ was at the source of all these “poisoning ideas.”¹⁷⁶ The Franciscan Catholic objections to a morality determined by the state were common also for other clergies. At the last stance, making the morality of the citizens a totality of values determined by state, could be, as Marlaskaj explained, breaking its bound with God.¹⁷⁷ Thus, it did not comply with any religion. However, the tensions between clergies prevented them from taking any common stance in this respect. The executives in the Ministry of Education would continue their insistence on having the monopoly on moral education, until 1937, when they would be obliged to find the ways of reconciling citizenship and religious moralities, as the regime attempted an approach with religious authorities seeking their support the toward growing popular discontent, the flourishing communist movement, and the increasing risk of an Italian invasion.

¹⁷⁴ Déloye, *École et Citoyenneté*.

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix A, note 35.

¹⁷⁶ Marlaskaj, p. 30.

¹⁷⁷ Marlaskaj, p. 34. See also Appendix A, note 36.

From Religious to Secular, then National, Finally Political Morality

Let us now explore the textbooks of the period and mainly those of *Citizenship and Moral Education*¹⁷⁸ in order to examine the content of the morality determined by the state.¹⁷⁹ The course of Moral Education was not particular to Albania. It constituted an important element of the curriculum in various countries. On 16 April 1926, the 4th International Congress of Moral Education was organized in Rome. Albania could not send representatives from the Ministry of Education to participate in the congress. Yet, the government did not regard the non-presentation at the event suitable and asked the ambassador of Albania in Rome to participate as representative of the country.¹⁸⁰

Obviously, this type of course had particular contexts and contents in different countries.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, the existence of an international congress on this matter showed the trans-nationality of the “morality course” and the effort to progress in this matter by international consultations and exchanges of experience.

¹⁷⁸ The textbook of Moral and Citizenship Education did not have the same title throughout the period. It had names such as *Pieces of Morality*, *Moral and Civic Education*, *Lessons on the State*, etc.

¹⁷⁹ I agree with the idea of Baubérot who referring to the French case claimed that more than a platform for the students the textbooks offered a perspective for the teachers. “Les manuels constituent de “modèles supposés du travail des enseignants”; les cahiers -eux- sont “les témoins essentiels du laboïre scolaire” et “un undice pertinent de son évolution.” Jean Baubérot, *La Morale Laïque*, p. 20.

¹⁸⁰ See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1926, D. 31, p. 1. Date on document 12 April 1926.

¹⁸¹ About the Course of Religious Culture and Morality in Kemalist Turkey see Buket Türkmen, “A Transformed Kemalist Islam or a New Islamic Civic Morality? A Study of “Religious Culture and Morality” Textbooks in the Turkish High School Curricula,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 29, no. 3, (2009), pp. 381-397, pp. 383- 385.

As far as it concerns Albania, evolutions in two aspects marked the developments regarding the Morality Course during the period.

Firstly, the individuals determining the content of these textbooks did not change radically from the 1920s. What changed was the control of the Ministry of Education over the textbooks and then that of the King over this ministry from 1928. Secondly, since 1935 it was possible to find the photo of the king in almost all the textbooks¹⁸² in circulation including the religious ones. The textbooks, starting with God and relating everything to his word at the begging of the period, started with the King relating everything to his words, example, successes, heroism and sacrifice at the end of the period. Various textbooks of *Moral Education* circulated before 1928. In the Ministry there were specific commissions charged with issuing and controlling textbooks. However, teachers could use their initiative in choosing one among many versions of textbooks existing in the market.

The education law of 22 June 1928 gave to the Ministry of Education all the rights over the textbooks issued. All textbook used in courses should bear its authorization and the use of unauthorized textbooks was subject to a penalty of five month banishment from applying the profession.¹⁸³ In the following years the King became increasingly present in every aspect of public and state life. This on the one hand induced a personification of institutions. On the other, put the King as a unique

¹⁸² Rexhep Dizdari, *Shkolla Praktike*, (n.p. 1935). There is no such foto in the program of this private school published in 1931-1932, see *Programa e Vitit Shkolluer 1931-1932 të Kolegjit "Teuta"* (Tiranë, Rruga e Elbasanit-Nr. 3: n.p. n.d).

¹⁸³ I have made a particular work on the issuing of textbooks in interwar Albania in Falma Fshazi, "Textbooks and "another Renaissance: *Rilindja* in the Interwar Albania," in *Common Issues and Recent Developments in Balkans Historiography 1: Towards a Comparative Review of Awakening/ Renaissance Discourse*, Istanbul Bilgi University History Department (03 July 2010).

source of inspirations and directives that were expected to shape social and individual life. These evolutions were quite detectable in textbooks.

The Guide in the Way of Society (*Prisi në rrugë të njerzis*) was a textbook issued in 1912 and used until 1918-1919.¹⁸⁴ The word citizen was not used in the book, while we found often the word young boys (*djelmve të ri*) and pupils (*nxansa*). The author explained that this was a book for the Albanian boys (*djelmoçat*) that were all brothers. The first chapter was titled “God” (*Hyu*). The author of the text was a catholic intellectual and the usage *Hyu* for God was mainly employed by the catholic community. However the book did not include any particular connotation of religion. The first chapter dedicated to the respect of God was followed by the one dedicated to respect of parents.

In the successive pages the author insisted on the importance of school. He explained that at school one could become a fulfilled person by developing the mind and understanding better the surroundings and the world. School made an individual valuable for himself and for the nation. However, in the text it was sustained that those who were not afraid from the word of God should not follow school, because, in this case this useful institution instead of good would cause harm. According to the author a person who did not feel the power of God and was not afraid of his word, would understand all wrong.¹⁸⁵ Than the textbook included pieces common to all of these type of textbooks; explanations about behavior in table, in public, the harms of smoking and alcohol, love for friends, the harms of lying etc.

¹⁸⁴ Kolë Kodheli, *Prijësi në Rrugë të Njerzis* (*Për përdorim të djelmve të ri e të nxansavet të Shkollavet Shqype*) (Shkodër: Shtypshkronja Nikaj, 1918). For an earlier, but similar textbook see *Doracak të Prumit në Jetë* (Shkodër, 1912).

¹⁸⁵ *Prijësi në Rrugë të Njerzis*, p. 26.

A textbook with similar aim was prepared by another Catholic intellectual from the same region (Shkodra) and printed by the same publishing house in 1921.¹⁸⁶ The first chapter was “Family, School and Cases.” It highlighted the importance of school and the respect younger people should have for parents and elders. The word “citizen” was not used also in this textbook while God was mentioned only on page eleven in a short poem titled “The Care of God” (*Kujdesi i Zotit*). The textbook included the common parts of these textbooks such as respectful behavior and human body. In the illustrative stories the author used the work boy specified as the village boy (djali katundar) and the city boy (djali qytetes).

In 1923 the Ministry of Education issued a common textbook for morality as and reading courses. This textbook was made of poems on similar subjects.¹⁸⁷ It was textbook compiled by an Orthodox intellectual from southern Albania and started with the poesy “The Flag,” continuing with a second, titled “The Soldier.” The author noted in the introduction that this book should serve for the pedagogic as well as moral education of the young people (*masës së re*).¹⁸⁸ The book included many fables from La Fontaine and only two poems related to belief. This was the poesy titled “*Teqeja*” (dervish lodge), and a second one titled “*Dervishi*” (a member of the dervish order).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Gaspër Beltoja, *Libër i dytë për Shkollat Filllore të Shqipërisë*, (Shkodër: Shtypshkronja Nikaj, 1921). The publishing house Nikaj was one of the most well-known of the period, particularly between 1921-1929. It printed textbooks of well-known authors and issued many periodicals.

¹⁸⁷ Kristo Floqi, *Shkëndija ose Antologjia Shkollare* (Vlorë: Shtypshkronja “Vlora” G.Direttore, 1923).

¹⁸⁸ “*Shpresonj se do t’i shërbejë mjaft masës së ré s’onës si në pikpamje pedagogjje, ashtu edhe në pikpamje psikologjje e morali.*” Ibid., p.8:

¹⁸⁹ “*Teqeja*” in *Shkëndija ose Antologjia Shkollare*, Floqi, p. 29. “*Dervishi*,” in *Shkëndija ose Antologjia Shkollare*, Floqi, p. 64.

In 1927 the Ministry of Education issued a textbook called *Moral Education and Civic Lessons*.¹⁹⁰ The textbooks did not include any note about religion or God. It was focused on explanations about citizenship (*shtetësi*),¹⁹¹ fatherland, state, and nation, including a particular emphasis on the moral society, moral conditions and moral law.¹⁹² According to the textbook lack of gratitude toward people who did good to us, failure to hold the promises we give, the changing of political views according to the opportunities of the period, and exploitation of subalterns constituted offenses in a moral society and were not compatible with the moral law.¹⁹³ The textbook explained that people were related to each other within a solidarity based on duties toward one another. It was the moral law that determined these rights and duties, which balanced each other on the guidance of moral conditions.¹⁹⁴ School was, according to this textbook, a place where students learned how to behave, became disciplined and developed moral conscience.

A brief examination of the content of some of the distinctive textbooks of the period showed that the state tried to reverse the hierarchy in terms of authorities determining moral values in the society. Otherwise, it tried to become the authority that decided “the right and the wrong,” and “the good and the bad” in private spaces, such as the house as well as in all the public spaces. In this regard, the textbooks

¹⁹⁰ Republika Shqiptare, Botim i Ministris s’Arsimit, *Edukatë Morale e Mësime Civike për të Pestën Klasë Filllore* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja “Mbrothësia” Kristo P. Luarasi, 1927). Other textbooks had very similar structure and texts see Botim i Ministris t’Arsimit, *Abetar për Shkollat Filllore të Shqipërisë* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja “Mbrothësia” Kristo P. Luarasi, 1927). Botim i Ministris s’Arsimit, *Edukatë morale e mësime civike për të Tretën Klasë Filllore* (Vlorë: Shtypshkronja “Vlora” G.Direttore, 1927).

¹⁹¹ *Edukatë Morale e Mësime Civike për të Pestën Klasë Filllore*, 1927, pp. 23- 24

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.19.

tried to shape the behavior of the individual with his/her family, friends as well as with representatives of the state. In order to penetrate as a value-maker in all of these spaces and relations it firstly required replacing religion in this regard. Thus, the opening chapter about “God” (*Hyu*) in the civic education textbooks of 1918 and 1920, disappeared from mainstream textbooks in 1921. From 1922 moral education textbooks opened with the chapter about the respect for family and continued with the chapter about the importance of school. So, the second chapter of the previous textbooks became the first in these textbooks, putting family as the first entity that an individual should respect.

Accordingly, it was the family that the individual should regard as reference in determining the right and wrong choices, or bad and good behavior. The primacy of the family would soon leave the place to the nation and the fatherland. As noted in the above-mentioned textbook of 1923, fatherland, the flag, the national society took priority in determining right and wrong acts, values and attachments of the individual that henceforth would be more often mentioned as citizen rather than as boy or student. At the beginning of the period, the primary duties were envisaged as being toward God. Afterwards, family would replace it, while the forthcoming step would be its replacement by the nation.

According to textbooks from 1928, a citizen had first of all obligations toward the fatherland and the nation, then their representative, the state.¹⁹⁵ This is what I regard a transition from religious to laic morality, which was immediately followed by national morality. Yet, this would not be the final destination of citizens’ morality in interwar Albania. Toward 1930, both the nation and the state

¹⁹⁵ Dhimitër Antoniadhi, *Fije Edukate e Morali, Libër praktike për Shkolla, Familje dhe për Fëmijë* (Korçë: Shtypshkronja Ida Antoniadhi, 1928).

would be personified in one person, the King. It is at this point that it became a political morality as the King, became a unique example of private and public behavior, as well as political and cultural choices.

In this respect morality constituted a totality of political and cultural attitudes determined by the regime and penetrating every aspect of individual life. Even in the approach of the regime with religion in 1937 the state would not leave entirely its hold on morality. The textbook *Religious and Moral Education*¹⁹⁶ approved from the Ministry of Education and the Muslim Community, as general textbook for religious education still in its title highlights a difference between moral and religious education. The textbook had in its inner cover a photo of the King and the first pieces were the same with other moral education books; respect for the parents and the elders, love for the teacher, ways of behaving etc. The chapter, Love for the King came before that titled God.¹⁹⁷ In the textbook of orthodox religion course of 1938 this was even more evident.¹⁹⁸ The first chapter was, Fatherland and the King.¹⁹⁹

The state, in the way of approaching religious authorities had accepted that religion course could include moral education. Yet, while the religion education was about history of the religion, religious practices, religious institutions, the part that

¹⁹⁶ H. Sharofi, *Edukata Fetare e Morale*, Pjesa e Parë (Tiranë: Shtepinja Botuese “Kristo Luarasi, 1937). H. Sharofi, *Edukata Fetare e Morale*, Pjesa e Dytë (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese “Kristo Luarasi, 1937). Both parts of this book were approved by the Ministry of Education with Circular Nr. 4655, dated 1 October 1937, and the Muslim Community with Circular Nr.86-IV, dated 23 September 1937.

¹⁹⁷ “Love for the King,” was the fourth chapter in Sharofi, *Edukata Fetare e Morale*, Pjesa e Parë. “Love for God,” was the fifth chapter in Sharofi, *Edukata Fetare e Morale*, Pjesa e Parë.

¹⁹⁸ Dh. Beduli, *Mësime Elementare Fetare për Fëmijët Orthodoxë* (Pjesa e Parë) (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese “Kristo Luarasi, 1938).

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p.1.

regarded morality was about the King, the fatherland, the nation, the family, the school, the national community, and the ways to behave in this society. This morality was political as it defined a citizen, highlighted his - in some cases her - utmost importance for the society and tried to shape every attitude of this individual. This morality was political as it determined his political and cultural choices. Yet, at this point this morality was also about politics, meaning suppressing opposition to the regime, although evidently not presented by the regime (which had banned any political engagement of the citizens).

Applied Morality: Morals for Teachers and Students

Morality was not only a course in the curricula, but also an important criterion in the selection of teachers, in obtaining state scholarships, and in acceptance to state schools and dormitories. In the early 1920s evaluation in terms of moral values represented an approach many officials employed when evaluating the attitude of civil servants. Morality constituted a crucial element in discourses about what was good for the individual, good for society and important for the nation. Yet, from 1927 it entered official documents as an official criterion of selection. Similar to the one described in textbooks, this morality was a conglomerate of attitudes, behaviors and values including the attitude toward the regime, political inclinations, stand toward religion; particularly for female teachers' private lives in terms of relations with men; mostly for male candidates gambling, smoking, visiting bars; and specifically for students watching unauthorized movies. Let's follow through concrete examples the application and evolution of this official morality, otherwise the morality of good citizenship.

Still in 1920, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior Affairs were employing the criterion of morality in their correspondence regarding the attitude of students and teachers. On 25 June 1920 the Ministry of Education received from executives of the Ministry of Interior Affairs in Kruja an informative memo about students and teachers: “In the attached list you will find the required information about the ability, behavior, morality and character of each teacher.”²⁰⁰ The content of this morality was not detailed in the early 1920s.²⁰¹ It had entered this internal informative circular as a natural part of the (popular) speech on the right and the wrong, the correct or the unacceptable. Yet, in 1923 with Ahmet Zogu as Minister of Interior Affairs, it would become a part of the political discourse.

In a document dating 14 April 1923 Zogu explained that some opposition journals did not support the new ideas, but attacked the state describing the members of the government as wild people following foreign interests. Moreover, he maintained, some civil servants and officers were reading and spreading these journals, a condition making their surveillance obligatory. According to the Minister of Interior Zogu, Albania was a free country, yet the state could not tolerate sources poisoning the spirit of civil servants, thus risking its own survival.²⁰² Accordingly, a few weeks latter he issued a circular forbidding the circulation of the opposition journal *Dielli*.²⁰³ The specific official explanation for this ban, then followed by

²⁰⁰ AQSH, F.195, Minsitria e Arsimit, Y. 26 June 1920, D. 12, no page number.

²⁰¹ See the reports, AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 7.June 1926, D. 1, p. 204. On 7 June 1926 the boarding school and the trade school of Vlora sent to the Ministry of Education reports about the situation of the school. The reports responded to three main questions: 1- How are the students fed? 2- How is their performance in lessons 3- How do the teachers interact with them, is there any doubt on their (teachers) morality?

²⁰² AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 14 April 1923, D. 62, p. 1.

²⁰³ AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 5 May 1923, D. 62, p. 3.

many others, was: “(...) the distribution of the journal *Dielli* is forbidden by law as it is very harmful to the morality and peace in the country, an opinion shared by many of those who read it.”²⁰⁴

In 1927, when Zogu was President of the Republic the morality criteria had already started to be applied for selection of students. In case of demands to attend the military schools the director of the school wrote to the concerned prefecture: “Please fulfill the required formalities about his moral conduct”²⁰⁵ or “Proceed with deep investigation on their morality.”²⁰⁶ The answer “unpleasant moral conduct or good morality and behavior”²⁰⁷ was decisive for selection. The same condition was part of the criteria to obtain a state scholarship in schools within or outside the country.²⁰⁸ In 1934 among the documents requested for application to scholarship was the “certificate for moral conduct.” This document was one of the evidences for

²⁰⁴ AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 5 May 1923, D. 62, p. 4.

²⁰⁵ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 13 July 1927, D. 162, p. 2. For a list on evaluations on teachers, see also AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1931, D. 24, p. 14. The point of evaluation was about, “bolshevik ideas.” The reporter informed primarily if the teacher in question was regarded to have such ideas, then were added the evaluations on morality and character.

²⁰⁶ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 107, pp. 4, 8, 10, 11, 21. In page 4, there is a report of the the police of Shkodër informing the Directory of the Military School that one of the concerned students was “of good morality,” yet, the report continued, “he is an immigrant and does not have Albanian citizenship (*nënshtetësi*).” See also AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. July 1937, D. 2, pp. 2-4.

²⁰⁷ AQSH, F. Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 13 July 1927, D. 162, p. 3. See also AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 29 November 1928, D. 244, pp. 1, 6. The Prime Minister Koço Kotta requested that the Prefectures conduct an investigation on the “moral and politic conduct” of the candidates for naval captains. The correspondence was managed by the Secret Office.

²⁰⁸ About the scholarships for child birth assistantship outside the country, see AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1927, D. 164, p. 69 pages.

the first of two basic criteria of selection; moral-political conduct and economic situation of the family.²⁰⁹

Morality concerned particularly teachers from the beginning of 1930s. A circular regarding the morality of teachers in Shkodra and Gjirokastra²¹⁰ summarized many of the elements of this morality. According to the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the fatherland, let it be the city or the village, was in the hands of the teachers. Consequently, they should develop sound and non-subversive ideas, have good morality, character and behavior and no affiliation with Bolshevik thoughts.²¹¹ From 1934, before starting their duty teachers had to declare: “I swear in the name of God and on my honor, that I will be loyal to the His Highness the King of the Albanians, Zog 1st and that I will serve my fatherland Albania with loyalty and clean consciousness, acting according to the Constitution, Laws and Regulations in power in the Albanian Kingdom, while fulfilling my duty with commitment and discipline.”²¹²

Before the appointment of teachers in various localities the Ministry of Interior gave the names of the candidates and asked the concerned prefectures as follows: “Please inform us what kind of moral and political behavior they have, particularly their feelings toward the regime.”²¹³ Negative answers had almost a

²⁰⁹ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1934, D. 255, pp. 20, 23. The criteria for sending students to military schools in Italy included also, “the morality of the student and of the family.” The age of the student should be between 16-20 years old. See AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 16 June 1938, D. 67, p. 7.

²¹⁰ See Appendix A, note 37.

²¹¹ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 22 January 1931, D. 25, p. 12.

²¹² *Ligja Organike e Arsimit*, Fletore Zyrtare, Neni 11ç, (28 September 1934).

²¹³ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 4 September 1934, D. 21, p. 25. It was almost the same was the request of the Minister of Interior Affairs sent by a circular to the prefectures. See, AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 8 November 1937, D. 115, p. 5.

general format: “As the mentioned (....) does not have appropriate moral and politic behavior his/her appointment as teacher cannot be affirmed.”²¹⁴ Yet in some cases is possible to learn more about the content of this morality and political behavior. For example, an officer on duty in the village of Bushati complained to the prefecture that the behavior of the village’s teacher was very religious. This attitude, according to him, could include also feelings against the regime, as this person had been educated in a Catholic school.²¹⁵

Issues of morality that were not directly related to politics generally were treated separately. For female teachers, having a lover was defined as immoral²¹⁶ and could subject them to transfer to another locality, while for male teachers being drunk in public was immoral and could even cause to discharge.²¹⁷ For students these were issues about gambling, consuming alcohol or attending cinemas in seances not authorized to youth.²¹⁸ To avoid these activities the Ministry of Interior Affairs had made obligatory the use of uniforms or hats with particular signs in order to avoid the access of students to such spaces.²¹⁹

Yet the moral-political conduct was only partially about such behavior. It was mainly about loyalty toward the regime. The word morality accompanied the word political to demonstrate how these were associated and inseparable. After the coronation, from the early 1930s, loyalty to the King took priority to loyalty to the

²¹⁴ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 4 April 1934, D. 21, p. 24.

²¹⁵ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 2 May 1934, D. 21, p. 50. See also Appendix A, note 38.

²¹⁶ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1931 D. 25, pp. 38-39.

²¹⁷ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 3 December 1930, D. 17, p. 32.

²¹⁸ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 15 April 1928, D. 209, pp. 7, 8.

²¹⁹ AQSh, F. 346, Prefektura Shkoder, Y. 20 January 1938, D. 221, p. 1.

fatherland. This loyalty required action according to a specific morality that was obvious from the teachers and students' evaluating criteria which mainly about political loyalty (commitment to the regime).



CHAPTER 4: YOUTH: WHAT IS AT STAKE?

“The years to come will show whether our nation will take the high-road of increasing greatness, wealth and justice; or whether along the lower road we shall sink back among the unprogressive races of the world. The Nation’s youth will decide this momentous question. In a few short years, the Nation’s Youth will become ordinary people. They will control the affairs of the State. They will in turn be confronted with the great problems of social life. How will their set about their task.”
ED. J. S. LAY²²⁰

“The Young” vs. “The Old”: Individual Profiles of a Social Tension

Between 1930 and 1936 a dispute flourished in the Albanian press. From that period has been known as the debate between “the young and the old.” Representatives of “the young” wrote mainly in the newspapers *Arbënia*, *Rilindja e Arbnis*, *Vullneti i Arbënis* and *Minerva*. The most active among these were Ismet Toto, Stefan Shundi and, less identified with them, but still young in age, Tajar Zavalani. The supporters of their claims wrote mainly in the newspapers *Demokratia*, *Neoshqiptarizma*, *Illyria*, *Përpyjekja Shqiptare* and *ABC* etc. The most well known among these latest were Branko Merxhani, Vangjel Koça and Nebil Çika. “The Old” were identified as such by “the young.” The newspaper *Besa* was regarded as their representative. Although according to “the young,” in terms of individuals “the old” were members of the government. For example, several times

²²⁰ ED. J. S. Lay, *Citizenship Everyday Social Problems for the Nation’s Youth* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1921). In the title page of this book it is noted that ED. J. S. Lay is the author of “The Pupils’ Class-Book of History, Geography, English Composition.”

prime minister Koço Kota,²²¹ long years Minister of Interior Affairs Musa Juka, several times minister Abdurrahman Dibra and all others who held the highest positions in government for many years and operated within networks of nepotism and clientelism to reinforce their positions, secure their continuation in power and protect their wealth.²²²

In order to enable an enhanced understanding of the content, meaning and socio-cultural implications of “the young-old” tension, I propose, at a first stage, to explore more closely the individual profiles of some exponents as well as advocates of “The Young.” It should be mentioned immediately that the adherents in these two latest categories were not similar either in socio-cultural profile or intellectual formation. Moreover, they were diverse also in their political preferences. Consequently, neither the exponents, nor the advocates of the young formed homogenous groups. However, they had two main common characteristics: first, they idealized the values of the west regarded as the opposite of “Ottoman/Turkish values” identified with Anatolia or the “Anatolian type.” Kemal Atatürk and what they called the “New Turkey” were an inspiration for almost all of them. Second, they were “anti-religious.” Religiosity was considered a quality of “the old” and a tendency threatening the consolidation of the state.²²³

²²¹ See Nebil Çika, “Ideali Neo-shqiptar dhe Zogizmi. Përgjegje “Shqipërisë së Re” të Costancës,” *Rilindja e Arbnis*, Organ Neo-Nacionalist Shqiptar (19 October 1930), p. 5.

²²² According to the memoirs of a student of the period “the old” were feudals, people with important position in the state hierarchy, mainly deputies as well as people of the press such as Teki Selenica, but also Hqmet Delvina, Fejzi Alizoti etc. Lazër Radi, *Shqipëria në Vitet 30’të. Kronikë e përjetuar* (Tiranë: Biblioteka e Arkivit Qendror Shqiptar, Nr. 553), p. 147. For details on the individuals of the so-called Besa Group and its relation with the government see Fischer, *Mbreti Zog*, pp. 248-272.

²²³ Most of them supported the nationalization of schools in 1933, a reform that had provoked harsh tensions between, clerics particularly the catholic clerics of Shkodra and the government. See *Hylli i Dritës*, no. 23-24 (September-October 1934). Ismet Toto wrote a

Ismet Toto,²²⁴ the son of a Muslim family from the south of Albania, was born in 1908, only for years before the independence of the country. During the debate, he was in his twenties. More than a typical journalist, he was a determined young citizen talented at writing. Contrary to his older brother, Et'hem Toto, Ismet did not have any positions in the state administration. One of the main demands he put forward was opening these positions to “the young,” the new generations.²²⁵ He maintained that previously it had been the lack of formed young generation individuals that had necessitated the members of the old generations holding positions in the public service. But he sustained, in the 1930s this shortage no longer existed. Consequently, the old public servants had fulfilled their mission and exhausted their energy. It was time to leave the floor to the young people, who had the courage to make sacrifices for the country.²²⁶

Stefan Shundi, born in 1906 to an orthodox family, was also well known for his contribution to the Sport Klub Tirana, which he directed between 1933-1936.²²⁷ In his writings on Neo-Albanianism and the “The Young vs. The Old” opposition, he stressed that the future of Albania depended on the young generation. He expressed

booklet titled “Grindje me Klerin” (Dispute with the Clerics), in Ismet Toto, *Bota e Një Djali Kryengritës*, përg. Halil Qendro, Ibrahim Gani (Tiranë: Botimet Toena, 1997), pp. 197-204.

²²⁴ For the most important articles of Toto and details about his life, see Toto, *Bota e Një Djali Kryengritës*.

²²⁵ Ismet Toto (Borealis), “Punët në dorë të të rinjve,” *Rilindja e Arbënis*, Organ Nacinalist Neo-Shqiptar, (3 Tetor 1930). Ismet Toto (pseud. Borealis), “Kështu foli i vjetri, rreth pikpamjeve të vjetërve dhe të rinjve në çështjet e drejtimit të Shtetit,” *Minerva*, no. 8-10 (March 1933), pp. 6-8.

²²⁶ Ismet Toto (pseud. Borealis), “Punët në dorë të të rinjve,” *Rilindja e Arbnis*, Organ Nacionalist Neo-Shqiptar (3 October 1930), p. 1.

²²⁷ For some brief information on his contribution in Sport Klub Tirana, see Sport Klub Tirana Accessed 6 May 2011, Available [online] at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/KF_Tirana_Presidents>

his belief that: “(...) it (the future of the country) is in our hands,”²²⁸ and claimed: “We continue our struggle trustful, although attacked by the degrading treatment of The Old and a part of our friends that unhappily have been captured by them.”²²⁹

The other, but atypical member of “the young” due to his political inclinations was Tajar Zavalani.²³⁰ Born in 1903 to a Muslim family in the region of Përmeti in southern Albania, he studied in Moscow²³¹ and was inspired by leftist ideas. In his work *History of Albania*,²³² published after the fall of the communist regime, Zavalani adopted a strongly anti-communist attitude. However, his coeval Branko Merxhani referred to him as a leftist and sympathizer of communist ideas.²³³ Zavalani engaged in debates on Neo-Albanianism and the “The Young vs. The Old” with a supportive and critical stand at the same time. On the other hand, among the active participants in the debate “young-old he was the one avoiding a particular insistence on the role of king Zog as a unique leader and representative of the young.

The same could be said for Branko Merxhani. He was born to an Orthodox family in Izmir, Turkey, in 1894, was one of the supporters of “the young’s” claims,

²²⁸ Stefan Shundi, “Lëvizja e Djalëris,” *Arbënia*, Fletore e Përditëshme Neo-Shqiptare, (12 August 1930), p. 1.

²²⁹ Stefan Shundi, “Rryma e neo-shqiptarizms”, *Rilindja e Arbënis*, (26 November 1930), p. 1.

²³⁰ Tajar Zavalani, “Pleqt s’mund t’i zgjidhin problemet e mëdha t’ona,” *Minerva*, no.15 (20 October 1933), p. 15. Tajar Zavalani, “Duke kënduar Minervën. Të katër misjonarët e lartë të rinjve,” *Minerva*, no. 11 (15 July 1933), pp. 3-4. Zavalani translated in Albanian many famous works like of Maksim Gorki, a short stories collection of Anton Chekhov, *The Lady of the Cammelias* of Alexandre Dumas (fils). See Appendix A, note 39.

²³¹ For the life and work of Tajar Zavalani, see Tajar Zavalani, *Misioni i shekullit XX. Përmbledhje Artikujsh*, përg. Ndriçim Kulla (Tiranë: Plejad, 2008).

²³² Tajar Zavalani, *Historia e Shqipnisë* (Tiranë: Phoenix, 1998).

²³³ About his debates with Merxhani due to Zavalani’s leftist ideas, see also the memoirs of Radi, p. 259.

and the main ideologist of Neo-Albanianism developing particularly its sociological aspect. He was educated in the Ottoman, then Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany²³⁴ and came to Albania at the end of the 1920s. Though he would return in Turkey, after 1938 and work for long years at well-known Turkish dailies like *Tan*, *Yeni Gazete*, *Günaydın* and *Hürriyet*. Merxhani appreciated particularly E. Durkheim's work and tried to develop a sociological reflection on the Albanian society following his approach. He insisted on the importance of an elite that would have a sociological point of view and develop it further in regard to Albanian society.²³⁵ This elite was still to be formed; as such, it could be made only by members of younger generations. This would enable the creation of a different, new Albania to which historical references were of no use. "No wise Turk believes in Turan and no clever Greek considers the idea of being grand-grand child of Pericles,"²³⁶ he claimed.

Merxhani was insistent on sociology in a period when sociology as a science was gaining popularity. The works of Durkheim were published post-humously in the 1920s, the work of Marx Weber, *Economy and Society* was published in 1922 and the Institute of Social Research opened in 1923, while the Frankfurt school would be well known during interwar years.²³⁷ Nevertheless, Merxhani did not

²³⁴ For details on his life and work, see Branko Merxhani, *Vepra*, përg. Aurel Plasari, Ndriçim Kulla (Tiranë: Plejad, 2003), pp. 494-495. See also Kristaq Shtëmbari, "Kush ishte Branko Merxhani?" *Shekulli* (7 Shkurt 1999).

²³⁵ Branko Merxhani, "Organizimi i Kaosit," *Neo-shqiptarizma* (July 1930), pp. 6-8. The major parts of the articles of Branko Merxhani are collected in a book. See Branko Merxhani, *Vepra*, where are collected his works. In this collection of his works it is possible to note that he used a multiplicity of references from Rousseau to John Dewey. He made frequent use of concepts such as *moral values* and *education of moral values*.

²³⁶ Merxhani, "Organizimi i Kaosit," p. 7.

²³⁷ See Appendix A, note 40.

sympathize with the Marxist way of thinking; accordingly his references were not from the Frankfurt school. He claimed to be a liberal, nationalist and critic of communism, an attitude that made him a typical member of the group supporting “The Young.”

However, the two other main supporters of the young, Koça and Çika were ardent promoters of the King as a unique leader of the youth and the nation. According to Puto, Vangjel Koça, another theorist of Neo-Albanianism was particularly concerned with the position of Zog and that of the regime.²³⁸ Koça was born in the southern Albanian city of Gjirokastra in 1900 and completed secondary education in the well-known lyceum of Ioannina, Zosimea.²³⁹ Then, he undertook jurisprudence studies in Italy.²⁴⁰ He was a cofounder (with Merxhani) of the journal *Demokratia* of Gjirokastra. Among these mentioned supporters of the young he was the only one who did not have important working and living experience in Turkey. Nebil Çika was quite familiar with developments and intellectual life at the end of the Ottoman Empire, then in the Turkish Republic. He was known in Turkey as Ahmed Nebil and was the co-author of the book *Nietzsche Hayatı ve Felsefesi* (Nietzsche, his Life and Philosophy).²⁴¹

He directed the journal *Arbënia*, representing it as press organ of “The Young.” He was one of the main propagators of Zog, the King of Albanians, as the

²³⁸ Puto, *Shqipëria Politike*, p. 564.

²³⁹ For additional articles of Koça see also Vangjel Koça, *Në udhën e Shqiptarizëmës*, përg. Ndriçim Kulla (Tiranë: Phoenix, 1999).

²⁴⁰ Puto, *Shqipëria Politike*, p. 564.

²⁴¹ Ahmed Nebil, Baha Tevfik, Memduh Süleyman, *Nietzsche Hayatı ve Felsefesi*, (Istanbul: Babil Yayınları, 2004).

personification of Albanian youth and the new generations.²⁴² In the 1930s Çika was well acquainted with the press and had had a successful career as a journalist. He was known for close relations with members of the government, probably because in several occasions he had been an advocate of Prime Minister Koço Kota.²⁴³ Nevertheless, due to censorship of the press the journals he directed were closed down in several occasions and he had endure imprisonment for a period.²⁴⁴ Çika remained in the middle of the debates during the period. These were not always debates related only to the young and the old, but also inter-personal accusations with old collaborators, such as Faik Konica.²⁴⁵

All these individuals, obviously, with different backgrounds, religious affiliations and ideological priorities, in spite of possible divergences with each other shared a common platform in matter of younger generation. All of them argued that youth would provide progress for the country, opposing to an old generation that was using the government to serve its own interests. The idea of generation (*brez*) was very important in the delineation of the youth. Generation for the supporters of the young, the young themselves as well as their historical conditions fitted to the definition of Burguière that François Georgeon developed in his article, “Les Jeunes Turks étaient-ils jeunes?”; individuals of same age, distinguished by distinctive sensitivities, and particularly by a sentiment of a common intellectual community

²⁴² Nebil Çika, “Ideali Neo-shqiptar dhe Zogizmi. Përgjegje “Shqipërisë së Re” të Costancës,” *Rilindja e Arbnis*, Organ Neo-Nacionalist Shqiptar (19 October 1930), p. 5.

²⁴³ See Appendix A, note 41.

²⁴⁴ Çika, “Ideli Neo-shqiptar dhe Zogizmi”, p. 5. In 1943 Nebil Çika published a book in which he dealt extensively with the debate “the young” vs “the old”. The book was re-published. See, Nebil Çika, *Njimendësia Shqiptare* (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese “Husi Borshi,” 2007). About this book see Vangjel Koça, “Nebil Çika: Njimendësia Shqiptare,” *Tomorri*, no. 143 (16 June 1943) in Koça, *Në Udhën e Neoshqiptarizms*, pp. 150-160.

²⁴⁵ See Appendix A, note 14.

providing them with an incompatible historical experience.²⁴⁶ But in a tricky way, very similarly and at the same time differently to what Georgeon demonstrates in the case of Young Turks,²⁴⁷ this generation was young and new at the same time.²⁴⁸

The members of this generation were young, because of age and because of the different experiences they shared compared to previous generations. Yet, this generation also was new as its members were positioned as the contrary, the complete opposite in terms of values from those of the older generations, or better, generations that had experienced empire. In this respect, the young regarded themselves also as the opposite of Young Turks, as will be seen in the following part. However, what I want to bring to our attention here is the ability to supersede and assemble multiple, diverse and contradicting socio-cultural profiles of the concept and reality, the (young) generation. This was a political ability, meaning the capability to claim (additional) rights and changes and mobilize an important part of society, thus be a source of legitimacy for (new) governments. This would be crucial in terms of the perimeter of action, ability to voice assertions and meet goals in the conditions of the authoritarian regime.

²⁴⁶ François Georgeon, “Les Jeunes Turcs étaient-ils jeunes? Sur le phénomène des générations, de l’Empire ottoman à la République turque,” in *Enfance et jeunesse dans le monde musulman*, edited by François Georgeon and Klaus Kreiser (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2007), pp. 144-173, p. 150.

²⁴⁷ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*, (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Erdal Kaynar, “Ahmet Rıza (1858-1930) Hisorire d’Un Vieux Jeune Turc” (Ph.D, diss., EHESS, 2011.)

²⁴⁸ Georgeon examines the idea of generations through an analysis of the Young Turks. He shows that “young” was a reference to age, as it was a way of pointing out to an evolution in attitudes, values and approaches. In this regard the intellectual references, sources, inspirations of the *Young Turks* were different, in this sense new. Moreover, Georgeon highlights the “classical” conflict of generations, we see in many cases, as he noted, while underlining the context of Empire, that evidently was not the case in interwar Albania. See Georgeon, “Les Jeunes Turcs étaient-ils jeunes?” pp. 154-170. However, for the Albanian case we should consider the post-imperial, so post-Ottoman context.

Neo-Albanianism or the Nationalism for the New Generations

A journal called *Neo-Shqiptarizma* (Neo-Albanianism) was published in Gjirokastra in June 1930. Branko Merxhani and Vangjel Koça directed the only published issue.²⁴⁹ The publishers undersigning as “Neo-Shqiptarizma” had prepared the opening article of this issue titled “For new horizons” (*Për Horizonte të Ra*). In the article, it was declared that Neo-Albanianism should constitute the ideological foundation of the Albanian state in the forthcoming years. Independence represented a material victory. Now had come the time to prepare the moral one. This required new ideals, new aspirations and new means, epitomizing an essential work for the establishment of the moral foundation of the Albanian nation.²⁵⁰ The publishers were eager to emphasize their enterprise as a sociological effort that had nothing to do with politics, claiming that their work was the analytical exploration of the psychological and sociologic phenomena of the collective life.²⁵¹

Indifferent people are interested only in themselves. We are interested in the future of the Albanian youth (*djelmve tonë*). Our journal is educative and cultural. This also means that the cultivated youth should not have any relation with politics. For the moment it has other duties... It should be making efforts to organize the ideological life of the country.²⁵²

The founders of Neo-Albanianism did not represent themselves as part of the younger generations, but as believers in the new generations providing an ideology for the youth. In the article, “The Organization of Chaos” Branko Merxhani

²⁴⁹ The members of the redaction committee were Jorgji Meksi, Hqmet Kodra, Jonuz Tafilaj, Branko Merxhani, Vangjel Koça. See *Neo-Shqiptarizma*, Revistë Mujore për Organizimin e Jetës Kulturele Kombëtare, Drejtorë: Branko Merxhani, Vangjel Koça, Viti 1, no. 1 (Qendra e Redaksisë Gjirokastrë, Shyp. G.Direttore&C. Vlorë: 30 July 1930).

²⁵⁰ Redaksia, *ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁵¹ “Për Horizonte të Ra,” *Neoshqiptarizma* (30 July 1930), f.4.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

explained that the country required an elite who could think sociologically. This sociology was not to be separated from nationalism. This was not a demand for science for the sake of science, but for science serving a cause. This was an era of nationalism, when the respective national elite created each nationalist ideology. It was time for the Albanians to create their own national ideology.²⁵³ The best way to define this sociological thinking was its opposition to the historical one. It represented a conglomerate of moral values and ideas related to the national society. History did not matter in the everydayness of the nation, what made it matter was values that shaped the society.²⁵⁴

Koça and Merxhani had already formulated these ideas in the journal *Demokratia*. In its issue of March 1930, the main page included a note under the heading *Demokratia*: “We are the disciples of a generation that tries to move from darkness to enlightenment.”²⁵⁵ All these ideas formulated since 1929 in *Demokratia* were henceforth assembled under what the authors regarded an ideology for the youth and new Albania, Neo-Albanianism. Neo-Albanianism was a way of thinking, an approach to society. Young people adopting this way of thinking, that was sociological thinking, were to be an elite, which once able to debate sociologically would develop ideas and values constituting the ideological foundation of the nation.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Branko Merxhani, “Organizimi i Kaosit,” *Neoshqiptarizma* (30 Korrik 1930), f.7.

²⁵⁴ *Demokratia* (29 Mars 1930), p. 3. See also Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ The idea of the ‘Albanian Elite’ that gives spirit to the nation, See Vangjel Koça, “Ligjërime Mendore,” in Koça, *Në udhën e Shqiptarizmës*, p. 97

This was exactly what the above-mentioned people like Ismet Toto and Stefan Shundi did. They embraced these ideas and called themselves “the young,” obviously referring to such elite. “The Young” denominated themselves also as “The Neo-Albanianists.”²⁵⁷ Their difference with the founders of Neo-Albanianism was that they did not regard it only as a way of thinking, but also and primarily a way of acting. Accordingly, they developed it as a path for concrete actions and demands. Already, on 1 July 1930, in the journal *Vullneti i Arbërisë* (The Determination of Arbëria),²⁵⁸ Ismet Toto had declared Neo-Albanianism a religion.²⁵⁹ This actually constitutes a good example of the national and political morality where God was replaced with the nation.²⁶⁰ Ismet Toto and then particularly Çika regarded King Zogu as the disciple and prophet of Neo-Albanianism.²⁶¹ Referring to the ideas of Vangjel Koça, they maintained that the sociological, psychological and historical reference of Neo-Albanianism was the new, the young, the future. Thus, it constituted a patriotic doctrine enabling the overcoming of past religious divisions.²⁶² In a way they were offering a replacement for religion,

²⁵⁷ Ismet Toto, “Ç’kërkojmë? Mbi pikpamjet e neoshqiptarëve për riformimin e shtetit e të shoqërisë”, *Rilindja e Arbënis*, 111, no. 61 (10 December 1930), p. 1. Stefan Shundi, “Neo-Shqiptarizma (Z.Stefan Shundi flet n’emër të neo-shqiptarëve)”, *Rilindja e Arbënis*, (107-108), no. 57-58, (3 December 1930), pp. 1,6.

²⁵⁸ *Arbëria* or *Arbënia* in the Northern dialects, was used to refer to what was regarded as the first Albanian state in the Middle Ages.

²⁵⁹ Ismet Toto (Aurore), “Feja Neo-Shqiptare”, *Vullneti i Arbërisë*, no. 18 (1 July 1930), p. 1.

²⁶⁰ See this work Part 3.

²⁶¹ Nebil Çika, “Ideali Neo-Shqiptar dhe Zogizmi”, *Rilindja e Arbënis*, 82-83, no. 32-33 (19 October 1930), p. 5.

²⁶² *Arbënia*, 12 February 1930, p. 12.

regarded by many intellectuals and evidently state actors of the period as an obstacle to the unification of the nation.

Somehow differently from the founders of Neo-Albanianism, the young insisted on the contradiction of two cultures in Albania: one derived from the times of the “Turkish regime” and the other from various sources of the “western life.” The Turkish one, so the old one, had to be eradicated from society. All the hopes for the unification and advancement of the nation depended on the occidental culture of the youth. Those educated in “Turkish schools” could not think freely, maintained the young (apparently, skipping the fact that one of the founders of Neo-Albanianism Merxhani, had been educated in what they called the Turkish regime, while the other one Koça, as well as Çika, their main promoter, had attended schools inherited from the this regime).²⁶³

Also, the sociological references of the young were somehow different from those of the founders of Neo-Albanianism, notably, Merxhani, who insisted on the relevance of Durkheim. “The young” multiplied references to Benedetto Croce (*Storia dell’Estetica*), Alfred Ramboud (*Histoire de la Civilisation Contemporaine en France*), Achile Loria (*Sociologia*) and Guglielmo Ferrero (*La Vecchia Europa e la Nuova*).²⁶⁴ Due to his Durkheimian stand, the approach of Merxhani was closer to the ideas of Zija Gökalp.²⁶⁵ Yet, “The Young” were inspired by Ahmet Ağaoğlu,²⁶⁶

²⁶³ *Arbënia*, 12 February 1930, p. 2.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20, p. 25.

²⁶⁵ For a comparison of their ideas on the nation see Enis Sulstarova, “Jetë paralele? Idetë e Zija Gökalpit dhe Branko Merxhanit mbi kombin dhe modernizmin”, *Përpyekja*, no. 24 (October, 2011). For Zija Gökalp’s ideas on morality see his work; Zija Gökalp, *Türk Ahlakı* (Istanbul: Töker Yayınları, 2005).

²⁶⁶ Ahmet Ağaoğlu (1869-1939). For a through analysis of work, activities and role of this key figure of the Turkish nationalism, see A.Holly Shissler, *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

who was to them the emblematic figure of “Neo-Turkism.”²⁶⁷ “Neo-Turkism should not be mixed with the Young Turks,”²⁶⁸ claimed the press organ of “The Young.” “The first is only an ideological movement, while the second a miserable party, opportunistic, chaotic and without any sincerity in ideas,”²⁶⁹ continued the explanation. Obviously, for them, the Young Turks had not been young.

Though, reading the article of Georgeon we see clearly how the Young Turks were similar to this group we could call the “Young Albanians,” in terms of what Georgeon notes as phenomena of generation;²⁷⁰ young in terms of sharing the same age, similar *état d’esprit* and form of particular sensibilities,²⁷¹ but not only that. They were alike in terms of their demands to have a share in governance. Both groups had emerged due to evolutions in macro socio-cultural dynamics, for the Young Turks the Tanzimat,²⁷² and for the *Young Albanians*, the foundation of an Albanian nation state, though this constitutes the similarity that united and separated them at the same time. The establishment of many nation-states culminating with independence from the Empire was ascribed to a larger and longer process rooted in the Tanzimat.²⁷³ In this regard, the Young Turks were an important dynamic in the process that had ended with the dissolution of the Empire.

²⁶⁷ *Arbënia* (12 February 1930), p. 42. Referring to *Turkism* or *Türkçülük*, they used Neo-Turkism.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ *Arbënia* (12 February 1930), p. 42.

²⁷⁰ Georgeon, p.160.

²⁷¹ Bourgière in Georgeon, p. 171.

²⁷² Georgeon, p.155.

²⁷³ See Appendix A, note 30.

On the other hand, for the Young Albanians, the Young Turks had been part of the history of the Empire, as were “the old” (Albanians) that they were opposing. Following their logic, these individuals could not comprehend the nation, and any other way of governing but through political intrigue, clientelism, and nepotism. Through the article of Georgeon we note that the Young Turks opposed to similar inclinations that they also identified with “the old.”²⁷⁴ Actually, the Young Turks, and the Young Albanians, had very similar assertions and attitudes in terms of phenomena of generation. Yet the context, nation-state, constituted the main and tremendous difference. As Georgeon noted, generation and national belongings resulted in reinforcing each other.²⁷⁵ In this regard, the Young Turks were the opposite of the Young Albanians, because they represented a movement superseding national belongings that for the young Albanians was crucial. In this regard the Young Albanians had been inspired by the founders of Turkish nationalism, regardless of the fact that these latest had, as we again see in the article of Georgeon,²⁷⁶ important continuities with the Young Turks.

For them, the ideas of Ahmet Ağaoğlu were more viable than those of Zija Gökalp, who according to them, following Durkheim insisted on society, not on the individual, on duties, on rights.²⁷⁷ This was crucial, as it would lie at the heart of the claims of “The Young” that developed the acting version of Neo-Albanianism. This was a transformation of what Merxhani called “an operation only in culture and

²⁷⁴ Georgeon, p.162

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p.163.

²⁷⁶ Georgeon, p. 171.

²⁷⁷ *Arbënia*, (12 February 1930), p. 44.

education”²⁷⁸ into a political enterprise. The citizens engaged in this enterprise used the dispositions of citizenship provided by the regime and promoted a morality of citizenship quite in tone with the respective textbooks of the period. Yet, what did not fit with the citizenship dispositions was the way they enacted their political being due to the possibilities provided by the phenomena of generation. They were claimants in governance, and this was not only political, but also politics (in a country where any kind of political activity was banned by law). Lets explore in the following section the social dynamics under this politics’ clash veiled by cultural aspirations.

“The Young vs. The Old”: Between Search for Legitimacy and Social Requirements

“Today in our country, nobody thinks seriously of the necessity of the preparation of a new generation, except for the Head of the Nation Zogu I and a few people. We feel this necessity. And will start from the boy (*djali*).”²⁷⁹ Neo-Albanian, activists and promoters declared the King as the unique member in the leadership of the country concerned for the youth. The King was described as the leader of the youth. Particularly Nebil Çika envisaged the King as the personification of the young generation. In one of his articles, he identified the ideals of Neo-Albanianism with Zogizm.²⁸⁰ King Zogu had not written any books or pamphlets or particular articles on specific issues. He had not engaged in writing for the public either in his past or during the years as King. Speeches given for precise events or occasions, quotes of

²⁷⁸ *Neo-shiptarizma*, (30 July 1930).

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.4.

²⁸⁰ Çika, “Ideali Neo-Shqiptar dhe Zogizmi.”

such speeches in the textbooks, certain short notes published in the official journals or booklets of issued laws and a small number of letters circulating mainly through ministries remain among the unique primary sources to follow his ideas theoretically. In this sense, Zogizm as a conglomerate of ideas or a doctrine did not exist, particularly at the period when Çika mentioned it.

In this respect the communist historiography regarded Neo-Albanians, namely Çika, as inventors of Zogizm for the sake of legitimating and enforcing the position of the King. From this point of view, Çika and the other Neo-Albanians were bourgeoisie interested in the continuation of the regime trying to reinforce its legitimacy. Going even further the ideologists and activists of Neo-Albanianism were accused of being puppets of the King.²⁸¹ The over-politicization of every aspect of social life during the socialist period evidently also affected the historiography. History could be an account of friends and foes according to political necessities.²⁸² Consequently, it failed in grasping the complexity of the human and social condition in which Neo-Albanianism emerged.

Evidently, the majority of the individuals writing in the journals of the period were members of the middle class. Even so, as mentioned, supporters and propagators of Neo-Albanianism did not constitute homogenous groups. On the other hand, in conditions when contradiction with the regime was regarded as a political crime, it remained quite difficult to oppose the regime openly. Moreover, the

²⁸¹ Viron Koka, *Rrymat e Mendimit Politiko shoqëror në Shqipëri në vitet 30 të shekullit të njëzet* (Tiranë: Akademia e RPS të Shqipërisë Instituti i Historisë, 1935), p. 20, p. 54. Koka claims that the ideas of “The Old” were mainly expressed in the journal *Besa*, due to this they were also called as “*Besaxhinj*.”

²⁸² I have worked on the relation of history and politics in Albania. See Falma Fshazi, *‘Les cendres d'un Roi et les “histoires parallèles”*’ trans. Renaud Dorhialc, *Au Sud de l’Est* 7 (Paris: Editions Non Lieu, 2010), pp. 7-11.

identification of the regime with the King had made both, the King and the regime, untouchable by critics. “The Young,” while praising the King criticized the government and the public administration harshly. Their insistence on demonstrating the King on their side, a part from related to the conditions of censorship also should be thought in terms of the strategy of political action. “The Old,” defined by “the Young” with concrete names at the top of the state hierarchy had had considerable political and economic power. In conditions of lack of political parties “The Young’s” unique political support remained the King. As such, I donot consider “The Young,” the collaborators of the King, as communist historiography would portray them.

They were citizens in a privileged position using the dispositions provided by this citizenship to enlarge the margins of the political being with which they already had been vested by this citizenship. At this point they put forward the dichotomy “The Young” versus “The Old.” “The Young” demanded positions in government and administration, “The Old” were those holding such positions. “The Old” bore the mark of “Turkish culture”: lacking the sense of nation, absence of collective awareness, uneducated or educated in the Ottoman Empire, putting religious values before those of the nation-state; power deriving from feudal relations; ruling by intrigue; promotion of nepotism and fostering clientelism. Due to all these the administration and the government should be left to the young, claimed Ismet Toto.²⁸³

²⁸³ Ismet Toto (Borealis), “Punët në dorë të të rinjve,” *Rilindja e Arbënis*, (3 Tetor 1935). Ismet Toto, “Në pension pleqtë!” *Rilindja e Arbënis* 74, no. 24 (28 September 1930), p. 1. “Brezi i Ri dhe Brezi i Vjetër. Mbi Ndryshimet e Brezave e të ardhmen e Brezit të Ri,” *Rilindja e Arbnis* 79, no. 29 (11 October 1930), p. 2. “Të rinjtë tonë? Mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë dhe perspektivën e të rinjve.” *Arbënia* (1930). Nebil Çika (pseud. N.Ç) “Si i kujtojmë të rinjtë (çështja pleq, të rinj)”, *Minerva* (1930). See also Koka, pp. 53, 54. Ismet

Since 1933 also Merxhani who had insisted in Neo-Albanianism as a way of thinking backed the idea of “The Young” for changes in administration.²⁸⁴ “The situation, Values and Mission of the Albanian Youth,” published in 1934 in the journal *Minerva*, Merxhani explained that those who occupied posts in administration and government for long years now, were used to gain easily their lives. “They live” he said, “in a certain idare-i masllahat.”²⁸⁵ According to him these people could not change anymore and constituted an obstacle to the King who wanted to build an energetic Albania, a country, the needs of which could be responded only by “a volcanic spirit,” so the youth.²⁸⁶ Toto accused “the old” of being dependent to the collaboration with foreigners at expense of the country,²⁸⁷ while Shundi declared that this was a struggle to be continued no matter the offenses of “the old.” He claimed that “the old” had a certain power in their hands, but the King was a young boy (*djali mbret*) and the agitation of “the old” was due to their

Toto, “Neo-Shqiptaret dhe skeptikët. Neo-Shqiptarët luftojnë për krijimin e një klase elite për ndërtimin e një shteti të ri,” *Rilindja e Arbënis* 102, no. 522 (1 November 1931).

²⁸⁴ “Missioni i sotëm i djalërisë shqiptare është një mission ideologjik dhe idealistik që do punë me guxim e me durim.” Branko Merxhani, “Rreth problemit që ka krijuar Minerva. Gjendja, Vlera dhe Missioni i Djalërisë Shqiptare” (The problem caused by Minerva. The Situation, Values and the Mission of the Albanian Youth) *Minerva*, no. 19 (15 April 1934), p. 3. In this number of the journal *Minerva*, a note was included below the heading: “Hylli i Dritës së djalërisë” (Minerva is the shining star of the youth). This was a counter discourse to the journal *Hylli i Dritës* (*The Shining Star*) of the Franciscan Order of Shkodra.

²⁸⁵ Used in Ottoman meaning “dealing with the situation,” referring to dealing with something just to solve it for the moment without thorough evaluation. The word became a cliché referring to the way the Ottoman administration was supposed to manage difficult or unpleasant situations towards the end of its existence.

²⁸⁶ Merxhani, “Rreth problemit që ka krijuar Minerva”, p. 3.

²⁸⁷ Ismet Toto (pseud. Borealis), “Mistikizmi Neo-Shqiptar,” *Rilindja e Arbënis*, Organ Nacionalist Neo-Shqiptar, (14 November 1930). TA-NI, *Illyria*, Viti 1, no. 47 (14 March 1936), p. 1. The pseudonym TANI mainly was used by Tajar Zavalani. Making a summary of the clash between ‘The Young’ and ‘The Old’ the author explained that ‘The Old’ were educated mainly in the Ottoman Empire and were used to serve the Sultan by sacrificing their own brothers. Thus, according to him, they could bring only divisions.

fear of losing power in the conditions of pressure by “the young.” Shundi writes “If we are asked what is the program of Neo-Albanianism, we answer: Our program is the fatherland. Our aim is the fatherland, our struggle is the fatherland and as far as at the head of our Kingdom is the King Zog 1st our program is the King.”²⁸⁸

On the other hand, the connotation “the old,” was not regarded at the same manner by those called “the old.” For them being old, was being ancient as such it was praise worthy. This meant being the “fathers of the nation.”²⁸⁹ They also did not agree with the young relating them to the “Turkish mentality.” They maintained that “Occidentalism had been established in the country with the rule of King Zog. Consequently, the merit was theirs and “the young” claims to appoint a government oriented toward “Occidentalism (westernization)” were demagogical.²⁹⁰ “The Old” were not the unique group regarding the word “old” as honorable. The Catholic clerics of Shkodra represented themselves as “old/ancient Albanians” insisting that those who had to know better the country were the younger generations. They did not refer particularly to “the young,” yet “the young” and Neo-Albanianism theorists were evidently in disaccord with the clerics.²⁹¹ “The Young” insisted in the idea that religion divided the country. In this sense they had a-priori contradictory positions with them. On the other hand, “The Young”’s claim that they would open the country to Occidentalisation/Westernization contradicted the Catholic cleric’s stand

²⁸⁸ Stefan Shundi, “Rryma e Neo-Shqiptarizmës,” *Rilindja e Arbënis*, Organ Nacionalist Shqiptar, (26 November 1930), p. 1.

²⁸⁹ Koka, p. 21.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ See Appendix A, note 42.

that they had been the ancient bearers of Occidentalism in Albanian due to their religion, Catholicism.

However, these two groups, the Neo-Albanian activist and their supporters and the Catholic clerics, stood blatantly in front of each other in 1933 with the reform of nationalization of school.²⁹² “The Young” supported the nationalization and praised Mirash Ivanaj,²⁹³ the Minister of Education, who took this initiative, himself known as opponent of the clerics of Shkodra.²⁹⁴ The reform had put schools previously in the run of the clerics under the control of the state. The Franciscan’s community press organ, *Hylli i Dritës*, initiated a harsh campaign of criticism toward this reform and all its supporters. Not only members of “The Young,” but also others like Gjergj Bubani became involved in debate with *Hylli i Dritës*.

Responding to an open letter published in *Hylli i Dritës* in his address and in reaction to his article “Mirash Ivanaj,” Gjergj Bubani explained that the offenses included in the open letter did not fit the representation of the catholic clergy as the bearer of a ancient culture. While, his further words witnessed the opposition between being “young (individual) for the country” and “old (individual) in the country.”

“As far as it regards your insistence of being old Albanians versus the younger ones, I should say that it is not my fault for not being an old Albanian. It is the fault of my parents that did not hurry to give me birth 30 or 40 years before. Unfortunately, they also were not born during that period. As such, the burden is to be bearded by the grandfathers and their grandfathers.”²⁹⁵

²⁹² See Appendix A, note 43.

²⁹³ Çika, *Minerva*, no. 23-24 (September-October 1934).

²⁹⁴ Life and work of Mirash Ivanaj see Iljaz Gogaj, *Mirash Ivanaj Personalitet i Shquar i Universit Shqiptar* (Tiranë: Botime Erik, 2004).

²⁹⁵ Bubani, *Publicistikë*, p. 230.

The tension between “The Young” and “The Old” was not demagogical, or only ideological, but it lay at the heart of multiple socio-cultural tensions. In February 1937 when the debate in the press had ceased, but the situation had still to precipitate to the Delvina revolt of May 1937, was published an article of Gjergj Bubani titled “The Jobless Intellectuals” (*Shomerët Intellektual*).²⁹⁶ He maintained that a great number of educated people were jobless; the great majority of them had studied in the high schools in Albania, others had studied at universities outside the country. Due to their education most of them demanded places in the public administration, but according to him, the public administration could not have the capacity to respond to such demand. He claimed that families followed an erroneous trend striving to bring up their children as lawyers or engineers, when young people should be directed toward technical, lower profile professions.²⁹⁷

Bubani touched an important social aspect lying behind the tension between “The Young” and “The Old.” The capacity of the system of education had risen. However, this was not in the right proportion with the growth of the economy. In this respect, the public administration remained the largest accommodating sector for young educated citizens. Obviously, the capacity of this sector was limited and responded to the minimum of the employment demands. On the other hand, what limited the capacity of this sector was not only its relatively small size in a small country. Nepotism and clientelism were crucial factors in imposing limits on the employment of these young graduates in the public administration. The author had mentioned that families oriented their children incorrectly. Yet probably, it was too perilous for him to declare in the press the mismanagement of the economy by

²⁹⁶ Gjergj Bubani, “Shomerët intelektualë”, *Drita*, no. 59 (9 February 1937), p. 2.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

government and its entrapment between landowners and foreign government's interests. The lower technical professions to which he referred would all the same remain jobless due to the low performance of many sectors due to a multiplicity of reasons.

In addition, credit should be given to an article published in the journal *Illyria* maintaining that people educated during this period (1920s, 1930s) had been confronted with values other than those of the people educated before the war. Compatibility between these generations was almost impossible in Albania as well as in other countries, claimed the article.²⁹⁸ The author was right in trying to imply that “the young” were byproduct of other socio-cultural conditions. The generational phenomena put unavoidably the two groups in front of each other. The appointment of Mehdi Frashëri supported by “the young,” as prime minister was regarded as an achievement of “the young.” Though, this was only temporary, as “the young” would criticize the government, which without fulfilling two years of existence would fall, showing the gravity of the tension between the sides. Then, the death sentence of Ismet Toto represented the violent (temporary) closure of the debate between “the young” versus “the old,” obviously with a defeat of “the young.”

²⁹⁸ TA-NI, “Të vjetër e të rinj. Pikëpamja e përgjithshme,” *Illyria*, (22 February 1936), p. 1.

“Padişah Abdülaziz 1867 Paris Dünya Fuarı’na modernliğin seyrine bakmaya gittiğinde, kendisi de “Şark”ın bir seyirliği olarak karşılanmıştı. Ama “Batılı göz” ona bakınca tasavvurundaki otantik imgeyi bulamadı; yeterince “oryantal” görünmüyordu padişah.”²⁹⁹

Mobilization, for “Moral Conquest” and “Loyalty Demonstrations”

In June 1928, Merxhani wrote an article titled “Mobilization for Moral Conquest.”³⁰⁰ He explained how important it was for the national society to adopt moral values and ideals. Analyzing the ideas of Mehmet Emin and Zija Gökalp, the author sustained that Turkish youth could be an example and Mustafa Kemal an inspiration.³⁰¹ Merxhani insisted on moral mobilizations, yet the representatives of “the young” as already mentioned thought, otherwise. They offered as example Ahmed Ağaoğlu³⁰² and were inspired by his position of deputy in the Turkish National Assembly and his membership in the Cultural Commission of Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*).³⁰³ The journal of “the young,” *Arbënia*, together with books like *Les conceptions de la vie*³⁰⁴ of Herald Hoffding, a summary on German

²⁹⁹ Dilek Zaptçioğlu, “Yeterince Otantik Değilsiniz Padişahım,” (Istanbul: İletişim, 2012).

³⁰⁰ Branko Merxhani, “Mobilizim për pushtime morale,” *Demokratia*, no. 3 (29 June 1928).

³⁰¹ Ibid., See also Branko Merxhani, “Roli i djalërise. të rinjtë e Shqipërise mund të përfitojnë nga eksperiencia e vlefshme e rinisë turke për reformimin e shoqërisë shqiptare,” *Illyria*, no. 17 (1 July 1933), p. 3.

³⁰² See page 87.

³⁰³ *Arbënia*, 21 February 1930, p.42.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p.45.

philosophy and info on journals like *Progressive Education*, *Revue Internationale de l'Enfant*, and *Die Neu Erziehung*, in one of its numbers gave a particular place to *Three Civilizations (Üç Medeniyet)*, publication of the Cultural Commission of Turkish Hearths.³⁰⁵

Turkish Hearths were put forward as an inspiration of the success of ideas and enterprises of younger generations.³⁰⁶ The idea of Neo-Albanianism called originally for a mobilization of ideas, a resurrection of the intellectual life of the young generation. Yet, “the young” themselves attempted to transform ideas into action or better as in the example they gave, the Turkish Hearth, to associate ideas with action. The state already had entered the field of youth organizations in 1928 and would enlarge its youth enterprise in sports and arts in 1930. The model followed was Italian, implemented with Italian assistance and declared as an initiative of the King. “The Young” regarded the state youth organization as a start in the way of constructing the “splendid building of Neo-Albanianism.”³⁰⁷ According to “The Young” Neo-Albanianism had as prophet the King who engaging in the foundation and direction of state youth organizations was reinforcing the foundations of Neo-Albanianism. The activities of state youth organization gathering hundred of boys for various celebrations and demonstration were regarded by “The Young” as a reality dominated by progress.³⁰⁸ According to them, these young people were of one

³⁰⁵ *Arbënia*, 21 February 1930, p.48.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.42.

³⁰⁷ Ismet Toto (pseud. Aurora), “Feja Neo-Shqiptare,” *Vullneti i Arbërisë*, no. 18 (1 July 1930), p. 3.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

religion and one belief. This religion and belief should be spread as an oath to be incised in the hearts and spirits of the youth.³⁰⁹

“The Young” maintained that it was not logical to ask the masses to embrace the ideology of Neo-Albanianism immediately. The Neo-Albanians themselves and the public youth organization would make it spread step by step. The boys mobilized in youth organizations were to be regarded as the army of the King. Neo-Albanians declared to be a part of this army.³¹⁰ In various public gatherings organized by the public youth organization young boys pledged loyalty to the King and the speech of the King directed to the assembled boys was regarded as a conglomerate of directives to follow for all the Neo-Albanians.³¹¹ His words, “Your character that does not bear hypocrisy would terminate all the cause of moral and material obstructions to the progress of the country,” were to be understood by “The Young” as the most evident encouragement to their ideas and demands.³¹²

The state’s enterprise in a youth organization constituted, for “the young” a first phase of the mobilization that would continue with the taking over of responsibilities in administration and governance of the country. The enthusiasm of “the young” for the state youth organization would be shared by others writers backing their position. In one of his articles, Gjergj Bubani said he regarded the public youth organization Enti as one of the most splendid accomplishments undertaken in those days in Albania. He declared that this youth organization

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Toto, “Feja Neo-Shqiptare.”

³¹¹ *Rilindja e Arbnis*, Organ Nacionalist Shqiptar, (3 December 1930).

³¹² Ismet Toto (pseud.Borealis), “Mistikizmi Neo-Shqiptar”, *Rilindja e Arbnis*, Organ Nacionalist Neo-Shqiptar,” (14 November 1930), p. 1.

represented a “granite column” in the foundation of courage and discipline of the new generation of the country, the future citizens (qytetarë) of Albania. Moreover, these citizens would be proud soldiers and enthusiastic patriots, citizens conscious of their duties and rights. Consequently, Enti should attract the attention of all.

Propaganda should be carried out everywhere in cities and villages. Families should understand their patriotic duty and encourage their children to fulfill it instead of engaging them in minor occupations at home. Particularly, rural inhabitants should understand the importance of the state youth organization, while teachers, village chieftains, priests and hodjas must explain its importance to them. In conclusion the author insisted that everyone should bear in mind that this organization was an inspiration of the King who took a particular care in its advancement.³¹³

Within a few years however authors engaged in Neo-Albanianism began to question through their articles, the lack of union among young people and their apathy.³¹⁴ The operation of the public youth organization had been far more complicated than had been envisaged by “the young” and its supporters. Moreover, none of the representatives of “the young” had been appointed in the direction of the state youth organization reformed and enlarged in 1930. Its relation to Neo-Albanianism was not as they had imagined or wanted it to be. “The Young” had no organic relation to the youth organization. While, the relation between the public youth enterprise and Neo-Albanianism remained limited to common attitudes in terms of a national and patriotic morality, the education of the individual body, the idealization of the leader and personification of the regime and youth in one person,

³¹³ Bubani, *Publicistikë*, p. 153.

³¹⁴ Vangjel Koça (pseud Norsis Vana), “Pse nuk është kompakt djalëria?” *Minerva*, no. 11 (15 June 1933), pp. 23-24. Tajar Zavalani, “Apathija e të rinjve,” *Minerva*, no. 11 (15 June 1933), pp. 3-4.

the King. The details of the operation of the state youth organization were based on the Italian model and employed under Italian supervision and active participation. As such, Neo-Albanians had not claim or given any credit to the theorizing and demand for the mobilization of the youth. They remained supporters of what themselves had promulgated as the King's initiative and enthusiastic promoters of this oath to the King. In spite of all, was the Enti the foundation of a Neo-Albanian fortress, as "the young" would claim? This remains to be explored in the following sections through a closer analysis of the first Albanian central public youth organization, its evolution, and its limits.

Using the Transnational to Make the National: the Enlightened Dictatorship

The idea of the enlightened dictatorship was promoted in 1935 and 1936 by the journal *Arbënia*. This period corresponds with the duration in power of the government led by Mehdi Frashëri. In his article, "The Contemporary Government,"³¹⁵ Nebil Çika explained:

"(...)the government has done a good job in freeing the society of the dictatorship of Musa Juka, a major figure of the old. (...) However, this government have still way to go in its duty to be a bridge in the transition of power from the old to the young. (...) the government should provide the means to organize and discipline the youth following the principles of the enlightened nationalism or enlightened ideology."³¹⁶

In the article he put forward the main pillars of this ideology: first, deep and sincere love for the King and the fatherland, second, hard work to found a self-sufficient Albania, third, courage to confront the economic and political difficulties

³¹⁵ Nebil Çika, "Qeverija e Sotme," *Arbënia*, no. 303 (4 July 1936).

³¹⁶ Ibid.

of the country, fourth, disciplining and uniting of the people around the national ideals, and last the organization of the intellectual life of the country in parallel with the disciplining of the youth so that they became a compact, unbreakable body.³¹⁷ The insistence on the organization and disciplining of the youth coincided with the foundation of the Federation in 1935. This transition from one form of organization Enti to the another the Federation, represented another instigation for the *Arbënia* writers to offer models. In this context, they offered a triple reference: Hitler youth, Mussolini Fascio, and the Kemalist youth. These were regarded as the most important examples of the achievements of enlightened dictatorships. According to this attitude Albania, which had a young King, had to follow these successful examples.³¹⁸

From this perspective, promoted by some members and supporters of “the young,” the most admired aspect of the Hitlerian dictatorship was discipline; of the fascist dictatorship, unity of the people; and of the Kemalist one, separation from the past. These three aspects also were put forward as the founding principles of the Albanian enlightened dictatorship under the direction of the King Zogu. In the article “The Strength of Discipline,”³¹⁹ it was claimed that Hitler’s youth did not pass their time playing cards like the Albanians one did, but were trained for difficult conditions. “They gave us a lesson in discipline,” asserted the author, referring to the 12 German young boys that came to visit Albania and made a documentary about the Albanian nature they explored during the visit. Accordingly, the author sustained that this *excellence of the Hitlerian dictatorship* could be transmitted in Albania only by

³¹⁷ Çika, “Qeverija e Sotme.”

³¹⁸ NEO, “Pak Histori,” *Arbënia*, no. 295 (25 June 1936).

³¹⁹ L. “Forca e disiplinës,” *Arbënia*, no. 281 (9 June 1936).

an enlightened dictatorship, also known as a nationalist dictatorship. The author described this as becoming a country with iron discipline united around the fatherland and the King.³²⁰

In this discourse, the King personified the fatherland. Otherwise, their existence was correlated as the nation-state, and was presumed exist due to the dedication, love and sacrifice of the King.³²¹ In this sense, his image was closely related to youth and required youth to exemplify a young, healthy, strong, warrior fatherland. All the three, Kemal, Mussolini, and Hitler, were put forward as distinct examples in this context. Turkey was referred to as the new Turkey of Kemal by the promoters of the enlightened dictatorship, but also by the majority of those who mentioned Turkey in the press during the period.³²² This represented a two-folded implication: on the one hand, it implied a young country, where power was dominated by members of younger generations that were not identified with the Ottoman empire or its administration and were loyal to Kemal. On the other, it suggested a break with the past and construction of a future in opposition to this past. In this sense, the New Turkey was like Kemal; young, strong, successful, determined and western in its ways of dressing and acting, so all the opposite of the Ottomans.

These ideas were particularly underlined by Ismet Toto, but they were not new in Albania. Still in 1925, only a few years after the formation of the Turkish Republic led by Mustafa Kemal, an article in the journal *Independenca Shqiptare*

³²⁰ L. “Forca e disiplinës.”

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² See Nebil Çika, “Misioni i Qeveris së Sotme - III. Doktërina Zogiste,” *Arbënia*, no. 135, (5 December 1935). “Turqizma,” *Reforma*, Shoqnore e Pedagogjike, Organ i Lidhjes se Mësuesve, Drejton Nebil Çika, Viti i Parë, no. 1 (January 1924). P. Gjergj Fishta, “*Nji Udhtim në Turki të Re*,” *Hylli i Dritës*, no. 1 (January 1933).

(The Albanian Independence) reported on a conversation of an Albanian visitor in Turkey with a Turkish civil servant. Apparently, the civil servant had criticized the Albanian visitor who was wearing a fez, claiming that Europe should check some of its corners, for example Albania, and find there the old Ottoman attitude, contrary to his country, where the old Turkey had died. According to the Albanian visitor this Turkish civil servant had told him that the youth had the duty to throw away these oriental attitudes and save this Albania that smelled of old Turkey.³²³

Obviously, the point here was not about the attitude of a Turkish civil servant, but about the way the Turkish experience under Mustafa Kemal was transmitted in Albania. There were important differences in the ways and levels the Kemalist, fascist and Hitlerian models put forward by the press circulated, and affected the models implemented in the country. From 1928 to 1934 the model of the Albanian youth organization was not only determined by the Italian model, but it was the Italian staff, in the capital and dispersed throughout the country, that applied this model. The government that came in power in 1935 was said to be dominated by German culture. A journalist and director of several newspapers during the period, Zoi Xoxa, in his memoirs referred to the government of Mehdi Frashëri that came in power on 21 October 1935 as the government of deutsche-culture (*doiçe-kultura*).³²⁴ He stressed that the main ministers, Rrok Gera of Finance, Nush Bushati of Education, Fuat Asllani of Foreign Affairs, Dhimitër Berati of National Economy and Ndoc Saraçi of transport were affected particularly by German culture to the

³²³ “Merhumja Turqi dhe Shqipëria e ré,” *Indipendence Shqiptare*, no. 39 (Tiranë: 23.September 1925).

³²⁴ Xoxa, p. 183.

degree that some of them took briefings from their closet collaborators in German.³²⁵ Alike, Nebil Çika in an article titled “The mission of the contemporary government I,” published on 5 December 1935 in *Arbënia*, maintained that the new appointments of the government were not driven by nepotism, yet those who had studied in Austria were definitely the preferred.³²⁶

This inclination toward the German education and culture also was reflected in the attempts to adopt German models in youth organization. According to the press, one of the most known representatives of group of “the young,” Ismet Toto was sent to Germany to study the organization of the German youth.³²⁷ The arrival of the group of 12 young people members of the Hitlerjugend was organized and managed officially by the government. In an article of *Arbënia* dated 9 June 1936 it was explained that the accommodation of the German boys in Albania was done by the Public Entity of Tourism (*Enti i Turizmit*). A match was organized between them and the Gymnasium I team of Tirana. According to the author, the Albanian elite, - the princes Sali and Tati, the ministers Gera and Saraçi, the German ambassador. T. von Luckward, the chief of youth, colonel Aqif Permeti and the general secretary (adjutant) of the King major Allaman Çupi attended the match in a stadium full of Albanian and Nazi flags.³²⁸

The article continued with the description of the event in the cinema called *Kino-Nacional*, where the documentary film “The German Youth through Albania in

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Nebil Çika, “Misioni i Qeverisë së sotme I,” *Arbënia*, no.133 (4 December 1935).

³²⁷ Çika, “Qeverija e Sotme.”

³²⁸ “12 djelmosha t’organizatës ‘Hitler Jugend’ vizitojnë Shqipërinë,” *Arbënia*, no. 281 (9 June 1936).

Boat”(*Rinia Gjermane me Barkë nëpër Shqipëri*) was shown.³²⁹ The article offered a panorama of great enthusiasm and a high level of participation by public authorities in the event.

In the evening in the Kino-Nacional where the premier of the film was held, the tribunes were full with authorities among them, the prime minister Mehdi Frashëri, the ministers Berati, Saraçi, Gera, the diplomatic body, the Bektashi main grandfather, the generals Percy and Mirsdac, the vice-head of the State Council Ajet Libohova, the prefect Qemal Pepa, ex-ministers, deputies, civil servants, officers. After the film the boys were attended at the scene with the hitlerian flag ... Three songs were performed, “The Swearing Soldier,” “The Sacred Land of Free Germany,” “The March of Comrades”. (...) The 12 boys of the *Hitler Jugend* come back to scene. Another three songs are performed... The spectators are very enthusiastic... Finally, “Forward, you Germany” was sung. The boys leave the scene within the applause of enthusiastic spectators.³³⁰

Taking into account the articles of *Arbënia* during 1935 and 1936 it can be said that all the writers dealing with questions of youth were alike enthusiastic applauders of what they called Kemalist, fascist and Hitler youths. In the article for youth of 8 May 1935 an author writing with the pseudonym Stadiumi (Stadium), maintained that he could not forget that moment of 3 October 1935 when Duce called the black shirts “One heart, one determination, one ideal,” and the youth that day called back to their commander “*l’Italia e Mussolini, Mussolini e Italia*.”³³¹ In his article “The Mystic of the Youth,” the author using the pseudonym D., explained that was this spirit of unity, courage and patriotism that characterized the present day Turks, the Hitler youth and the Fascists. Consequently, he hoped that one day the

³²⁹ “12 djelmosha t’organizatës »

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Stadiumi, “Për Djalërinë,” *Arbënia*, no. 254 (8 May 1936).

Albanian youth would call, as these nation's youth did for their own country and leaders, "long life to King Zogu, long life to Albania."³³²

The insistence on youth of this group of intellectuals was somehow reflected in foundation of the Federation, a model proposed by the writers of *Arbëria* in 1935.³³³ However, it cannot be said that the Federation resembled the organization of youth in Turkey, Italy, or Germany, at least to the extent Enti resembled the Italian model. It was more a conglomerate of elements from various models that went beyond the three highlighted with insistence by these writers. Actually, the journalist, promoters of the enlightened dictatorship were putting forward some main elements they though common in all of the praised models, Turkish, German, and Italian. In this respect, a part from the proposition to found a federation, which would assemble all artistic and sports associations of the country, there was no concrete, detailed model proposed. The government Frashëri was inspired by the German model. It was, on the other hand, was in agreements with Italy in other matters. The Turkish example had been an ongoing inspiration, elaborated in journals, yet without any implementation. The enlightened dictatorship was based on the idea of a disciplined youth led by a charismatic leader. Actually, this was a basic drive under youth organization the mobilization it attempted in interwar Albania.

Balilla and Its Particular Meaning for Albania

Focusing particularly on Balila, this subsection aims to offer some additional ground for a comparison between the two Albanian public successive youth

³³² D. "Mistika e Djalërisë," *Arbëria*, no. 140 (21 December 1935).

³³³ Çika, "Misioni i Qeveris së Sotme - III."

organizations and Balilla that provided a model for Enti. According to Zapponi, the author of a pioneering work about the ONB, youth organizations in Italy were spread before the formal foundation of Balilla.³³⁴ There were several types of organizations among which the most diffused the fascist and catholic ones. Moreover, the state was operating in the field of physical education of the youth since the 1923 with the foundation of *Ente Nazionale per l'Educazione Fisica* (The National Entity for the Physical Education).³³⁵ The foundation of the *Opera Nazionale Balilla per l'Assistenza e l'Educazione Fisica e Morale della Gioventù* (The National Enterprise of Support and Physical and Moral Education of the Youth) known as the ONB or Balilla on 3 April 1926 represented the way the fascist regime led by Mussolini wanted to deal with youth.³³⁶ “The state, following the interest of the national collectivity and with the aim to develop and preserve the physical, intellectual and moral qualities of its citizens, should impose to all the young people, men and women, the obligation to practice the physical & psychical education.”³³⁷

By this, the regime cited two basic requirements of citizenship, a physical and psychical performance, the later otherwise noted as moral performance. Moreover both of these were to be determined by the state and the subject of this education was

³³⁴ Niccolò Zapponi, “Il partito della gioventù. Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo 1926-1943,” *Storia contemporanea*, Rivista bimestrale di studi storici, Anno XIII, no. 4/5 (October 1982), pp. 569-634.

³³⁵ See Roberta Vescovi, “Children into Soldiers. Sport and Fascist Italy,” in *Militarism, Sport, Europe: War Without Weapons*, edited by James Anthony Mangan, (London: Routledge, 2003), pp.166-177

³³⁶ “La svolta, nella storia delle organizzazioni giovanili del PNF, avvenne il 3 aprile 1926, con l'approvazione di una legge che istituiva l'Opera Nazionale Balilla,” Zapponi, p. 587.

³³⁷ “Lo statto nell'interesse della collettività nazionale e al fine di sviluppare e connservare le qualità fisiche, intelletuali e morali dei cittadini, dovrebbe imporre a tutti i giovani maschi o femmine l'obligo di praticare l'educazione fisio-psichica.” *Ibid.*, p. 588. The english translation of the paragraph is mine.

the young individual defined primarily by age. The ONB had a very inclusive structure in terms of age. It engaged in activities incorporated in various sub-organizations young people from six to twenty one year old. The six to eight year old were included in the structure called Figli della Lupa, the 8- 14 years old Balilla e Piccole Italiane, 14-18 Avanguardisti e Giovani Italiane, 18-21 Fasci Giovanili di Combattimento and 21-28 years old to Gruppi Universitari Fascisti.³³⁸

The abolishment of Catholic scouts groups in the urban centers with less than 20, 000 inhabitants in January 1927 and the obligatory use of the sign of the ONB for the remaining³³⁹ demonstrated that the state was not intending to accept as competing or alternative any other mass youth organization, and particularly those representing an alternative source of loyalty, in this case the church. Concomitantly, the regulations about the ONB issued in 1927, including in the aims of the organization not only the military, paramilitary or athletic education, but also the spiritual, cultural, professional, technical and religious one,³⁴⁰ and the change of the institutional dependence of the ONB on the Council of Minister to the Ministry of Education in 1929³⁴¹ demonstrated that education in the schools was regarded as secondary to this physical and psychical education directed by the ONB and that probably the ONB was promoted as a replacement even for the schools.³⁴² By 1934,

³³⁸ Nicola Bertini, "I giovani e il fascismo. Aspetti dello Spirito Pubblico a Roma 1930-1939," (Tesi di Laurea, Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza," Anno accademica 1993/1994), p.11.

³³⁹ Zapponi, p. 592.

³⁴⁰ "a) ad infondere nei giovani il sentimento della disciplina e della educazione militare; b) alla istruzione premilitare; c) alla istruzione ginnico sportiva; d) alla educazione spirituale e culturale; e) alla istruzione professionale e tecnica; f) alla educazione ed assistenza religiosa." Decreto legge 9/1/1927, n.6, art.10 in Zapponi, p.599.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 598.

³⁴² Ibid., p. 599.

the ONB number of members had increased by 100% its membership with 3,942,000 registered members, while in 1937 when all youth organization were included in the Fascist Party Youth organization Gioventu del Littorio (GIL), the organization had approximately 5,561,000 registered members.³⁴³

These numbers are huge compared to Albania, the population of which did not reach 1 million in the interwar years. Nevertheless, this did not impede Albanian officials from trying to adopt the Italian model and either the Italian officials from imposing this model. The Italian colonel Crispino Agostinucci came to Albania in 1928 with a well-defined and declared aim: the formation of the National Organization of the Albanian Youth.³⁴⁴ This organization was founded in 1928 and was named the National Entity the Albanian Youth (Enti). It was revised in 1930 and ended in 1934, to be replaced by another organization whose leaders were Albanian bureaucrats. The first organization concerning boys and girls thirteen to nineteen or twenty years old - approximately the age of the Avanguardisti - was enlarged in 1930 to include the control of cultural activities in the country. It was represented in localities mainly by Italian instructors, while the great part of the manuals used in the training sessions, matches or artistic contests were translated from Italian.

Obviously, the Albanian state in this period, or at least groups within it, opted for an Italian fascist model of the education of youth, an education that in both of the cases represented itself more as a rival than complementary to school, an education that required important means in terms of staff and technical conditions that required continual foreign support, in this case, Italian. The core of the education directed by the state youth organizations was the same in the two

³⁴³ Zapponi, p.606.

³⁴⁴ See Appendix A, note 44.

countries, the physical, moral and patriotic education of the young citizen. Religion, then communism were regarded as major challenges and the role and charisma of one man, the unique leader was important in both cases. Both of these leaders were also promoted as the representative of youth and embodiment of the strong young nation, yet the challenges of power they faced and the position of each in the respective societies were rather different. A main difference between the Albanian and Italian cases was that the former was in the middle of an enterprise of challenging³⁴⁵ an already settled nation-state apparatus, while the latter in a middle of the process of founding or adopting the apparatus for a newly established nation-state. Youth action was regarded as decisive for the future of each regime and the stakes for the youth were huge in both countries. The relations among them defined very much the models of good citizenship projected on the youth, as the action of citizens in both cases (re)shaped this relation and the projects it produced.

Concluding Remarks

Pierre-Yves Saunier explored the interwar interstate collaboration in terms of what could be called the making of the international.³⁴⁶ He focused on the increased collaboration between institutions based on nation-state representation between north Atlantic countries.

Constructing the state, one according to the other, in a relation reaching until the core of their sovereignty through institutions that are not visible,

³⁴⁵ Zapponi, p. 602. Zapponi maintains that it is in the nature of such regimes to attack state in order to dissolve it for the sake of a party or to submit it to the party in order to create a unique totalitarian body.

³⁴⁶ Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Les régimes circulatoires du domaine social 1800-1940: projets et ingénierie de la convergence et de la différence," *Genèses* 2, no. 71 (2008), pp. 4-25, particularly, pp.16, 18. See also Kenneth Bertrams et Sandrine Kott, "Actiones Sociales Internationales," *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

accomplished or cannot be fully understood within a local, national or comparative approach. An exploration of circulations of concepts, social places of confrontation, mobility of protagonists and examination of adoptions and rejections is required. The landscape of circulations is not balanced, but asymmetric.³⁴⁷

This analysis of Saunier is similar with Zimmermann and Werner's³⁴⁸ *histoire croisée* highlighting the circulation, interaction and intersections of ideas, concepts, experiences that circulated locally, nationally and internationally, taking new forms in each confrontation; attitudes and trends reflected within actors and spaces and being re-dimensioned in each reflection.³⁴⁹ Dorothee Benhamou in "Les origines internationales des réformes sociales" claims that there was an increased exchange of experts and experiences within the north Atlantic space during the interwar period.³⁵⁰ The idea of circulation implies that the source of an idea, attitude or institution is not fixed and changes continually, while being reshaped in each confrontation and through mutual reflections.³⁵¹

The analysis of circulation within the perspective of the above-mentioned works would require working on a precise trend, institution or idea, exploring it through multiple sources while evaluating its evolution in different countries, areas

³⁴⁷ Saunier, "Les régimes circulatoires," p. 13, see also pp. 8-13.

³⁴⁸ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no.1 (February 2006), pp. 30-50. See also Michael Werner & Bénédicte Zimmermann, eds., *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), pp. 7-41.

³⁴⁹ Werner and Zimmermann, "Histoire Croisée," pp. 36-39, p. 43.

³⁵⁰ Dorothee Benhamou, Benhamou, Dorothee. "Les origines internationales des réformes sociales," *Genèses: sciences sociales et histoire*, no. 71 (Juin 2008.) See also Dominique Barjot, "Americanization: Cultural Transfers in the Economic Sphere in Twentieth Century," *Enterprises et Histoire* 1, no. 32 (2003), pp. 41-58. Michael Williams denoted 1920-1950s, as "the transnational years." See Michael Williams, "The End of Modern History?" *Geographical Review* 88, no. 2 (April 1998) pp. 275-300, p. 275, see also pp. 277-287.

³⁵¹ Werner and Zimmermann, pp. 36-39.

or localities. Obviously, this work does not have such an aim. Nevertheless, it includes the effort to question the ideas, attitudes, projects related to youth in Albania in relation to transnational circulation in this regard. The references given, the examples mentioned, the books in circulation and the models adapted demonstrate that Albania was well integrated in the coeval trends about education and youth organizations.

In defense of the schools program of 1922, the Minister of Education stressed that the program was similar to those of other Balkan countries.³⁵² I regard this as a reflexivity of trends operating in the field of the legitimacy of public projects. It also is interesting to note how the Turkish example of “Turkism”/”turkçuluk” was continually referred to as “Neo-Turkism” with reference to a national necessity, the foundation of “Neo-Albanianism.” In 1933 the textbook *State Lessons*³⁵³ prepared by Abedin Çausi, who in the introduction explained having been inspired by the Turkish textbook *Yeni Yurt Bilgisi* by Mithat Sadullah.³⁵⁴

On the other hand, the Italian model went far beyond inspiration, as the fascist Italian and Albanian authorities were at the highest point of multilateral collaboration in 1929. The translation in 1929 of an Italian textbook, *Rules about Behavior in a Good Society*,³⁵⁵ for Albanian schools by the first secretary of the Ministry of Education, fit well in this specter of close collaboration that included

³⁵² Marlaskaj, p. 7.

³⁵³ Abedin Çausi, *Mësime Shtetnore* (Second Edition), (Tiranë: Shtëpinja Botonjëse Kristo Luarasi, 1933). Abedin Çausi, *Mësime shtetnore* (Fifth Edition), (Tiranë: Shtëpinja Botonjëse Kristo Luarasi, 1938).

³⁵⁴ “Introduction” in Çausi, *Mësime Shtetnore*, (1933).

³⁵⁵ Angelo Schenoni, (Mayor General of Land Forces) *Rregulla si me iSsjellun në një Shoqni të Mirë*. përkth. Lazër Çeta, First Secretary in the Ministry of Education (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja Teknike, 1929).

education and youth organizations. In terms of circulation in the Albanian case it is interesting to note that while Turkey denoted as new Turkey had an important place as inspiration, the models employed were mainly from the fascist Italian example.

On the other hand, whatever the interactions in terms of ideas, individual mobility and interstate cooperation the trends and practices were determined locally and nationally. Neo-Shqiptarizma, or Neo-Albanianism, was a local journal that offered the basis for a national ideology. However, it remained something in-between: between socio-cultural action and nationalist theory, Albanian nationalism and effort to develop the sociological thinking among the intelligentsia of the country, an idea for all and a promulgation of a group of intellectuals. Moreover, the idea was far from framing the harsh social problems of the country, including those of the young people. Consequently, its capacity to be embraced by a larger number of intellectuals and create a sensitivity or mobilization within different socio-cultural networks remained limited. The issue of mobilization represented a serious gap. Neo-Albanianism was an intellectual discourse debated in intellectual environments and mainly in the press. Thus, its margins of operation remained the cities. The penetration of these ideas beyond these margins depended on the main intellectual actor having access in networks that went beyond the city.

This crucial actor was the teacher. As mentioned, since the regime's relation with the teachers was tense. The apparent affinity of the Neo-Albanians with the King would represent a limit for the spread of Neo-Albanianism among the teachers. Additionally, the state employed morality as a means to take teachers under control. Since 1928, national moral values were correlated with political preferences. Teachers, then students, were the most frequently confronted with such morality. On the one hand, the teachers stood on the same side with the state when the state, as the

source of the secular, national morality was confronted with the religious authority. On the other, teachers were confronted with the state when the secular, national morality became a political morality. This could be regarded also as a confrontation within the state: the actors in power vs. actors in the administration.

Baubérot put the accent on a confrontation between the moral order (with religion as its main source) and the secular morality at end of the nineteenth, beginning of twentieth century France.³⁵⁶ In Albania there was an evolution in the employment of the concept of morality by the state and intellectuals during the period. As already mentioned, religious, secular then national, and finally, political moral summarizes this evolution. However, the moral language was so present and morality was so closely related to the legitimation of the regime, constituting the line of separation of the acceptable and unacceptable, that I would say this was still a moral order.

The struggle on morality was not one that should be regarded as between the Catholic clergy and the state or/and secular intelligentsia. It was a process of negotiations, evidently ascribed to tensions between the state institutions that claimed a determining role as far as it regarded citizens' socio-cultural values and the clergies that occupied such position (the respective communities of the Sunni Muslims, Bektashi muslims, Catholic and Orthodox Christians). However, the tension with the catholic clergy was more evident for various reasons.³⁵⁷ The most

³⁵⁶ The book of Baubérot represents a full-fledged work on morality; how it was taught, reflected in the notebooks of students, formulated by authorities within an socio-historical evolution, struggles between various groups, rise and 'fall' of laic moral, morality as rights, liberties and responsibility of citizens. The book is based on a very original research on the notebooks of students between 1870-1918. Baubérot, *La Morale Laïque*.

³⁵⁷ Related to clashes and tensions over schools and beyond with the muslim clergy see Nathalie Clayer, "Adapting Islam to Europe: The Albanian Example." in *Islam und*

important among these was related to the transnational hierarchy of the Catholic clergy.

The Albanian Catholic clergy was dependent to a universal center of Catholicism and the church was subordinated to another higher religious authority posited beyond the frontiers of the nation-state.³⁵⁸ This was valid also for other “national” Catholic churches. Undermining the church as source of morality had a two-folded effect. First, it challenged its universal stand that the right and the wrong, the good and the bad values and attitudes were determined according to God’s laws. Then it doubled the national bind on the “national” clergies who now were not only obliged to respect some national hierarchies, but were to leave also the universal monopoly of morality to the nation-state. So Catholic objections to the state-taught morality were similar in France and Albania as the Catholic objection was transnational, in conformity with the objection of a higher Catholic authority and double, not only against a secular, but necessarily also to a nation-state morality.

The Interwar Albanian state youth organization employed a moral discourse. In this sense it can be said that the continuation of the moral order was provided by a state institution. Taking into account that the young citizens that took part (or were obligated to take part) in the activities of the state youth organizations swore loyalty (*japin besën*) to the King, it can be said that since early 1930s the objective of this order was to ensure loyalty. This was also a popular concept known as *besa* (oath or

Muslime in (Südost) Europa im Kontext von Transformation und EU-Erweiterung. Christian Voss et Jordanka Telbizova-Sack, ed. (2010), pp. 53-69.

³⁵⁸ For a particular perspective on this, see Serge Gruzinski, “Les Mondes Mêlés de la Monarchie Catholique et autres “Connected Histories,” *Annales HSS*, no. 1 (January-February 2001), pp. 85-117. The review and critique of the idea of globalisation of Gruzinski see also Jérôme Sguard, “Les Quatre Parties du Monde: Histoire d’une Mondialisation,” *Critique Internationale* 1, no. 26 (2005), pp. 166-170.

oath of loyalty), and associated with *besnik* (loyal) and *besnikëri* (loyalty). It was a logic largely employed in patriarchal networks and hereafter adopted for the national citizenship. However, the element of loyalty in citizenship was not an Albanian specificity, but an element related very much to the logic of citizenship and particularly important in the fascist and all kind of authoritarian regimes. In terms of youth loyalty, it was to be achieved mostly by “disciplining the mind and the bodies”³⁵⁹ of the young citizens, an enterprise to be explored in details in the following parts.



³⁵⁹ See Appendix A, note 45.

PART 3

STATE'S YOUTH INSTITUTIONS



My aim in this part is to offer a socio-historical analysis of the institutional evolution of the state youth organization starting with the foundation of Enti in 1928, until its inclusion in GIL (Gioventu Italiana di Littorno) in 1939. Chapter 6 traces intellectual ideas and institutional developments related to physical education before 1928, throwing some light on previous dynamics influencing the foundation of Enti in 1928. I regard particularly important the examination of the ideas and institutional enterprises related to discipline and physical education throughout the period, in order to understand better the ground on which various actors, particularly the Italians and local Albanian ones, approached each other.

Before focusing on the most distinctive actors of the state's enterprise in youth organization in Chapter 8, I propose in Chapter 7 a chronological institutional analysis including a schematization of the institutional forms of the state's youth organization in interwar Albania. And, finally, I focus on the profiles, aspirations and interaction of institutional actors. Throughout this part, on the one hand, I try to make a dynamic institutional analysis reflecting the interaction between multiple and diverse actors, ideas, and models. On the other, I try to scrutinize beyond models of international cooperation/relations, or domination and dependence between nation-states, the trans and international circulations of ideas, tendencies, values and institutional patterns.

CHAPTER 6: THE INSTITUTION OF SOLDIER CITIZEN

To Jahn, gymnastics were not merely the means of augmenting physical powers, but a tool for achieving political goals as well. German freedom and strength revolved upon the youth of the state and, therefore, the supreme aim of physical education was to develop sturdy citizens possessing a love of their homeland and the aggregate strength to throw off the rule of the oppressor. (...) By 1814, he was even receiving a government salary, and the Turnvereine (Gymnastic Societies) grew rapidly. Jahn had inspired a nation of citizen-soldiers.³⁶⁰

The Insistence on Physical Education, its Transnational References and National Organizations

The idea of the education of mind and spirit through body is at least as old as the first human religions; likely, should be the idea that the individual body can be subject to regulations of a higher (socio-political or divine) authority. Ideas about disciplining the human body, however, in pursue of greater socio-cultural and political aspirations also developed in opposition to religions. It was at the beginnings of the nineteenth century that the education of the individual body became an important concern of state central authorities, while such trend was brought to extremities with practices like eugenics in the first half of the twentieth century by various regimes, most notoriously the Nazis.³⁶¹

During the interwar period, although not necessarily in such extremities, ideas related to disciplining the body in the service of greater collective benefits were omni-present in the attitude toward the education of the citizens of many technocrats

³⁶⁰ Ziegler and Gerber in Iowa Health and Physical Readiness Alliance, "Roots. Restorative, Martial, and Pedagogical." Accessed, June 2010, Available [online] at <http://www.ihpra.org/chapter_3.htm>

³⁶¹ See Appendix A, note 46.

and intellectuals in various countries³⁶² including Albania. I regard the insistence on the physical education of students, the discourse on the discipline of youth and, consequently, that of nation and race in interwar Albania as part of these trends. It is the above-mentioned education, discourse, and its institutionalization that I will analyze closer in the following chapter.

Until 1926, the examples and references given for the organization of gymnastics in Albania were mainly from the German case. For example, the cultural journal *Afrimi* in two consequential issues gave place to articles about the development of gymnastics in Germany since the early nineteenth century.³⁶³ In the articles it was explained that gymnastics was a useful means to prepare fighters and that in barracks the feeling of fatherland and the nation flourished.³⁶⁴ The discourse however, was not congruent with practice, neither in terms of concrete steps in developing gymnastics in the country, nor in terms of the organization of youth by state institutions. Since the early 1920s existed the Albanian Boy-scouts (*Gjurmësia Shqiptare*). The organization was not active in every prefecture of the country and it was not particularly regarded as a public initiative in terms of paramilitary education. According to the weekly *New Generation* (*Brezi i Ri*), the Institute of the Boy-Scouts was founded in 1920 in Tirana on the initiative of a certain Miss Williams.³⁶⁵ The institute was under the surveillance of the High Council (*Kshilli i Naltë*). In the article, the foundation of Albanian Boy-Scouts was analyzed within the perspective

³⁶² For a detailed analysis of these trends during the interwar period see this work Part 2.

³⁶³ *Afrimi*, Revistë Kulturore, no.1 (Vjeti IV, 1926), p.7. “‘Vazhdimi i Naltsimit’ dhe Gjinnastikët Komtare të Gjermanisë,” *Afrimi*, Rivistë Kulturore Vjeti IV, no. 2 (February 1926).

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ *Brezi i Ri*, no. 8 (19 March 1925).

of development of athletics in the country, although it was noted that the institute was under the direction of the Ministry of War.³⁶⁶

The continual reference to the example of Germany in various writers went parallel to an increasing interest in the Scouts organization in the reading audience in 1925 in the country. The weekly *New Generation* (*Brezi i Ri*) claimed that the list of most requested books among their publications included *The Organization of the Boy-Scouts* (*Organizimi i Boyscauts-ve*).³⁶⁷ This reverted somehow the focus of the journals elaborating on such subjects so they started giving larger space to the Scouts. For example, the weekly *The Voice of the People* (*Zâni i Popullit*) in its issue of 7 May 1925 published the history of the BoyScouts with an elaboration about the benefits of such organization.³⁶⁸ The aims of the scouts were explained as instilling in each young boy good qualities and virtues in order to serve the fatherland and the society in which he lived.³⁶⁹ It was also underlined that the boyscout should serve society without making any division of faith or pursuing any financial benefit.³⁷⁰ Following various archival documents, consisting of circulars sent from the Central Office of the Albanian Scouts in Tirana (*Gjurmues Shqiptarë Zyra Qendrore*) the main activities of the Albanian Scouts were excursions in the country.³⁷¹ In one of

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ *Brezi i Ri*, no. 4 (19 February 1925).

³⁶⁸ Jupiteri, "Boiskautizma," *Zâni i Popullit*, no. 5 (17 May 1925), p.3.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 12 December 1926, D. 41, pp. 23-24. AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 13 December 1926, D. 41, p. 25. AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 21 September 1926, D. 41, p. 37.

the circulars it was explained that the main aim of the excursions was to discover and explore the fatherland.³⁷²

In the circular issued by the main office of the Albanian Scouts in Tirana it was maintained that the exploration of the natural beauties of the fatherland embellished the heart of the young boys, while good deeds were a source of joy for the citizens.³⁷³ Moreover, from the same circular we understand that occasionally the boy scouts organized theatrical performances for the habitants of the places they visited.³⁷⁴ On the other hand, the correspondence of the scouts' main office demonstrated that this public institution in Tirana was in contact with other similar organizations outside the country.

On 26 June 1926, this office forwarded to the General Directorate of Education (*Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Arsimit*) in Tirana the program of the international conference of Scouts that was to be organized in Switzerland, including an invitation for a small delegation from Albania.³⁷⁵ Previously, on 24 May 1926, the chief of the International Camp of Scouts in Kandersteg, A. Lederrey had invited the Albanian scouts to participate in the international camp of scouts to be organized on 22-28 August 1926.³⁷⁶

As mentioned above, the second quarter of the interwar period in Albania (1925-1929)³⁷⁷ was marked by a continual orientation toward Italy in terms of

³⁷² AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 21 September 1926, D. 41, p. 37.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 17 June 1926, D. 41, p. 31.

³⁷⁶ AQSH, F. 195, Minsitria e Arsimit, Y. 24 May 1926, D. 41, p. 53.

³⁷⁷ See this work Part 2.

international relations and particularly public youth organizations. The creation of the Enti in 1928 would leave the Scouts organization in the shadows. The public attention drew to this new enterprise under Italian guidance. From 1928, members of the Italian army were appointed as head instructors of the physical education (*kryeinstruktoret e edukates fizike*) in each prefecture. They trained the teachers and instructors of physical education in schools, issued programs of physical education and organized public paramilitary training sessions as well as various manifestations. Although it acquired the approval of the Ministry of Education, the Program of the Physical Education was issued by the Central Inspectorate of the Physical Education (*Inspektoris Qendrore t'Edukatës Fizike*), which was one of the offices of the Enti permanently directed by a member of the Italian army.

The Program of Physical, Moral, Patriotic and Hygienic Education (Program i Edukatës, Fizike, Morale, Patriotike) issued in 1931 was a publication of this office.³⁷⁸ Consequently, in 1932 it was the Central Inspector of the Physical Education (*Inspektori Qendror i Edukatës Fizike*), a member of the Italian army, Gino Riccioni, who compiled the report on the situation of physical education in the country.³⁷⁹ Alike, Gino Riccioni issued the directives to be followed by the head instructors of physical education for the following year.³⁸⁰ The practice of physical education was shaped and controlled by these members of the Italian army

³⁷⁸ Mbretinija Shqiptare, Ministrija e Arsimit, Enti Kombëtar “Djelmënia Shqiptare” Inspektoria Qendrore e Edukatës Fizike, *Programi i Edukatës Fizike, Morale, Patriotike e të Higjenës* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja “Mbrothësija”-Kristo P. Luarasi, 1931).

³⁷⁹ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1932, D. 70, pp. 3-6. Place and date on document, Tiranë: 4 August 1932. Sent from the Central Inspector of Physical Education to the Ministry of Education.

³⁸⁰ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1932, D. 70, pp. 7-8. Place and date on document, Tiranë: 14 September 1932. From the Central Inspector of Physical Education to Head-Instructors of Physical Education.

particularly between 1928-1934. In the first two years of this period, 1928-1930, this education was regarded as part of the paramilitary education, preparative phase for a larger military education and service. While, from 1930 paramilitary education was regulated separately and put in organic relation with the military service.

Consequently, head instructors of physical education became particularly engaged in the direction of students' public manifestations and the organization of sports and arts in the country. However, the public discourse on physical education did not change its emphasis on discipline and its benefits with an increasing multiplication of references. Actually, during the of interwar period ideas about physical education in Albania evolved with an increasing emphasis on discipline to reach a peaking in 1936 with the discourse of *Enlightened Dictatorship* (Diktatura e Ndritur).³⁸¹ This evolution included the enlargement in aim of this education from education of the individual body in early 20's to the generation of feelings of collectivity and support among the citizens since the mid 1920s. Then, since the mid-1930s authors of articles on the *Enlightened Dictatorship* exemplified discipline with groups of young Nazis marching in the streets of Berlin or the Fascio marches in Rome³⁸².

In December 1935, Nebil Çika proposed the foundation of a federation of youth. He claimed that the hitlerian Germans, kemalist Turks, and the fascist Italians had already done this.³⁸³ He insisted on the idea that the state youth organization

³⁸¹ See this work Part 2.

³⁸² The discourse about the physical performance of youth and its successes was dominated by references to Mussolini, Mustafa Kemal and Hitler. The Italian model had been applied until 1934 and it was put forward as an example of success also after 1934. Between 1935-1936 the government attempted an adoption of the German model. While the "New Turkey of Kemal" was an ongoing example through the years.

³⁸³ Çika, "Misioni i Qeverisë së Sotme."

should be done independently from the Ministry of Education.³⁸⁴ At the head of this organization was to be the King, who was the ideological and spiritual synthesis of the youth.³⁸⁵ This insistence of these authors did not open way to any institutional change and the Federation founded in 1935 with the initiative of the Ministry of Education remained related and dependent on this ministry. Nevertheless, the parts had common ideas on the socio-cultural and political functions of sport and physical education.

The idea that sports were a means in the way to political or/ and national aims would be an opinion shared by state officials and the majority of the intellectuals that wrote on the theme during the period. The benefits that the individual could obtain from sports were envisaged only in the perspective of benefits the nation or the state. The concern was not explained as for the individual, but for the individual as part of the nation. Physical education was regarded as a basic necessity in the construction of a national collectivity. The promoters of *Enlightened Dictatorship*, and the programs of the Ministry of Education underlined the idea that the physical education of youth was not supposed to prepare champions, but to prepare the masses physically, reinforcing the idea of collectivity.³⁸⁶ The argument was that young individuals who did sports could be captured by the obsession to be better than friends, while state's youth organization aimed bringing young people together to create a cohesive group not just a conglomerate of champions.³⁸⁷ The following

³⁸⁴ D. "Mistika e Djalërisë," *Arbënia*, no.140 (21 December 1935). Çika, "Misioni i Qeverisë së sotme." Stadiumi, "Organizata Sportive," *Arbënia*, no.250 (3 May 1936).

³⁸⁵ D. "Diktatura në veprim," *Arbënia*, no. 198 (29 February 1936).

³⁸⁶ Stadiumi, "Për Djalërinë," *Arbënia*, no. 254 (8 May 1936).

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

section will follow more closely how these ideas were applied in schools programs associated with the moral and patriotic education.

The Physical, Moral, Patriotic and Hygienic Education in Schools

Physical education was a part of the curriculum of the Albanian Ministry of Education in 1920 as a course called “Gymnastics” (*Gjimnastikë*). This course was present since the first grade of elementary schools.³⁸⁸ High-schools also had a course called “Gymnastics.”³⁸⁹ Gymnastics, then physical education were part of the curricula throughout the period. The foundation of Enti in 1928 put forward a practice of education that combined physical, moral and patriotic education. This can be explained also as an enlargement of physical education to comprise and enhance the moral and patriotic education. The course of moral education continued to exist under various related names.³⁹⁰ This development shows that the physical education was not an aim per se, but a function of political aspirations, framed by the state authorities as national aspirations. Moreover, henceforth, moral education was explicitly and consistently put forward as and inseparable from the patriotic education.

The Ministry of Education and Enti published a detailed program in 1931, titled *The Physical, Moral, Patriotic and Hygienic Education*, to be applied in all of

³⁸⁸ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1920, D. 11, pp. 37-43,

³⁸⁹ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1926, D. 1, p. 1. Letter sent from the Directory of State Gymnasium of Shkodra to the General Directory of Education in Tirana.

³⁹⁰ See this work “*From Religious, to Secular, then National and Finally Political Morality.*”

the schools in the country.³⁹¹ The first and longest part of the program offered the details about physical education. The program was divided into two periods: first, students six to sixteen year old, then sixteen to eighteen, and eighteen to twenty year old. It was noted that physical, moral, patriotic and hygiene education of the first group was focused particularly on hygiene education, the sixteen to eighteen year old were to be given pre-athletic exercises and the eighteen to twenty years old athletic exercises. The course was to be conducted by teachers or instructors of physical education in the schools following the program and the guidelines of the head-instructors of physical education that would orient them in the physical, moral and patriotic training of the youth (*stërvitjen fizike, morale dhe patriotike të djelmënisë*).³⁹² The aim of the physical training was declared to be “the development of physical qualities of the group, not the preparation of champions.”³⁹³

The course included training and games that were to promote the virtue of being physically active and courageous. Gymnastics was to be taught according to the age groups. A training of combat was recommended since the first lessons. The training should induce emulation with a certain care between individuals, but mainly among groups and schools. In this respect, collective achievements were to be praised more than individual accomplishments.³⁹⁴ Six to sixteen years old students’ training should include the education of qualities of hygiene and exercises for development of the lungs and heart as well as the education of psychological

³⁹¹ *Programi i Edukatës Fizike*.

³⁹² *Programi i Edukatës Fizike*, p. 3.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

qualities and temper control.³⁹⁵ In the program the boys sixteen to seventeen years old, participating in the second part of the training, were regarded as fragile. Their masculine force was seen as in disproportion with their physical development, with their psychological profiles as of individuals overestimating their own physical and mental abilities. Consequently, it was advised avoid combat in their training. Such training could be done only after 17 years old when the muscles were considered to be at a stage of slower development.³⁹⁶

All the schoolboys were obliged participate in this training and could set out of it with a medical report from a physician of the Enti. All those who had minor physical handicaps could be subject to diminished training, without pretending total exemption. The schools' directors, in coordination with the head instructors in each prefecture, were to determine the hours for the moral and patriotic training that could not be less than five hours per week.³⁹⁷ It was noted that neither the weather nor the season could be a justification for the cancellation of the lesson, while the timetable should be respected rigorously.

During the exercises, the student were to be taught respect for the school hierarchy. It was claimed that the benefits of the physical education would soon appear, but they could be enhanced if the students were disciplined, attained the feeling transmitted in the lessons and followed instructions regarding hygiene even out of school. This would require close collaboration between teachers and school directors. It was emphasized that physical education did not mean the ability to run

³⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

³⁹⁶ *Programi i Edukatës Fizike*, p.5.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

fast. Applied in all of its details it meant a physically and morally prepared youth.³⁹⁸

Several pages with details about physical exercises and the tools to be used followed these explications. Obviously, this training did not aim to give to the students paramilitary education. Yet it prepared the young citizen body for such education and put forward a healthy, strong, trained body as a fundamental element of good citizenship.

The second section of the program was titled *The Program of Moral and Patriotic Education*.³⁹⁹ Moral and patriotic education was envisaged in forms of subjects that the teacher would develop during the course of physical education through conversations with students or short talks given to them “according to their age and cultural formation.” The preliminary arguments included such topics as: The National Flag, the Army Flag, the Militia flag, the Flag of Paramilitary Companies, the School Flag, Freedom, Law, Duties toward humanity, Fatherland - Duties toward the fatherland, Family - Duties toward the family, Duties toward oneself, Duties in private and public life, The Oath - Honor - Word of Honor, Discipline, Obedience - Deficiency in Obedience, Benefaction, Sincerity, Patience, and Collaboration. These subjects were to be developed carefully by the teachers that should take into account that the final aim was “to form individual and collective moral consciousness in order to act, work and live with discipline having in mind and heart the benefit of the Albanian Nation.”⁴⁰⁰ In the program it was explained that it had become necessary to prepare a guideline for all the organs of Enti responsible for the education of youth. This guideline was the unique source of reference to which the educators

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

³⁹⁹ *Programi i Edukatës Fizike*, pp. 13-24.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p.13.

should apply in order to complete the morality aspect of the physical and moral education in schools.⁴⁰¹

In the following pages were given details about the above-mentioned subjects. According to these, the Albanian national flag represented the unification all the Albanians under the monarchy of the King Zogu I. In terms of citizenship (*nënshtetësi*) to this nation-state, the flag was explained as representing the national honor, the united spirit of sacrifice, and the warrior virtues of the Albanian people. The flags of the Militia (*Milicisë*), of the Paramilitary Companies (*Batalioneve Paraushtarake*) and those of the state schools were put forward as the symbols of the Albanian youth who were educated and prepared with discipline. It was advised to tell the students that competitiveness was desirable; however, this should not include a choleric, but a fraternal competition. These flags together with the state youth organization were declared to have been bestowed the youth by the King. The same was maintained for the army flag, which also was claimed to have been given to the youth by the King, a symbol of military honor.⁴⁰²

Differently from the civic education or/and moral education textbooks, this program included a particular section titled “The Program of Hygiene” (*Programa e Higjienës*). According to it, the teaching of hygiene was divided into two main groups of subjects; those for the six to fifteen years old and those from 15 years on. This program of hygiene, like that of moral and patriotic education, was to be developed through discourses with students during physical training sessions. Actually, the subjects were similar to those included in the morality and civic education textbooks. For the six to fifteen years olds these were: the sun, the air, the

⁴⁰¹ *Programi i Edukatës Fizike*.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

light, the water and their benefits, the healthy interior of the house, the school, the training rooms, the sports areas, the toilets, the condition of streets, the dangers of smoking and alcohol, endurance to warm and cold weather and rain, the management of breath for physical performance, the sleep, the effects of climate and humidity, the wearing and the protection from malaria. For the age group from fifteen years old these subjects were explained at greater depth and some other subjects were added. These were sexual pleasure, leisure, syphilis, contagious illnesses, various injuries, problems with lungs or head, asphyxiation, different animal bites, transportation of the injured, artificial breathing, inherited illnesses, the benefits and the harm of physical exercises.⁴⁰³

The arguments and ideas to be offered to the children through the development of various subjects during the physical education were multiple. In a discussion about the fatherland it was noted to tell to the pupils that the fatherland should be the thought as the flesh of each of us (*mishi i trupit të secilit prej nesh*). It was to be explained to them that the family was the cradle of humanity; and while the fatherland should educate people, the family should educate citizens (*nënshtetas*). Pupils were to learn that it was important to follow the path of virtue, duties and sacrifice.⁴⁰⁴ The arguments to be discussed with students including much advice was traditionally part of the books of morality education during the period. These were advice about being patient with others, respectful to parents and elders, well mannered, sincere, and helpful. All the arguments developed were permanently related to the national society, the fatherland and how the Albanian young boy should be the example of a good citizen, meaning being physically, mentally and

⁴⁰³ *Programi i Edukatës Fizike*, pp. 24-31.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

morally cultivated.⁴⁰⁵ An important place was given to the national education and conscience. It was noted that without a national education, a nation could not exist as the national conscience derived from this education.⁴⁰⁶

The national education (*edukata kombëtare*) mentioned in the program did not refer to the national system of education or national schooling system, which would be the principal subject of many later public debates. To refer to the national education or schooling system was used *arsimi kombëtar*, while to explain a set of values to be internalized and implemented by each citizen the term *edukata kombëtare* was used. The program of the *Physical, Moral, Patriotic and Hygienic Education* was one of the transmitters of the national education (*edukatës kombëtare*), otherwise said national values, within the national system of education. National values (*edukata kombëtare*) represented a denomination employed during the period and included many components shaping the political culture of the citizen.

For example, in the subject “Duties toward oneself” it was explained that the students were to understand on which principles and beliefs our communal life from having lived together within a defined territory was based. This meant knowing the moral, civic and political program of the nation (*programën morale, shoqërore e politike të Kombit*), which was to be given to the citizens by the national education, otherwise the above mentioned national values, which according to the program derived from the nation itself. In overall the program was presented as a tool in transmitting to each citizen (*qytetari*) the values deriving from the nation, which was

⁴⁰⁵ *Programi i Edukatës Fizike*, pp. 18-24.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

strengthened through this education in schools and patriotic institutions (*instituteve atdhetare*).⁴⁰⁷

Thus, the legitimacy and rightfulness of these values was assured by the nation. In other words, this program transmitted to the citizens through education what actually was already theirs and derived from them. In this regard, it was noted that the fatherland brought up individuals, but the family brought up citizens. The ways of behaving as a citizen; this attachment to the nation, respect for the flag and loyalty to the King, were put forward as being as “natural” as respecting the family, behaving properly, making attention to one’s health. Otherwise, public and private duties were associated so that not fulfilling one meant infringing also the other. In this regard, in a country where political activity was banned, actually everything became political. Politics could not be a theme or a subject in the public sphere, yet every individual attitude was drawn into the political.

Important to note that the implementation of this program represents a different level of analysis. There is enough evidence to show that there was an important difference between the plans, projects, programs and their practice. Thus, in Part 4, I examine the practice of the state youth organizations separately. As far as it concerns this program, it should be said that it may have not been applied as explained in its content. Yet, it is important as it represents the official attitude on physical education, more broadly on the basic education of the citizen and values to be incorporated into this citizenship. I elaborate on the actors behind this official view and those shaping it in the following chapter. However, let’s emphasize once more that this official discourse on citizenship education represented physical performance, discipline, morality and patriotism as inseparable from each other and

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

insisted on the creation of feelings of national collectivity; a national collectivity that through all and each individual represented the nation; a nation that was permanently ready to confront in challenges and war through the collectivity of citizens as well as each citizen.

The Institutionalization of the Citizen's Body

The first central public organization of youth was founded in 1928 under the guidance of Italian high ranking soldiers, and particularly Crispino Agostinucci. On 4 May 1928, the Minister of Education, Xhafer Ypi, sent to all the prefectures of the country a circular letter informing them about the new regulations regarding “the organization of the physical, moral and patriotic education of the Albanian youth.”⁴⁰⁸ To this circular letter was attached a copy of a small book, which was presented to the prefectures as a guideline to the new regulations. This guideline resembled a statute, which declared the formation and set the norms of operation of a new organization of youth founded in Tirana. The first article informed that the organization was named “The Albanian Youth” (*Djelmnia Shqiptare*), was established within the body of the Ministry of Education, but was under the personal surveillance and care of the head of the Republic, Ahmed Zogu.⁴⁰⁹

The main office of this organization was called the Office of Inspectorships (*Zyra e Inspektorisë*). It also was often referred to as the Office of Physical Education. Its main aim and responsibility was the coordination, control, and

⁴⁰⁸ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 236, p. 7.

⁴⁰⁹ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 236, p. 8.

development of physical education in schools. This was to be done by the head-instructors sent from this office to all the prefectures of the country. Not only the schools, but also organizations related to physical activity like sports associations had to follow the rules for physical education set by these head-instructors, who themselves followed the rules set by the Office of Inspectorships. Each prefecture had a head-instructor from whom depended all the other inspectors and teachers of physical, moral and patriotic education in various schools. Henceforth, this education of Albanian youth was obligatory for every state and private school. The course of physical education in which the paramilitary training was included, was meant to be five hours per week; four of which were to be physical education and the remaining hour “moral and patriotic education plus lessons about hygiene.” This part of the training was done by the course of civic education, which had particular textbooks and teaching program.⁴¹⁰

Although the aim of the organization was declared as “physical, moral and patriotic education of the Albanian youth” the organization was particularly concerned with physical education and the relation of this with paramilitary training. Actually, as it is obvious from the *Physical, Moral, Patriotic and Hygiene Program*, I analyzed in the previous section, moral and patriotic education was regarded as inseparable from physical education. In this respect, the physical education was regarded as the most crucial aspect of the moral and patriotic education, while hygiene completed another part of this whole. Compiled by Italian instructors of Enti, the program of physical education, the most important and largest part of “patriotic and moral” education, included the obligatory paramilitary training and was to be prepared and supervised by the (Italian) head-instructors. They would operate

⁴¹⁰ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 236, p. 8.

according to the instructions of the Office of the Inspectorships in the Ministry of Education. The “Albanian Youth” became the responsible for the organization and direction of paramilitary training in schools regarded as a preliminary phase of the military service.⁴¹¹

In a circular letter signed by Minister of Education Xhafer Ypi and dated 16 November 1928,⁴¹² a more precise explanation of the relation of physical education and paramilitary education is given. The minister explained that the royal government wanted to develop further the physical education in schools. This education also would include the paramilitary education regarded as the preliminary phase of military education. The physical training was to be obligatory to all students fifteen years of age and older. The limits of age were not definitely set, although the paramilitary training included mainly young people between fifteen and eighteen years old. Students younger than fifteen years old were not excluded from the physical training course, yet it was reduced and did not include the paramilitary training. The circulating letter of the Minister Ypi explained that these younger students should do 30 to 35 minutes of physical exercises according to the physical abilities of each student, and then continue with gymnastic ones⁴¹³. *The above mentioned Program of Physical, Moral, Patriotic and Hygienic Education* issued in 1931, included all these details, but in the context of a school program not as the aim of a particular organization. Henceforth, they had become the object of a particular

⁴¹¹ Its accomplishment reduced the time of military service. Article 4 of the statute informed that this training would be related to a paramilitary training, which had still to be regulated. Boys succeeded at the sessions training would be given a certificate, which would reduce the time of their military service. AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 236, p. 8.

⁴¹² AQSH, F. 132, Arqipeshkvia e Shkodrës, Y. 1928, D. 7, p. 13.

⁴¹³ AQSH, F. 132, Arqipeshkvia e Shkodrës, Y. 1928, D. 7, p. 13.

state youth organization. Evidently, that program represented a platform of youth education in school and beyond it.

The organization, “The Albanian Youth” gained new momentum in November 1928. It was renamed the National Entity the Albanian Youth (*Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare*). The entitlement entity (enti)⁴¹⁴ added to the name of the organization pointed to a relatively more independent institution. Its main offices moved from the Ministry of Education to the Royal Court and the organization was declared the unique responsible for the training and organization of paramilitary troops. Crispino Agostinucci was the main principal of the organization. The vice-colonel Selahudin Blloshmi was appointed head-commander of the organization for paramilitary training.⁴¹⁵

During this period the paramilitary education was regulated further. As we understand from the program of trainings⁴¹⁶ issued by the organization, the paramilitary education lasted four years and was obligatory for all boys starting from the age of fifteen. The first two years consisted of simple training combined with the physical education in schools, while the second two years consisted of harder military

⁴¹⁴ Taking into account the Italian domination of the organization, the use of *enti* was probably inspired by the Italian, *ente*. In Italy, before the foundation of Balilla (ONB). There was Ente Nazionale per l'Educazione Fisica, founded by Giovanni Gentile and absorbed in 1923 by ONB. See Vescovi in *Militarism, Sport, Europe*.

⁴¹⁵ On 2 April 1929, he sent a circular to the Ministry of Interior asking to forward it to the Prefectures. The letter was headed; “The Royal Court The General Command of the Entity The Albanian Youth,” and signed; “The General Commander of the Entity the Albanian Youth v/colonel S. Blloshmi.” The commander Blloshmi wanted the Ministry of Interior Affairs to inform the prefectures that Enti was responsible for the paramilitary trainings. He asked this ministry to inform the prefectures that they should communicate directly with the command of Enti about all issues concerning the paramilitary. AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 1.

⁴¹⁶ AQSH. F. 444. Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 2. Mbretëria Shqiptare Enti Komtarë “Djelmënia Shqiptare” Komanda e Mbrojtjes Komtare Inspektorija Paraushtarake, *Programet e Mesimit për kurset Paraushtarake*, (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja “Mbrothësija” Kristo P. Luarasi, 1929).

training. The manual regards paramilitary all boys from fifteen to nineteen years old. In this context, a part from the courses of social and physical education done in schools, collective physical training had to be done in public places in the cities. This training was to be directed by the head-inspectors who were under the direct responsibility of the Office of Inspectorships still based in the Ministry of Education and, henceforth, having also a role of coordinator between this Ministry and the command of the Enti based in the Royal Court. This reorganization of the state youth organization represented a step forward in the paramilitarization of the youth. It offered a further institutional establishment to the belligerent citizenship.⁴¹⁷ Obviously, it reinforced the idea that the schools was not enough in terms of physical education and that this education should be taken further by a paramilitary formation.

The operation of Enti engaged many other institutions. According to the statute, it operated in coordination with the General Command of National Defense (*Komanda e Mbrojtjes Komtare*). Thus, the organizations was in organic relations with the General Command, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of the Interior and the Royal Court. Its main center at Royal Court showed the close interest the King itself had in the organization that in its statute defined paramilitary preparation as a physical and spiritual training. Accordingly, it was noted that this training prepared people to confront the difficulties that might appear throughout their lives, meaning to safeguard the dignity of the state.⁴¹⁸ In this way, the dignity of the state was made a responsibility of each citizen. Such responsibility required physical

⁴¹⁷ Developed further at the conclusion of this part.

⁴¹⁸ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 2, p. 23. Programet e Mesimit per kurset Paraushtarake (1929), p. 3.

performance as the safeguard of the state's dignity could include physical confrontations.

The citizen's bodies had become an inter-institutionally managed subject; la *raison d'être* of a particular institution and the main focus of the everyday work of a certain number of civil employees, including members of Italian army. As a key component in safeguarding the state's dignity, the citizen's body was more important than each of these institutions envisaged to train and shaped it. In this respect, it was not only an institutionally managed subject, but also an institution per se, a public institution by which was legitimated and safeguarded the state, and which should involve in its practices, serving the interest of the state. Evidently, this education and training placed the body of the citizen as the key element of his/her political being. The good citizen was educated, defined, evaluated through the body. And, most importantly, through his physical presence in trainings, he had the chance to demonstrate loyalty to the King and the regime completing a crucial ingredient of good citizenship.

Para-militarism as Institutional Condition: Insistence or Retreatment?

Institutionalizing a paramilitary education that went beyond schools was an attempt to oblige larger groups of young people to take part in such education, while controlling its persistency and efficiency more directly from the Royal Court. However, the central youth organization based on Royal Court was re-structured for the second time in 1930. The paramilitary and military services were regulated separately changing the field of activity of the organization, which preserved its aim. On 6 June 1930, the King signed three different decrees. The decree about the

foundation of the National Entity “The Albanian Youth;” the foundation, formation, functioning and assembling of the Paramilitary Militia; and the decree about the organization and function of the Paramilitary Trainings.⁴¹⁹

With the decree for the paramilitary militia was founded the paramilitary troop as part of the National Defense System. Boys from seventeen years old were regarded as members of this militia. This was not a permanent military force, but a militia that was called to service whenever deemed necessary by the King. The militia troops could be assembled in case of any security threat as well as for parades, official celebrations or for trainings. The organization and assembling of the militia troops was to be done by the General Command of the Militia. The center of the militia called the General Command, was to be installed in Tirana. Besides, were formed ten Battalion Commands, one for each prefecture. The staff of the General Command together with that of the Battalion Commands were the only parts of the militia regarded on permanent duty. All boys from seventeen to twenty-five years old were regarded as part of this militia to be assembled on the occasions specified by law.⁴²⁰

“The Paramilitary Militia is under the orders of his Majesty the King. Under the direct control of the King is also the General Command from which depends all the troops of the Militia as well as all the courses of paramilitary training that exist in the Kingdom.”⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ Mbretinija Shqiptare, *Dekret Ligjet per Themelimin e Entit Kombtar “Djelmnija Shqiptare.” Themelimin, Formimin, Funksionimin dhe thirrrien e Milicis Paraushtarake. Organizimin dhe Funksionimin e Stërvitjeve Paraushtarake* (Tiranë: Shtypëshkronja “Mbrothësija” Kristo P. Luarasi, 1930). *Fletore Zyrtare bis D.*, no. 35 (6 June 1930). According to the official journal the law was decreed by the King on 6 June 1930.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., pp. 13-16.

⁴²¹ *Dekret Ligjet per Themelimin e Entit*, p.16.

The courses of paramilitary training were detailed in the decree issue specifically. According to the decree the paramilitary training was obligatory for all boys from fifteen to twenty-five years old. The lists of boys that have the obligation for the training were to be prepared by municipalities and to be reported to the offices of recruitment. The paramilitary training was envisaged for four years. The first two years were regarded as simple training, and the second two years upper level training. Training sessions were to be organized six month each year, from 1 November to 31 May. Training should be done on Sunday afternoons. Students had a part of this training at schools. The decree reconfirmed that the course of physical education at schools was evaluated as paramilitary preparation for schoolboys that had entered the age for paramilitary training. However, they were to attend this course regularly at school and each year in February they should follow the paramilitary exercises to fulfill the part of the trainings related to the use of arms.⁴²²

Boys from the age fifteen to twenty-five were to have a booklet for recording paramilitary training attendance and the results of their exams. For the students that took this training at schools, this evaluation was to be noted on their usual student report cards.⁴²³ Paramilitary training required a uniform, which was to be used only during training sessions and on special occasions such as parades or official celebrations.⁴²⁴ The General Inspector of Youth Organizations also was appointed General Inspector of the Militia and the Paramilitary courses.⁴²⁵ This was the only

⁴²² *Themelimin e Milicis Parasushtarake*, pp. 24-25.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴²⁵ “*Inspektori i përgjithshëm i organizatave të djelmnisë, si mbas art. 10 të ligjës 6 Qershor 1930, mbi Entin Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare asht dhe, Inspektor'i Përgjithshëm i Milicis dhe i Kurseve Parasushtarake,*” *Ibid.*, p. 14.

point of relation between the reformed Enti and the paramilitary preparation.

Henceforth Enti, regulated with another decree was operating in the field of sports and arts. In this respect, the paramilitary performance of young people had become a secondary concern of the public youth organization. Did this represent a retreat from the insistence on the paramilitarization of youth? This question can have an answer only by scrutinizing further the aims and fields of operation of the youth organization reformed in June 1930. However, taking into account these regulations it can be said that the government, the King, and their Italian collaborators did not retreat from the insistence in paramilitary training, but attempted an enlargement of the field of operation of state's youth organization, while regulating separately the paramilitary formation as a prerogative they could not simply leave apart.

Chapter 7: CULTURE AND SPORTS IN THE SPHERE OF EDUCATION

“Umudun önce tasavvurlarda temsil edilen reel yargıları, ansiklopedik olarak incelenen tarihsel içeriği, insanî kültürünün somut-ütöpik ufku demektir.” Umut İlkesi, 15. Bölüm⁴²⁶

The Institutional Framework of the National Entity of Youth

On 6 June 1930 a decree signed by the King founded the *Enti Kombëtar Djelmenia Shqiptare* (The National Entity the Albanian Youth - Enti). The publication of all the regulations regarding its structure and field of activity declared that in addition to the previous aim of moral, patriotic and physical education of youth included the direction of the athletic and artistic life in the country. The first clause of the decree said:

With the aim of taking care, within a unique direction, of the moral, artistic, patriotic and physical education of the Youth is found with center in Tirana, but with autonomous functioning “The National Entity The Albanian Youth.” The organization is under the surveillance and orders of his Majesty the King. The Ministry of Education will give its support concerning the moral, artistic and patriotic education as required by the Enti’s law.⁴²⁷

The following clause of the statute emphasized that Enti’s activities concerned also *the girls*. The field of operation of the organization was specified in the third clause. Its main activity was to spread, control and direct “the moral,

⁴²⁶ Ernst Bloch, *Umut İlkesi* Cilt 1. çev. Tanıl Bora (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), p. 542. “The real values of hopes firstly conceived in ideas and its historical content submitted to encyclopaedic examination, represent human culture’s concrete utopian perspective.” (I translates these line from Turkish into English in the framework of this work.)

⁴²⁷ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmenia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 32. p. 2. See also *Dekret-Ligje per Themelimin e Entit*, p. 1.

patriotic and physical education” in all of the schools of the country and to all students, *boys and girls*. It was also responsible for the advancement of the physical and artistic education of the youth in order to preserve and develop the folkloric tradition and national art. The organization of athletic activities as well as the control of sports associations and clubs’ activities was among the duties of Enti. All the cultural associations operating in the country were to take Enti’s consent for their activities. Enti had the right to constrain and forbid all cultural, athletic and other youth activities regarded as unsuitable with its aims.⁴²⁸

The Committee for the Artistic Education and the Sports Federation were two institutions related to Enti and regulated in its statute. According to this statute, the main aim of the National Committee for Artistic Education⁴²⁹ was to organize various artistic activities developing the folkloric tradition of the country. This committee was to found its branches in municipalities and prefectures. Local authorities, municipalities, and prefectures were obliged to provide these branches with office and furniture. The committee, directed by Ekrem Libohova, was to work in cooperation with a National Artistic Patronage (*Patronazhi Artistik Kombëtar*) that was to be founded in Tirana with an independent statute. The statute of the National Artistic Patronage (*Patronazhi Artistik Kombëtar*) founded on the base of decree of 6 June 1930 on Enti was published in Tirana 1931. Its main aim, similarly with that of the Committee, was to develop the artistic education in the Albanian Kingdom.⁴³⁰

According to this statute the development of artistic education in the country

⁴²⁸ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 32, p. 2.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴³⁰ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1930, D. 15. In the dossier the booklet; Enti Kombëtar “Djelmënia Shqiptare,” *Patronazhi Artistik Statut* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja “Dielli,” 1931).

was to be done by promulgating and supporting art, by offering moral and financial support to artistic activities and talented young people and by organizing artistic activities. The National Artistic Patronage was directed by a Permanent Committee, which was headed by the “principal of fine arts in the Albanian Kingdom Princess Ruhije.”

The other sister of the King, Princess Myzejen, was declared principal of sports in the country and the head of the Sports Patronage (*Patronazhi Sportiv*) from which depended the Sports Federation directed by Izedin Beshiri.⁴³¹ The sports federation had its center in Tirana and its main activity was to organize national and local sport activities like championships and matches. This federation also was to open branches throughout the country. In this case, also the prefectures and municipalities were obliged to give office space and furniture to the local branches. As defined in clause 21 of the statute, this had to be an “ (...) autonomous, moral institute with center in Tirana and its own statute and regulations.”⁴³²

The Sports Federation and the Artistic Committee became two of the key institutions of Enti. They offered the most useful means toward a national mobilization. Each of them would put a great effort in the organization of national championships and regional activities under the supervision of Enti’s center in Tirana. Enti organized several national championships in various sports like football, athletics, and swimming. It organized and supported several national art expositions

⁴³¹ AQSH, Found 444. Year 1932. Dossier 32, p.5 In 1933-1934 the Sportive Federation was directed by Musa Juka. See AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 248, p.1-4.

⁴³² AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 32, p.5

and artistic contests. Interschool activities were also organized.⁴³³ Particularly during 1930-1932 it was spent a great effort in the foundation and development of the regional branches of the organization. This can be considered as an effort to widen the field of operation, while conjoining different and diverse localities to a national network of associations controlled, shaped and dominated by Enti's center in the capital. This represented an additional, less evident function of this organization that was envisaged to determine physical education in schools, manage the out of school time and activities of students, control the free time of citizens, coordinate, shape inter-school activities, and direct all the athletic and cultural life of the country.

The highest organ of the Enti was the Administrative Committee. All other organs were responsible to the Administrative Committee. The committee by itself was responsible to the King. The General Director, the Head Inspector of Physical Education, the President and vice/President of the Artistic Committee, the President and Vice/President of Sports Federation as well as the General Secretary of the organization were to be decreed by the King. The head of the Administrative Committee, the Minister of Education, reported each year all of the activities of the organization to the King. In three month periodicals he had to report to the King the achievements of the organization and its financial situation. The Minister of Education, as the head of the Administrative Committee, was also responsible before the Parliament for all of the activities and results of the Enti's work.⁴³⁴

⁴³³ "The friendly interschool matches of the past had yielded to a passion for soccer and intense competition. Interschool matches were organized by Enti Kombëtar, at this time Italy's chief cultural contribution to Albanian youth." Joan Fultz Kontos, *Red Cross Black Eagle: A Biography of Albania's American School*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. 155.

⁴³⁴ However, I did not find evidence or reports of the Minister to the Parliament or of any intervention of the parliament in Enti.

The statute defined the general director (*drejtori i përgjithshëm*) as the executive organ (*organ ekzekutiv*) of the organization. The general director was responsible for the administration of the organization and its juridical representation.⁴³⁵ He proposed projects and activities to the Administrative Committee and was responsible for their execution. The administration of the budget and of all the property of the Enti was also a responsibility of the General Director. Within the organs of Enti was also the General Inspector of Youth Organizations. The inspector was related directly to the King. His main duty was to follow the activities of Enti and propose new activities, new plans and ideas concerning Enti.⁴³⁶ This position formulated very briefly in the statute defined a kind of personal advisor of the King, one of the main actors of Enti, the person who offered the main ideas for the improvement and operation of the organization.

Italian staff were engaged in various stages of this organization. An Italian officer permanently held the position of the General Inspector of Youth Organization. The head of the Office of Inspectorships (or the Head Inspector of Physical Education) was an Italian official. The center of the inspectorate was at the Ministry of Education. The inspectorate was to support the Ministry of Education in the preparation of the programs for the course of “moral, patriotic and physical education” in the schools. This Ministry consulted the inspectorate about the appointment of physical education teachers. The inspectorate also had the function of coordinator between the Ministry of Education and the General Command concerning the paramilitary training that was to be pursued by boys from fifteen to twenty-five

⁴³⁵ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 32. p. 3

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

years old. The head-instructors of Physical Education, mainly Italian officials in various prefectures depended from this office.

Henceforth, this staff was actively engaged in the organization of athletic and artistic activities, particularly at the national level. An important part of athletic regulations were in Italian, while an important part of the athletic equipments was imported through Enti from Italy.⁴³⁷ All the Albanian civil administration was obliged by law to support Enti's activities. The civil employees in the service of Enti were to be appointed by the Council of Ministers. Enti's institutional framework included the Ministry of Education, the Royal Court, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Interior through the head inspectors in prefectures, the Ministry of War through the General Command, two federations, two patronages and a directorship. The King rested at the top of its institutional hierarchy, while at the end the teachers of physical education together with those of moral education. Subject to its regulations were all the young people in the country including sportsmen (eventually sportswomen) and artists. Nevertheless, subject to its dispositions were also the civil employees that on various occasions would be ordered to participate in sportive and artistic activities possibly accompanied by their partners.

The Ambiguous Institutionalization: From "Enti(ty) to the Federation"

On 31 March 1934, the Minister of Education, Mirash Ivanaj, sent a circular to the prefectures and various schools highlighting the Royal Decree dated 1 April 1934, which abolished Enti, replacing it by a department in the Ministry of

⁴³⁷ See the dossier with documents related to imports of material for Enti. AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 517, pp. 7-8.

Education.⁴³⁸ The institutional structure of Enti was dissolved, the duties of the staff in charge were revised and an important part of the staff dismissed. The department, named "the Albanian Youth" (*Djelmënia Shqiptare*) was headed by colonel Aqif Përmeti. On 7 April 1934 the Section of Justice and Administration (*Sekcioni i Drejtësisë dhe Administratës*) headed by Mehdi Frashëri with vice/head Rasim Karakulla was assembled. The section made changes to the project-law of education proposed by the government. Article 20 was revised to define the profile of the director of this department also mentioned the section on national and physical education. According to this revision the head of the department should be an officer graduated from a military academy. The officer should have had a particular experience in physical education at a European institute.⁴³⁹

In the King's letter that accompanied the royal approval of the law, the state was defined as a natural educator of the new generation. According to the letter, the moral integrity of the people depended on the progress, education, physical and moral development of the youth.⁴⁴⁰ In this respect, the duties of the Ministry of Education were explained as including the management of fine arts, antique objects and cultural and literary institutions in the country, while excluding the public morality, which was specified as a duty of the Ministry of Interior Affairs.⁴⁴¹ In this way, the Ministry of Education endorsed all the functions of Enti. Evidently, morality was a sphere of operation including both, the Ministry of Education and that

⁴³⁸ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y.1934, D.1, p.1.

⁴³⁹ The law was decreed by the King on 24 September 1934. AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y.1934, D. 1, p. 6.

⁴⁴⁰ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 1, p. 25.

⁴⁴¹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 1, p. 5.

of Interior Affairs as it was, as mentioned, a political morality closely related to public order, which in one of its respects meant the suppression of opposition to the regime.

A circular dated 13 April 1934 sent to schools and prefectures clarified the departments of the Ministry of Education.

Henceforth, all the activities of the Ministry are performed by three departments: the section of elementary and pedagogical, education, the section of high-school education and the section the Albanian Youth. The first one is in charge of all the elementary schools and pedagogical schools (Pedagogical School in Elbasan and Gjinokastrë; Normalja e Elbasanit dhe e Gjinokastrës) and the related boarding institutions, the second one is in charge of all high schools and the related boarding institutions except the pedagogical schools, the third one is in charge of all the instructors of physical education, the regional sportive and artistic associations (shoqatëve sportive e artistike), the sportive commissions (komisierive sportive) and related issues.⁴⁴²

A year later the structure of youth education, which included sports and arts, was reshaped again with the formation of a federation. Sports and artistic associations in the country were incorporated into a single organization; on 13 August 1935 the Federation of the Sports and Artistic Associations the Albanian Brotherhood (*Federata e Shoqërive Sportive dhe Artistike Vllaznia Shqiptare* - The Federation) was founded.⁴⁴³ The Minister of Education, at that time Mirash Ivanaj, became the head of the organization, while colonel Aqif Përmeti was appointed his deputy, as the law founding the Federation gave this position to the head of the Department the Albanian Youth in the Ministry of Education. Appointed general secretary of the department, at the same time the general secretary of the Federation, was Luigj Shala, deputy of the head inspector of physical education in the prefecture

⁴⁴² AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D.1, p. 2.

⁴⁴³ Mbretinija Shqiptare Ministria e Arsimit, *Statuti i Federatës së Shoqërive Sportive e Artistike "Vllaznia Shqiptare"* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja e Ministrisë së Arsimit, 1935).

of Shkodra.⁴⁴⁴ The last part of the statute explained that the base of operation of the Federation was the brotherhood of the Albanian people and that any kind of regional political or religious issue was excluded.⁴⁴⁵ The statute was signed by the head of the Federation, the Minister of Education of the period Mirash Ivanaj, and by the vice president of the Federation, Akif Përmeti.

According to its statute the aim of the federation was: ...the collection of all of the athletic energies of the nation; to provide support for the development of out-of-school-time organizations; to make available the legislative regulations for various sports; to declare and organize artistic performances and local, national and international reunions and sports contests; to incite the appraisal and development of national artistic feelings and inclinations; to preserve and appraise the traditions and the folklore.⁴⁴⁶

The trend that started in 1930 and related physical, moral and patriotic education of the youth with the development of the national art and sports was continued with the Federation. The patronages of Sports and Arts were not dissolved. Henceforth, they were to supervise and support the activities of the Federation that replaced the sport and artistic committees. The Federation had a General Assembly (*Këshilli i Përgjithshëm*). The president of this assembly was the Minister of Education, while the vice was the chief of the section the Albanian Youth in the Ministry of Education. Members of the assembly were the heads of youth and sports associations throughout the country. The additional organs of the Federation were the Central Committee (*Komiteti Qendror*) and the Albanian Arbitral Technical Council (*Këshilli Teknik Arbitral Shqiptar - KTASH*).⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 16, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁴⁵ *Statuti i Federatës* (1935), p. 15.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The most important duties were given to the president of the General Assembly, otherwise, the Minister of Education. He was to preserve and continue the relations with the Patronages, coordinate the activities of the Federation, approve the membership and distribute the subvention provided by the Ministry to the associations. He was also in charge of supporting the publication of the sports and artistic press of the Federation as well as sustaining the various associations in providing sportive and artistic equipment. The Central Committee of the Federation was made up of four members chosen from of the General Assembly. This committee decided about such matters as the membership of various associations, the sports regulations, the local, national and international matches, expositions, and contests. The coordination and management of these activities was supported also by the two permanent directors, one sports and the other artistic. Nevertheless, it was the head of the general assembly, the Minister of Education who was to assemble the Central Committee. In the statute of the Federation it was explained that in cases when the president of the Federation evaluated the reunion of this committee not necessary or not possible, he could take the opinion of its members by correspondence.⁴⁴⁸

In the operation of Enti, the sports and artistic activities in the country were related to the Ministry of Education only indirectly. Henceforth, they were directly under the supervision and control of this Ministry. No sports contest could be organized without having the approval of the Federation. The statute of the Federation made the Federative Identification Card obligatory in order to participate in sports or artistic activities. The out-of-school-time association members of the Federation were defined by law, as autonomous organizations with particular statute and regulation, but according to the Federation's founding statute: "All of the member associations

⁴⁴⁸ *Statuti i Federatës* pp. 6-8.

represented the Federation in all of their activities, matches, artistic performances, patriotic pilgrimages.” They were to follow the suggestions of the Federation and had the obligation to protect the sports areas as the immovable richness of the society.⁴⁴⁹

Enti relied on an ambiguous form of institutionalization, a condition of in-between various other institutions; it did not depend from any of them, but was organically related to several. It was declared an independent entity, as it had a budget in its use and could accept donations; however, it did not have an independent decision making process. On the other hand, the Federation had a total dependence on the Ministry of Education. The general director coordinated the activities of Enti; those of the Federation were to be coordinated by the Minister of Education. The associations did not have a legal obligation to be members of the Federation, however, their members could not participate in sports activities without being members of the Federation and activities organized without the Federation’s approval were to be prohibited.⁴⁵⁰ On the other hand, in various correspondences with foreign interlocutors such as the International Federation of Association Football, the Federation also was represented as the Albanian Sports Federation.⁴⁵¹

The Federation did not bring any advancement either in the institutional framework, or in the management of public youth organization in Albania. It resembled more a retreat from the attempt to found an independent organization of youth. It is important to note here that the interwar Albanian public organization of youth having as its three founding pillars education, arts, and sports was subjected to continual institutional changes that contradicted each other, included many

⁴⁴⁹ Statuti i Federatës, pp. 7-12.

⁴⁵⁰ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 509, p. 1.

⁴⁵¹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 513, p. 4.

controversial hierarchies and dilemma on the interaction of these pillars. Due to all these, I define it as an ambiguous institutionalization, at the point that one can maintain at the same time that an Albanian public organization of youth during the interwar period existed separately from education, but that it also did not exist separately from education.

The Federation and the Attempt to Shape Spaces

Enti sanctioned the organization of all sports and artistic activities of the country to its official authorization and consent. The Federation went a step forward in this regard by sanctioning the existence of all sports and artistic associations to its official approval. Actually, the passage from Enti to the Federation also could be understood in terms of enlarging the field of operation of the government by incorporating in the state structure the various local associations. Enti included regional associations (*shoqata krahinore*) founded mainly in centers of prefectures and regional commissioners in sub/prefectures. The so-called regional associations functioned as regional branches or offices of Enti. They were to coordinate regional championships, and promote inter-locality (regional) activities.⁴⁵² Their staff was generally made of two to four persons: the president of the association, the vice/president, a secretary, and a sports commissioner all appointed by the Ministry of Education as the membership (when it was the case).⁴⁵³

The sports and artistic activities in the cities were to be controlled and managed by the head-instructors of the physical education and the inspector of

⁴⁵² For an example of these activities and the correspondence related to them, see AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 1932, pp. 1-10.

⁴⁵³ AQSH. F. 847, Shoqëria Sportive Bashkimi Elbasanas, Y. 1932-1933, D. 113, pp. 11-14, 20, 48.

education in each prefecture. On the other hand, in various localities, mainly the main cities operated various sports and artistic associations. They organized various sports and artistic activities. The offices of these associations were spaces where members assembled and met each other on a daily basis. With the foundation of the Federation the government dissolved the regional associations⁴⁵⁴ that were ten in total and declared that henceforth the youth organization would operate through the various sports and artistic associations in localities.⁴⁵⁵ Otherwise twenty-two local sports and artistic associations already operating in various cities replaced 10 regional offices of Enti. These associations and the locality in which they operated were as follows: Vllaznia - Shkodra, Bardhyli - Lesh, Kosova - Kukësi, Bashkimi Dibran - Peshkopi, Durrsi - Durrësi, Besa - Kavaja, Shkumbini - Peqin, Kongresi - Lushnja, Tomorri - Berati, Apollonia - Fieri, Ismail Qemali - Vlona, Drita - Gjinokastrë, Butrinto - Saranda, Namik Delvina - Delvina, Leka i Math - Përmeti, Rinija korçare - Korça, Devolli - Bilishti, Çerdhja e Lirisë - Krue, Dragoj - (Përparim) Pogradeci, Bashkimi Elbasanas - Elbasani, Zhepa - (Lëvorë) Libohova,⁴⁵⁶ Sp.Kl. Tirana - Tirana.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ See Appendix A, note 47.

⁴⁵⁵ This number changed varying from twenty to twenty-two between 1935-1939. The change was due to problems with the formation of the administrative councils and its acceptance by the Federation.

⁴⁵⁶ In contemporary official usage Lesh is Lezhë, Vlona is Vlora, Gjinokastrë is Gjirokastra and Krue is Kruja, Leka i Math is Leka i Madh. For the official list of associations see AQSH. F.195, Minsitria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 345, p. 2. See also AQSH. F.195, Minsitria e Arsimit, Y. 1938, D. 261, p. 13. See Also AQSH. F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 352/1, p. 55.

⁴⁵⁷ The Sp. Klub Tirana was not mentioned in all the lists of associations that were prepared in order to invite the heads of the associations to the General Assembly of the Federation. It was included in the indicative list of sports and artistic associations of 1936. See AQSH, F.195, Minsitria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 3/6, p. 1. Yet, this is an indicator of the problematic relation of the Federation with the associations, as Sp. Klub Tirana, evidently a

In general each of these associations represented a center of a prefecture such as Korça or Shkodra or sub/prefecture centers such as Lezha (Lesh) or Kavaja, as well as smaller localities of the country such as Devolli, Libohova etc. These were not the unique associations operating in these localities, particularly in cities like Shkodra, Korça, Tirana and also in other localities not mentioned in the list other sports or/and artistic associations existed. However, these were the associations recognized by the Federation, which intended to collect all the associations of a locality in one association approved by the Federation⁴⁵⁸ and adapted a statute a-priori prepared by the Federation for all the adhering associations.

The statute (*statuti-tip*) established the aim of the association as “instilling in the spirit of youth the desire to engage in sportive games, athletics, different sports, music, theater, craftwork, literature.” It determined that the association was not going to deal with political and religious issues (*shoqnija nuk përzihet aspak në çështje fetare e politike*). An additional type of activity for the associations was to be the organization of patriotic conferences for its members. Each association was to have a distinctive flag. In terms of membership the associational year (*viti i shoqnis*) started on 1 November and ended on 31 December (included).⁴⁵⁹ So, the associations were to report regularly their annual membership and the changes in it following this schedule provided by the Federation. As well, the secretary of the association was to

sports club, was included in the list indicating associations that had sportive as well as artistic branches.

⁴⁵⁸ This attitude was particularly apparent in the case of Shkodra. For an evidence of the dissolution of various associations in Shkodra into a single association approved and supported by the government, see AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 97, p. 225. For additional examples see AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 315, pp. 3-10.

⁴⁵⁹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 97, p. 3.

send all the copies of the decisions taken by the associations to the Federation in Tirana.⁴⁶⁰

There was a membership fee that was to be used for the necessities of the association.⁴⁶¹ The statute provided by the Federation, apart from determining its branches, specified the common additional duties for each branch: increase the number of participants through various artistic and sports attractions, collect folk songs and melodies, use theatric shows as educative schools for everyday people, organize local expositions, collect old craftwork and support artisanal work, collect historical documents, establish a library of the association and open courses of reading when possible.⁴⁶² The statute established in detail the modalities of the directive council reunion, the conditions and obligations of the members. Consequently, the associations had just to fill in the blanks with the specific names of the directive staff and members of association in the pre-prepared statute, which settled all the modalities of their operation.⁴⁶³ Moreover, even in this case this (completed) statute was to be sent back for ratification to the Ministry of Education and that of Interior Affairs.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁰ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 97, p.4. Actions of the approval of the direction councils of associations by the Ministry of Education or the Federation, see AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 35, pp. 1-35.

⁴⁶¹ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 97, p. 4.

⁴⁶² Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁶³ The approval of Ministry of Interior Affairs was taken also from the prefectures without sending the statute directly to this ministry. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 97, p. 30. In the following years, the model statute (statuti-tip) was subdued to some minor amendments. For these changes, see same dossier, pp. 1-2. For the correspondence about statute approval see the same dossier, pp. 94-99, 128-192.

⁴⁶⁴ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 97, pp. 6-7.

The government entered, as such, the sports and artistic associational sphere claiming to support its development. Yet, obviously, the modalities of this operation were related much more to determining their operation than supporting their already established associational life. This intervention enhanced the processes of the production of citizenship tools that would be the cards of the members in these associations, to use a logic applied in considering the membership cards of the French Eclaireurs by Maxime Vanhoenacker.⁴⁶⁵

Beyond passports, and various certificates, the government had incorporated in its documents, controlled and approved at the center of the state, the capital membership cards of various local associations. Obviously, these tools were particularly relevant to the extent they had political and cultural meaning. Such meaning materialized by the statute imposed on all of these associations, was expressed clearly in the words of the head of the Federation in 1937 Faik Shatku, Minister of Education, directed to the King in occasion of the reunion of the Federation's general assembly:

“I would kindly ask you to accept in my name and in the name of all the representatives of the out of school associations the expression of loyalty our youth has toward the admired Sovran and the kind request for the continuation of your most valuable support to the Albanian youth as well as the Albanian young generations.”⁴⁶⁶

Consequently, from 1935, adhering to these associations held the meaning of adhering to such loyalty. The categorization of out-of-school was an additional demonstration of the intent to penetrate in spaces where Enti had remained in the margins of the state youth organization's operational field. From 1930 with the

⁴⁶⁵ Maxime Vanhoenacker, “Mener une ethnographie de la citoyenneté “ordinaire”” in Catherine Neveu, *Séminaire Anthropologie des processus de citoyenneté* (Paris: EHESS, 17 February 2012).

⁴⁶⁶ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 345, p. 23.

reformation of Enti the state intended to divide the sportive and artistic activities of students and other associations that consequently were known as out-of-school associations. A regulation issued in 1931 not only explicitly prohibited the membership of students in out-of-school associations and participation in (out-of-school) sports championship and as well as any artistic activity, but it created a sports committee for each school. This committee would control the sports and artistic activities of the school.⁴⁶⁷ The relation of Enti to school and what were called out-of-school sportive and artistic activities, left out of its reach associational life and spaces that was beyond some main sports and activities organized in country, region or local scale. Obviously, it left out of its control and determination associations day-to-day operation.

Moreover, the associations' daily operation and activities increasingly included students, although first, due to Enti's regulation, they were not allowed to be members of these associations or participate in their activities. In 1933, the head of the Sports Federation, Musa Juka,⁴⁶⁸ asked Minister of Education Ivanaj to clarify his order forbidding students participation in out-of-schools associations. "Probably you meant associations, not recognized by the authorities, otherwise all associations would be inactive without the participation of students," he wrote.⁴⁶⁹ The answer of the Minister clarified the obvious: all kind of engagement in any kind of out of school association was forbidden to students and exception was made only in case it was requested, and permission granted by the Ministry of Education.⁴⁷⁰ However, this

⁴⁶⁷ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1931, D. 71, pp. 100-101.

⁴⁶⁸ Musa Juka was appointed at the head of the Sport Federation on 4 June 1932.

⁴⁶⁹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1933, D. 102, p. 6.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

rule did not function in practice.⁴⁷¹ In this way, the necessity of enhancing the control of out-of-schools associations strikingly revealed itself.

Actually, still after 1935, membership in such associations was forbidden to students. The Federation and the Ministry of Education, however, in many cases allowed exceptions to this rule.⁴⁷² Differently from various activities organized by the state youth organizations on local or national level, the associational life included a daily basis and a continual relationship of individuals, implicating a daily reproduction and transformations identification, values, and ideas. The state youth organization had a well-defined set of values, identifications, and ideas to be transmitted and appropriated by their members, thus obviously it would not let these socio-culturally dynamic spaces get beyond its control.

Doubtlessly, the state project about sports and artistic associational life obliging it to have “no relation with religious and political issues” was in itself political. Penetrated by the state the associational spaces, it was to generate the homogenization of values and identifications and integrate to a national associational sphere controlled by the regime. The concern to control associational life, this time by interfering with its modalities of operation, remained closely entrenched with the ongoing dynamics of nationalization and centralization, processes to which were ascribed both Enti and the Federation.

⁴⁷¹ For correspondence about the issue of the participation of students in out-of-school matches and out-of-school associations, the impossibility to stop such participation, demands of the director of Enti sent with the mention “Secret” to the Ministry of Education demanding the revisal of the order prohibiting students from participation in these matches and associations and requesting to permit students adhere to out-of-school sportive associations, see AQSH. F. 195, Minsitria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 248, pp. 1-3.

⁴⁷² For examples of such exceptions, see AQSH, F. 195, Minsitria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 91, pp. 8-9.

The Meaning and Limits of Institutional Schemas

In this section the evolution of the interwar institutional framework of the public youth organization in Albania will be discussed through institutional schemas with the creation of an introductory panorama of the institutional positions of the actors. The King lay at the head of the hierarchy in each of the structures, supported by an Italian advisor at the top of the hierarchy until 1934. The schema of the Federation reveals the increased number of Albanian administrative actors engaged in the decision making stages of the organization compared to Enti, dominated in this regard by Italian actors. The schematization of the institutional frameworks reflects an advancing process of institutional centralization in youth activities.

The centralization and concentration of powers in a few hands is particularly evident in the schema of the Federation. The various youth associations that are displayed at the bottom of the structure were the socio-cultural initiatives of individuals and groups in various localities of the country. They did not assemble together to form a Federation, the structure of which transmitted their values and their common decisions. The Federation was formed by a decision of the government in the capital without prior consultations with the actors active in the sports and cultural associative life in the country. Consequently, the structure did not reflect any consensus. Instead, it enhanced the subordination of existing local dynamics to a central institution. These institutional schemas unfolded also some rule imposition methods displaying how institutional structures could put socio-cultural dynamics at the disposal of a few actors.

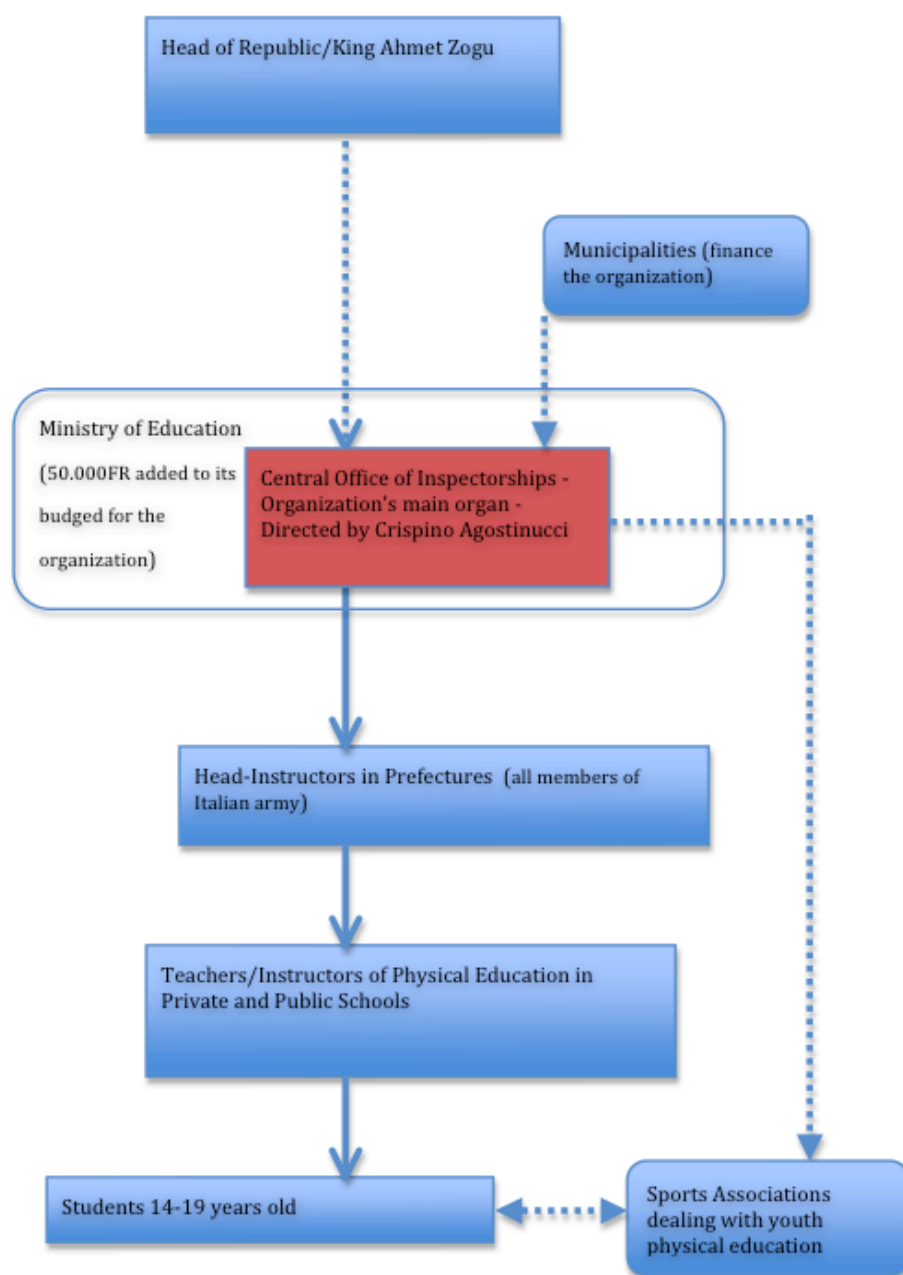


Fig 1. Organization "The Albanian Youth" May-November 1928.



Fig. 2. The National Entity "the Albanian Youth," 14 November 1928-June 1930

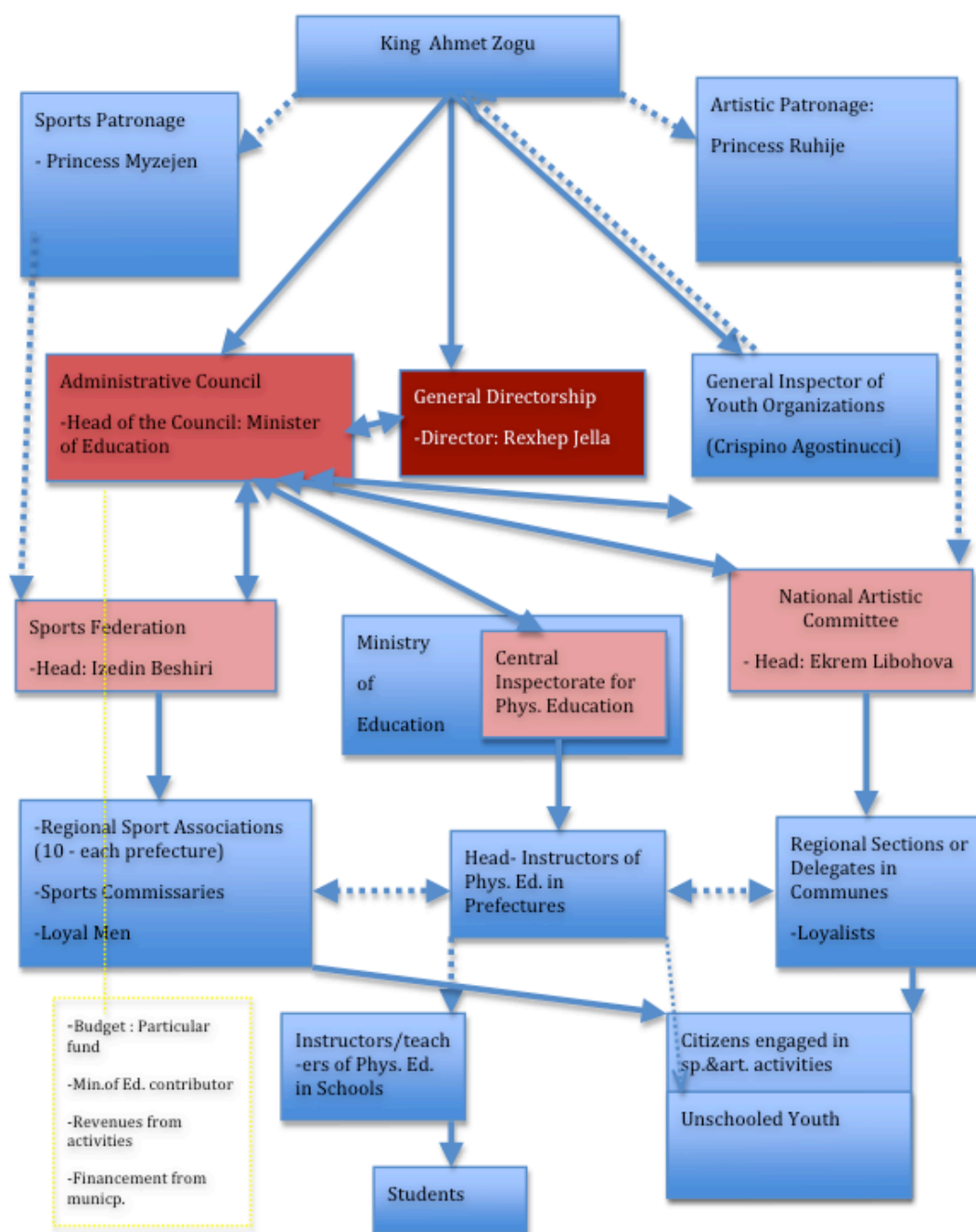


Fig. 3 The National Entity the Albanian Youth, 1930-1934.

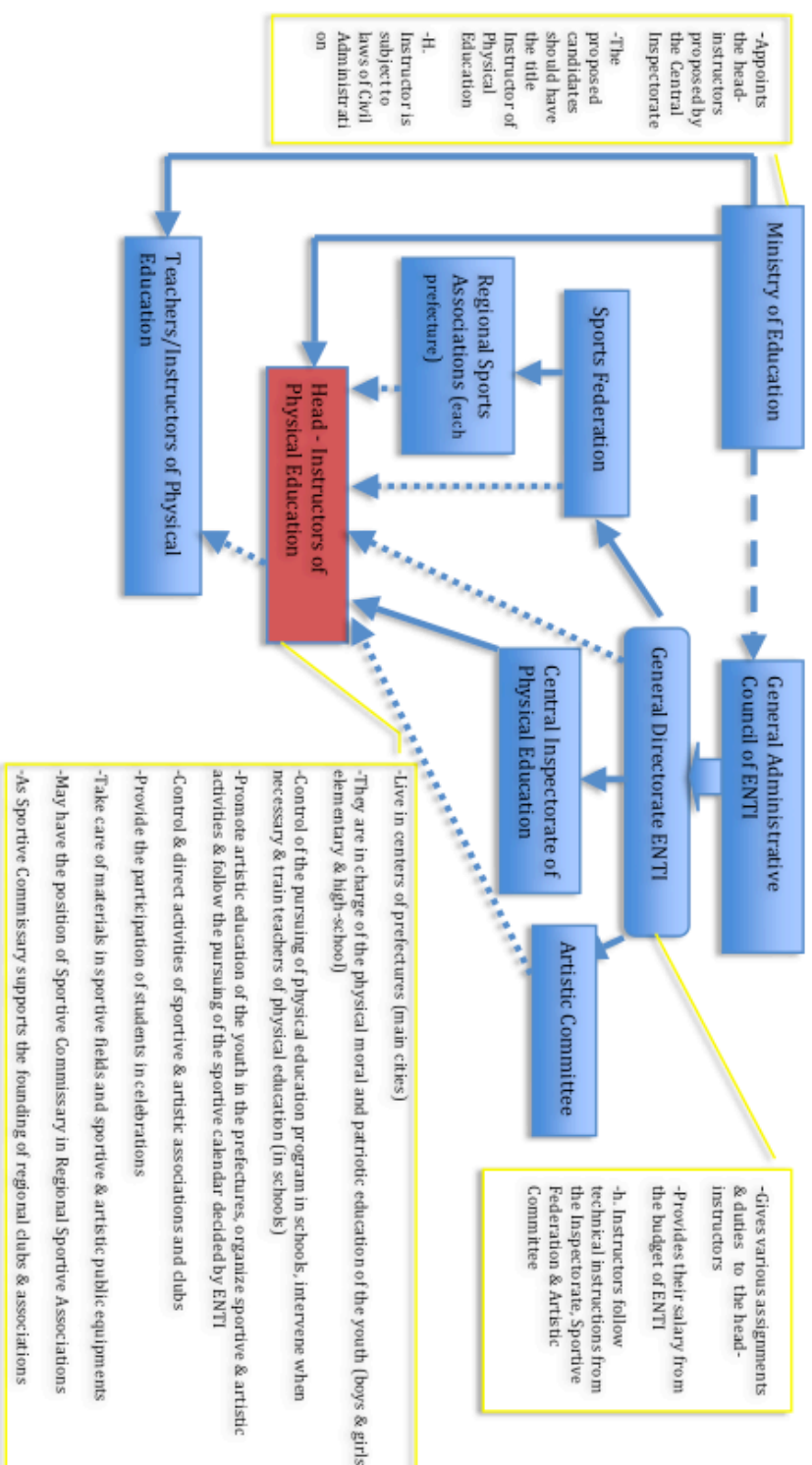


Fig. 4. Institutional Position and Responsibilities of the Head-Instructor of Physical Education.



Fig. 5. State's Organization of Youth, March 1934-August 1935.

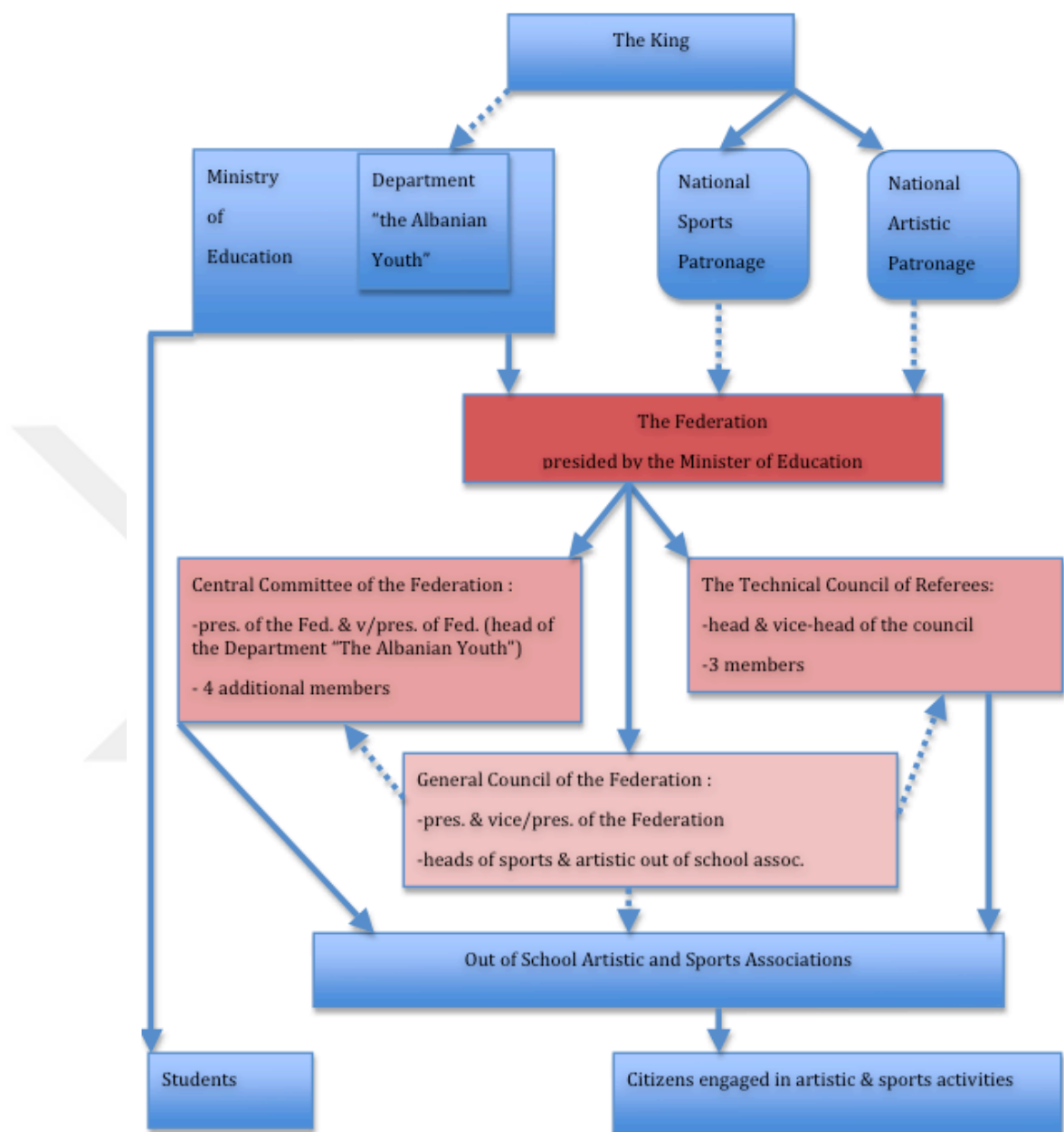


Fig. 6. Organization of Youth, The Federation, August 1935-April 1939.

Apart from the organizations shown in the schemas the government had detailed plans, and then declared the foundation of “The Eagle” (*Shqipja*), a sports organization of school youth that was never implemented in practice. This is why I did not include it within the above-schemas. I prepared the figures included above

based on my research on the legal framework as well as the way of operation of the state's youth institutions.⁴⁷³ In the schemas appears the loyal man/men (*besniku*), whom I had not mentioned previously. The examination of the sources of the period did not reveal any concrete example in this case. However, loyal men appear in a clause in Enti's statute. These people who were supposed to report directly to the King show the importance given to have the King's presence at all levels of the organization. Thus, the King was not only at the top of the institutional schema. Through an actor outside the operational institutional framework, but included in the statute as a supportive element, his ability to control from below was highlighted.

Nevertheless, the operation of the organization was immersed in a multiplicity of socio-political and cultural dynamics ascribed to the interplay of actors that alternated also the role of the King. At the same time, the interaction and confrontations of aspirations determined the field and margins of its operation. In this regard, before passing to a different analysis of this institutional framework through the examination of actors, it can be said that 1934 represented a turning point. The organization started in 1928, reformed and enlarged in 1930, was ended in 1934 to give its place to another form of organization in 1935. Thus, the organization of youth in interwar Albania, at least in terms of institutional framework and determining actors should be thought of in two main periods, 1928-1934 and 1935-1939. For the first period, 1930 represented an enlargement of the organization, while for the second period, 1937 represented a turning point in terms of approach to the youth.

⁴⁷³ See Appendix A, note 48.

CHAPTER 8: INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS: CONTIGUOUS AND COMPETING
ASPIRATIONS

Italy an Actor or a Conglomerate of Actors? Italian State and Action through
Individuals

The idea that Enti was an Italian enterprise, a means to introduce Italian culture and domination to Albania represents the main evaluation of many researchers about Enti. In his book *The Italian Educational Intervention in Albania and the Resistance to It*, Iljaz Gogaj maintains that Enti was a tool in the hands of the Italians.⁴⁷⁴ This idea is reinforced also by Massimo Borgogni,⁴⁷⁵ who underlined the efforts of the Italian government for cultural domination in Albania. I propose to evaluate the interwar Italo-Albanian relations and the Italian presence in the country through a closer analysis of Enti, its aims, their evolution and its operation. In this the nature of Italian cultural domination in interwar Albania will be scrutinized and the Italo-Albanian relations within the multiplicity of dynamics in which it they were embedded will be discussed. I also propose to question the idea of Italian aims, the Italian presence, Italian means and examine the Italian actors who participated in Enti, how they effect its operation and with what possible outcomes for Albanian society.

Even before the foundation of the youth organization in 1928, members of the Italian army were present in various cities in Albania as instructors of physical education. According to Gogaj four instructors of physical education entered Albanian during 1927-1928, and this number increased consistently, reaching thirty

⁴⁷⁴ Iljaz Gogaj, *Ndërhyrja Italiane ne Shqipëri dhe rezistenca kundër saj* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja e Re, 1980), pp. 112-120.

⁴⁷⁵ Borgogni, *Tra continuità e incertezza*, p. 99.

in 1930.⁴⁷⁶ A circular of the Ministry of Education sent to the prefectures in April 1928 indicated that the instructors of physical education for each prefecture should be arriving in a few days.⁴⁷⁷ The prefectures were ordered to inform all the schools in their jurisdiction, public or private, about the inspector's absolute authority over the physical training. Meanwhile, it was requested to inform the teachers in the city and the nearby villages to participate in and take notes at the conferences that would be organized once a month in each city by the inspector of physical education.⁴⁷⁸

The names of the instructors and the respective prefecture were as follows:⁴⁷⁹ Valona (Vlora) - Stefano Corner, Tirana - Gian Domenico de Marchis, Scutari (Shkodra) - Giulio Folegatti, Elbasan - Giuseppe Galfione, Corizza (Korça) - Pasquale Lissoni, Berati - Astolfo Messina, Durazzo (Durrësi) - Mario Tancioni, Argirocastro (Gjirokastra) - Giuseppe Vitali. Apart from Pasquale Lissoni in Korçë and de Marchis in Tirana, the instructors would change the place of duty through the years. For example, in the following years in Shkodra, the organization and direction of common paramilitary trainings was done by an instructor called Ratti, who had been previously also engaged in the organization of sports and physical education activities in Tirana.⁴⁸⁰ The head-instructor of physical education in charge of the Central Office of Physical Education in the Ministry of Education. Crispino Agostinucci, Ostilio Piacentini, Gino Riccioni and Gino Vitali would hold the

⁴⁷⁶ Gogaj, *Ndërhyrja Italiane*, p. 112.

⁴⁷⁷ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928. D. 236. p. 1. Circular arrived in the Prefecture of Shkodra on 17 April 1928.

⁴⁷⁸ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 236. p. 2.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ See Appendix A, note 49.

position.⁴⁸¹ With the reformation of Enti in 1930, some of the (head) instructors, particularly Lissoni of Korça, engaged in the coordination and management of sportive activities in specific localities.

Italian officials were present at various levels of the operation of the Albanian youth organization between 1928-1934. It was possible to find them in the position of teachers of physical education and also as the main organizers of students' manifestations for special occasions. One example was Giovanni Modena from 1928.⁴⁸² Italian citizens, were active in the organization of Albanian national arts and artistic activities. For example Plini Luraschi was vice/head of the (National) Committee of Arts headed by Ekrem Libohova, while Adelmo Manna was coordinator of this committee.⁴⁸³ The school of fine arts was headed by Mario Ridola. One of the jury members for the first of national drama contest was colonel Vivaldi.⁴⁸⁴ Additionally, Giandomenico de Marchis held various positions, among

⁴⁸¹ For Ginno Riccioni, see AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Nr.195, Y.1931, D. 71, pp. 1-6. For the appointment of Piacentini, see AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 234, pp. 1-2. On September 1934, some of the demands for various sportive tools required at the organization were signed by G. Vitali as head-instructor (*capo-istruttore*) of physical education. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Nr. 195, Y. 1934, D. 517, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁸² AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1928, D. 23, pp. 21, 26, 33. (According to the correspondence of the Ministry of Education, he was offered accommodation in one of the high-school boarding institutions of the capital).

⁴⁸³ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 42, p. 10. In 1932 this position was held by Mario Ridola. See AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 42, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁴ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 117, p. 21.

which was coordinator of the Sportive Federation.⁴⁸⁵ Italian staff were engaged in football matches also in the position of referee.⁴⁸⁶

These Italian citizens held key positions throughout the institutional hierarchy of Enti. Accordingly, they were present concomitantly where contact with the youth was denser and where the strategies and aims of the institution were determined. So high ranking Italian army officials like Colonel Crispino Agostinucci or Piaccentini, both of whom held the position of Head of the Office of Inspectorships and General Inspector of Youth Organizations, stood at the top of the hierarchy where its structure and values were finalized. The General Inspector of Youth Organizations was a position held permanently by a member of the Italian army: Agostinucci, Piaccentini, Riccioni each had terms in this role.⁴⁸⁷ Defined in the statute as a personal advisor of the King for the organization of the youth, this position practically represented a supervisor of the operation of the state youth organization. In this respect, the Italian government had the opportunity not only to shape the youth organization, but also to receive continual feedback about reactions to this organization at each stage of its operation, as well as about its activities and the larger socio-political milieu in which these were immersed.

Crispino Agostinucci, who in 1930 was also vice-president of the Enti employees' selection commission,⁴⁸⁸ entered Albania in 1928 with a well-defined aim that he declared to be the formation of a national organization of the Albanian

⁴⁸⁵ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 42, F.10. AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1931, D. 71, pp.11-14.

⁴⁸⁶ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 133, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁷ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1933, D. 62, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁸ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 42, p. 18.

youth.⁴⁸⁹ This duty included also the organization of paramilitary troops. Before leaving Albania for another duty, in his farewell speech in 1931, Agostinucci said that the foundation of Enti was a desire of the King who had invited him to come to Albania to support its foundation.⁴⁹⁰ His words apart from underlying the key role of the King in the organization of the Albanian youth can be thought of also as a legitimizing explanation for the Italian domination of Enti.

Many Italian citizens were in Albania involved in the field of education. Professional schools also represented an educational field dominated by Italian actors.⁴⁹¹ Enti represented an additional means to introduce a multiplicity of Italian staff particularly members of the army in Albania.⁴⁹² The Italian government was present through many actors who determined the operation of the state youth organization in Albania. Consequently, although the Turkish Kemalist Youth and Turkish achievements as well as the German youth of Hitler were put forward as examples to be followed and inspirations as much as Mussolini's young citizens, the models applied and the practices followed until 1934 were shaped following the fascist Italian example.

⁴⁸⁹ See Appendix A, note 50.

⁴⁹⁰ See Appendix A, note 51.

⁴⁹¹ The coordinator and general director of professional schools in Albania in 1932 was ing. Livio Bedosti. See AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y.1932, D. 70, p.12.

⁴⁹² Until 1934, instructors of physical education and the majority of head-instructors were mainly Italian citizens. The central-inspector in 1930 was A.Fiorita. See AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 42, p. 7. In 1932-1934 central-inspector of physical education was Gino Riccioni. See AQSH, p. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1932, D. 70, pp. 3-8. See also AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 26, p. 1. In 1930 in Durrësi the instructor of physical education was a captain of militia called Nani and the head-instructor of the prefecture was Tancioni that was replaced by Oreste Morra who was also cooperating with Albanian militia troops. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 42, p. 36.

The Italian government was present in this organization through a mix of actors. This multiplicity of actors and their presence at every level of the decision-making in the organization of the youth enhanced the capacity of the Italian government to control and intervene in the country. Nevertheless, it increased exchanges that were not necessarily determined by state politics. In this case, there was an increased trans-national circulation of trends related to activities where the presence of Italian actors was greater, such as sports and arts. Moreover, in this way it became more difficult to define precisely the Italian aims in terms of cultural relations with Albania as the degree of engagement of these actors, particularly those present at the bottom level of the organization, in everyday life made difficult the limitation of actions and exchanges to some well-defined governmental goals. Thus, as will be seen in the following section and the following parts, Enti represented an enterprise that went beyond the function “classically” defined as a tool in Italian hands, or a means to spread Italian culture.

The Interplay of Fascist Ideals and Real-Politics

Obviously, Enti was a means to improve the Italian dominance in Albania, increase its dependence also in the cultural field and sports, and introduce Italian culture to larger groups of the population and particularly the youth. Apart from the presence of the Italian staff, programs and regulations in Italian were used in the organization of various matches and championships from football to athletics. The presence of Italian staff in the administration of Enti required the engagement of many translators making the learning of Italian attractive also in terms of economic

profit.⁴⁹³ The announcement for employment in Enti declared the speaking of Italian as a plus for selection.⁴⁹⁴

However, on the other hand, taking into account the aims and other everyday practices of Enti, how helpful was it only in spreading Italian culture an organization that had as its explicit aim the development of Albanian national sport, art and the patriotic education of the Albanian youth? Moreover, how was it able to spread only the Italian culture while in its various practices from public paramilitary trainings to national matches and championships it contributed to an Albanian national cohesion by the creation of national spaces, and the production of common national values, bringing together in common platforms diverse socio-cultural and political groups of the interwar Albanian society? Fascist Italy offered all the technical support, models, ideas and the staff that would direct the activities of Enti. This improved the Italian dominance in the country, but nonetheless contributed to the making of Albanian national artistic and sports spheres and in the production of practices and values of the Albanian national citizenship. Consequently, I maintain that the support given to Enti by the Italian army and government went beyond the aim of increasing the country's dependence on Italy. It contributed to the spread of the fascist culture in the country. And, if for this earlier aspect, - increasing dependence, domination - the outcomes would be limited. The later involved much more complicated and longstanding effects on the political culture in the country.

Enti had all the elements of a fascist youth organization. Youth held an important place in fascist ideology and in the ideas on governance of Duce.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ Demands of Ministry of Education for Italian translators for the instructors of physical education, see AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1928, D. 23, p. 56.

⁴⁹⁴ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 42, p. 1.

Regarding fascism as a revolutionary regime that would reveal the collective force of nations, the fascist party held as one of its more important duties the political education of the Italians.⁴⁹⁶ The model of fascist education - summarized in the words of Grazioli - was applied by means of Enti in Albania:

“The state in the interest of national collectivity and with the aim to develop and preserve the physical, intellectual and moral qualities of the citizens should impose on all the young boys and girls the obligation of physical-psychic education.”⁴⁹⁷

The institutional framework of Enti, its aims, its activities and its field of operation reflected two important characteristics. First, an overwhelming importance was given to the cultural and sports (including paramilitary) education of youth. While the social conditions or cultural diversity in which the youth was immersed remained disregarded and in this sense the object of homogenizing cultural and sports practices shaped by above. Second, the discourses and symbols employed in the activities of Enti fostered the cult of the individual. This was the unique leader, at the same time the representative of the best values of young generations and the man with the physical and intellectual abilities to be an inspiration and example for the youth.

The more the fascist ways of doing and thinking were integrated to Enti the more the Albanian government required the support of the closest country where fascism was in its heydays. On the other hand, the loyalty of the citizens to a King, the unique leader, who in his turn would be loyal to Italy, should be the easiest way to

⁴⁹⁵ For a complete and detailed analysis of the relation of fascist authorities with the Italian youth during the period, see Zapponi. For a general overview, see Bertini.

⁴⁹⁶ “Educazione politica degli italiani,” *Primo Libro del Fascista*, (1938) in Zapponi, p. 571.

⁴⁹⁷ See Appendix A, note 52.

control the country. Furthermore, the strengthening of an Albanian identity in the region would create a natural barrier toward any Serbian or further Greek advancement toward Adriatic and the Mediterranean. This would not only stop them, but also and particularly the Great Powers supporting them and challenging Italy. Italian support was vital for the independence of the country and the power of King Zogu. The fascist way of education promoting loyalty to the King was keeping in with Zogu's interests.

The King tried to apply the Italian model to the extent it served to improve and guarantee the future of his authority. On the other hand, an analysis of interwar Italo-Albanian relations show that the Italian government was not sure about the right politics to follow in and toward Albania.⁴⁹⁸ Evidently, at a first stage, an Albanian citizenship forged by a fascist political culture was in the interest of Italy. There was no apparent harm for the Italian interests in promoting Albanian nationalism, as far as it did not indicate Italy as the "other," the "foreign enemy." Yet, from 1937, it appeared that the Italian authorities were more inclined to believe that loyalty in a supranational Italian King would serve better their interests than forging citizens' loyalty to a local King.

Geopolitics made a particular interest and lust to control the country indispensable. Apparently the Italian government and the Fascist Party had dilemmas on the type, amount of support given to the Albanian regime and the benefit Italy had from all this.⁴⁹⁹ The relation developed through complex geostrategic and regional

⁴⁹⁸ Borgogni, *Tra continuità e incertezza*, pp. 94-96, 117, 149, 150, 156. Roberto Morozzo della Rocca, *Religione e Nazione in Albania (1920-1944)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990). For the *perception* of Albania and the Italo-Albanian relations of an Italian citizen during the period, see Indro Montanelli, *Albania una e mille* (Tirana: Istituto di cultura Italiana in Albania, 2009), particularly, pp. 90-101.

⁴⁹⁹ Borgogni, *Tra continuità e incertezza*, pp. 97, 119.

dynamics, congruous and competing interests, and material and ideological profits. Until the rising of tensions between the two countries in 1932-1933, the Italian government appeared to be an undisputable supporter of the King Zog. After 1934 the Italian government started to consider more seriously the possibility of invading Albania than have to deal with the balances of power within factions or a King who turned out to be not such an easy collaborator. The Italian government knew that various factions would be ready to cooperate after the annexation of the country by fascist Italy.⁵⁰⁰ The interwar Italo-Albanian relations seen from the perspective of Eni display the interplay of real-politics and fascist values, both ascribed interrelatedly to the spirit of the era, the interwar period.

The Person and Personification of Institutions

Now we are free and independent, in charge of our own fate and led by a Great Headman, who is the personification of bravery and accomplishment of colossal and magnificent works. Under His constructive leadership associated with the creative intelligence of an Albanian, the resume of this first 20 years results splendid.⁵⁰¹

In most of the images of the period the King is portrayed in military uniforms. The official historical discourse of the period maintained that the country

⁵⁰⁰ For Italo -Albanian relations including the economical perspective, see Alessandro Roselli, *Italy and Albania: Financial Relations in the Fascist Period*, (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2006). For the relations of Italy and King Zogu, see also Arben Cici, *Marrëdhëniet Shqiptaro-Italiane në vitet 1920-1934* (Tiranë: Afërdita, 2002), pp. 148-211.

⁵⁰¹ “Sot jo që jemi të lirë e me vetëhe, të zotë të fatit tonë dhe me një Kryetar të Madh në krye, që është personifikimi vetë dhe i gjallë i trimërisë dhe i zotërisë për vepra të mëdha e madhështore. Nën udhëheqjen e Tij konstruktive dhe zgjuarsinë krijonjëse të Shqiptarit, buxheti i këtij njëzetvjetori të parë paraqitet i pasur.” Vangjel Koça, *Në udhën e Shqiptarizmit*, p. 98. The article was published in the journal *Minerva*, no. 4-5 (28 November 1932).

had survived the chaotic situation of 1920 only due to Zogu's military capabilities.⁵⁰² Zogu had already created the image of a leader with distinct military abilities before the foundation of Enti in 1928, a few months before his coronation as King of the Albanians. The foundation of this organization represented a step further in the initiative to relate the loyalty of the citizens to one individual more than to the state itself. Otherwise, it represented a practice of founding institutions or shaping their operation in order to serve the continuation in power of a certain group, in this case an individual, the King, and those profiting from his power. The statute of the organization, the speeches of the Italian staff, the most important celebrations of organized by Enti, the correspondence between authorities related to Enti, all reveal the attempt to put forward the King as a the unique representative of the youth in the state hierarchy, a key actor in the foundation of the youth organization, and the leader who all his hopes for the advancement of the country laid in the youth.⁵⁰³

Agostinucci (the main Italian functionary of Enti), emphasized the idea that the King was a reflection of the nation and that Enti was the spiritual reflection of the King: "I invite you to raise a toast for his Majesty Zog I. who reflects this Nation, and to who we are bounded with love due to the common accomplishments, and to congratulate the Albanian Youth that he represents spiritually, wishing them good luck in service of the Fatherland and the King -I."⁵⁰⁴ In another speech made at the

⁵⁰² Fshazi, "Textbooks and another "Renaissance."

⁵⁰³ In the first clause of the Enti's 1930's statute it was noted that the organization was under the supervision and direct orders of the King. The Administrative Council and the Minister of Education was obliged to give regular reports to the King. All of the appointments of officials of Enti were to be finalized by the King. As mentioned, the Italian representatives engaged at Enti made a particular effort to emphasize the coherence between aims of Enti and aspirations of the King.

⁵⁰⁴ "(...) *Ju ftoj me çue gotat per Naltmadhnin e Tij Zogun e Par, qi pasqyron ket Komb në të cilin na lidh dashtunija e stisun mbi punën qetësisht e kryeme, - dhe për me urue Djelmnis Shqiptare e Entit qi e perfaqson shpirtnisht, qi t'u ndihmoje Fati në shërbim të*

exposition of the decorative designs for applied arts, Agostinucci explained that the activities of Enti were every day more inspired by a unique order: “Forward for the King and the Fatherland” (*Avanti per il Re, e per la Patria*). He continued claiming that with the means of Enti, the youth was fulfilling its duties to the King and the country. The speech finished with the exclamation, “With the right hand on the heart. Forward for the King and for the Country!”⁵⁰⁵

Enti was the first public enterprise to institutionalize the Loyal Men (*besnikët*), those who were to report to the King for any criticism about Enti. Actually, a criticism of Enti would mean an obstacle put to the King’s investment in the continuation of his power in the forthcoming years. Nevertheless, it could be considered as a shadow thrown over the image of a strong and energetic regime supported by the youth. In this respect, such criticism apart from being considered a political crime openly in the statute of Enti, it had to be prevented from being publically voiced. At this point the Loyal Men were useful. Actually, we see for fact that the King was particularly sensitive in the matter of Enti. The director of the American School in Albania, Harry Fultz, explained in his memoirs about the period that “During a second interview with Mr. Bernstein, Mr. Konitza confided that the King was especially upset by his reading of Laboremus and assumed that the words ‘dirty tactics’ were used to sully the sponsor of inter-school soccer - Enti.”⁵⁰⁶

In addition to the close correlation with the King, the state youth organization was related to the royal family as the principals of arts and sports in the

Atdheut e Mbretit - I.” AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, D. 22, Y. 1931, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁵ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombetar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 1925, pp.1-3.

⁵⁰⁶ Kontos, p. 159.

country were declared the sisters of the King.⁵⁰⁷ Thus, objections to Enti and its activities remained as impossible as its disassociation with the King. In the following years, from 1934 until 1937, it would be quite impossible to disassociate the youth of the country and the King. Actually, this can be considered as a success of Enti, which after for years of existence had, at least for those engaged with youth questions in the press, made impossible its detachment from the King. On the other hand, this association of the King and youth became a path for political claims, although not expressed as political. This can be considered a success of Enti's enterprise as far as these demands supported the power of the King and an unpredicted even unwanted outcome as far as it opened the path to make use of dispositions of citizenship for further, different political demands.

The prominence of a charismatic King for the youth was promoted after the dissolution of Enti by the authors of the *Enlightened Dictatorship*. These authors explained this prominence in two different, but related ways. The first was the foundation of Enti as an organization the King wanted to be offered as an opportunity to the youth on whom he laid all his hopes. Second, examples were put forward to show that the King was the representative of the best qualities of the nation as was the youth. This was claimed to be a characteristic of achieving nations led by such leaders as Mustafa Kemal, Mussolini and Hitler.⁵⁰⁸ These leaders were described as "having the last word" particularly in terms of the youth organization in the country. This was regarded as a key feature of successful youth organizations, or otherwise, youth armies. Discipline meant obedience to this leader and readiness to

⁵⁰⁷ See the statutes of the Patronages. AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 507, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁰⁸ D. "Diktatura në veprim," *Arbënia*, no. 198 (29 February 1936).

fight for him.⁵⁰⁹ Following the articles, it can be said that the writers called this political relation a dictatorship due to the emphasis on discipline and the importance to being loyal and obeying this unique leader.

Additionally, it was a dictatorship as it required the military performance of youth. The youth army was envisaged to be able to stop any foreign aggression as well as internal reactions due to reforms leading to “westernization” and the progress of the country. The leader, could use the youth, organized in battalions as well as in artistic and sports clubs, to fulfill the aims that he had in his mind and spirit.⁵¹⁰ This dictatorship was enlightened, because this man, the dictator, was the best expression of the nation’s racial and intellectual performance. He ruled through elites who were supposed to be superior to ordinary people. He ruled for the good of all and he was led the nation to be as enlightened, as strong, as prepared, as he was. He represented a better future, as he was, first of all, the commander of youth, of thousands of young bodies. These people had educated their bodies, minds and spirits to be loyal to him, which was equal to loyal to the nation, fate of which determined the fate of all its citizens.⁵¹¹

This was an enlightened dictatorship as it made the nation progress quickly. The Turkish example was important in this case. In an article on 22 February 1936, it was explained that the Turks could not have done in one hundred years, what their dictatorship did in ten. According to the author, the dictatorship disciplined all age

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ D.”Diktatura në veprim.” D. “1.Ndriçime... ..Për ata që duan të na kuptojnë,” *Arbënia*, no. 225 (3 April 1936). D. “Tri Pika...” *Arbënia*, no. 250 (3 May 1936).

⁵¹¹ Ibid. See also, “Mesazhi që Zogu i drejton popullit me rastin e 25 vjetorit të pamvarësisë,” *Shkolla Kombëtare I*, no. 6 (15 December 1937). D. “50.000 Djelm Shqiptarë,” *Arbënia*, no.168 (25 January 1936).

groups and offered a better, healthier way of living. It was maintained that contemporary dictatorships had nothing to do with the old dictatorships, as the later were enlightened and the leader was the incarnation of an idea that had captured the majority of the population.⁵¹² Analyzed in institutional terms without considering its activities, Enti represented an investment in the image of the King, but not that only. It was also a path set to the making of a citizenship engaged loyalty to one man, the headman who was not only identified with the regime, but more and particularly with the state, and the nation itself. This was an institutional enterprise in personifying institutions.

As we have seen in this part when Enti became a department in this Ministry of Education such personification continued as an intellectual enterprise represented by the discourse of Enlightened Dictatorship. So, it can be said that Enti was important to individuals closer to government circles and engaged in analyzing governance (individuals engaged in the press). Following their debates on Enlightened Dictatorship were the first affected by it. They were also the ones who tried to optimize their socio-political position through it, although, Enti's foundation had come as result of larger dynamics that went far beyond this relation that could be called *elite*⁵¹³ interaction. Similarly, in the next part we will see how practice forged by Enti, then the Federation was embedded in much more complex dynamics, not necessarily determined by the institutional goals or the discourse through which these institutions were promoted and presented.

⁵¹² D. "Në kërkim të një sistemi. II.Drejt Dikaturës," *Arbënia*, no. 192 (22 February 1936).

⁵¹³ See Appendix A, note 53.

Albanian Administrators and the Administration: Deconstructing the State

Since its foundation in 1928 to its inclusion in GIL in 1939, the state's enterprise in physical education, then sports and arts, developed in close relation with the Ministry of Education. The Ministers of Education that interacted with such enterprise were Xhafer Ypi (June 1928 - January 1929), Abdurrahman Dibra (January 1929 - March 1930, June 1938 - April 1939), Hil Mosi (March 1930 - January 1933), Mirash Ivanaj (January 1933 - October 1935), Nush Bushati (October 1935 - November 1936) and Faik Shatku (November 1936 - June 1938). The most active of them was Mirash Ivanaj, the only one who officially expressed to the King the discontent toward the domination of Enti by the Italians and proposed solutions to avoid it.

The Albanian Minister of Education, Mirash Ivanaj (13.01.1933-16.08.1935), in a report about the situation of the education system in Albania sent to the King at the end of January 1933, emphasized the importance of Enti for the Albanian youth. He pointed out with regret that the organization was under Italian control. Then, it stressed that it was the "natural" inclination of the King to have Enti under his direct orders. Ivanaj put forward a solution that would make this possible while avoiding Italian domination of the organization. He proposed the transformation of Enti into a general directorate or a department of the Ministry of Education. In this case, if it was required due to political reasons, the King could have an Italian advisor, but it would avoid the engagement of additional Italian staff.⁵¹⁴ One year later Enti, as mentioned, was reduced to a department of the Ministry of Education.

⁵¹⁴ See Appendix A, note 54.

This was not only due to this report, but also and probably mainly because of the tense relations with the Italian government from the early 1930s. However, Mirash Ivanaj was a figure known for his vigorous enterprises in the institutions he directed. While a director at the state gymnasium of Shkodra (1925-1930), apart from his hard work and discipline, he was known for being a fervent critic of the schools of Catholic clerics. The nationalization of the education system,⁵¹⁵ a reform started in April 1933, resulting in the closure of all private and foreign schools, was demanded and applied by him. This idea had been put forward also by the previous minister, Hil Mosi,⁵¹⁶ but not implemented. Its implementation by Ivanaj would then be the main cause of his resignation from the position of Minister of Education in 1935. Yet, the second half of 1933 marked the appearance of Albanian administrative actors as claimants opposed to any outside intervention in the governance of the country and particularly in education and culture.

Ivanaj was one of the most complex figures in the state administration of the period and one of the fewest high-rank administrators that was neither known for being pro-Italian nor an emblematic example of loyalty to the King. At the contrary Rexhep Jella formerly major of the Municipality of Durrësi, then prefect of Tirana and director of Enti was known as loyal to the King.⁵¹⁷ Ekrem Libohova and Izedin Beshiri, both high officials of Enti were on the other hand, not only old collaborators

⁵¹⁵ Nathalie Clayer has treated largely this reform introducing new facts and a new perspective in its socio-historical analysis. See Nathalie Clayer, *Seminaire, "États, nations et confessions dans l'Europe du Sud-Est à la sortie des Empires,"* (Paris: EHESS, October-June, 2012).

⁵¹⁶ Deriving from a catholic family of Shkoder, Hil Mosi was well-known for its literary work.

⁵¹⁷ Rexhep Jella (1895-1974) is mentioned in Justin Godart, *Ditarët shqiptarë. Mars 1921-Dhjetor 1951*, trans. Asti Papa, (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese Dituria, 2005), p. 44. Also in Fischer, *Mbreti Zog*, p. 175.

of the King as Jella, but known for their pro-Italian stances.⁵¹⁸ In this respect, 1933, - period when the two countries had tensioned relations and with Ivanaj heading the Ministry of Education-, constituted a first rupture in the Italian domination of the Albanian state's youth organization. Actually, Enti lay upon delicate power balances between high-ranking administrators and lower ranking employees. Italians and pro-Italian directors occupied the highest positions, yet the implementation of their directives relied upon the willingness and affectivity of various civil employees, including those in municipalities and particularly teachers. In this regard, the Federation founded in 1934 can be regarded as a step forward of the Albanian bureaucratic elites in the control of institutions, implying both an enlargement of their institutional field of operations and the margins of their activity in the field.

The increasing importance of the inspector of education from late 1935 was a meaningful example of the changes in the administrative balances in the governance of youth in the country. In 1934 an important part of the Italian head-instructors left the country or were transferred to other positions related to the army. The inspector of education became a crucial agent in the relation of the Federation and the Ministry of Education with local associations. His presence and support given to local enterprises in culture and sport was accepted as an authorization given by the government. In turn inspectors of education were in constant contact, informing the Ministry of Education on these enterprises. Although the prefecture would remain in continual contact with the Ministry of Interior about any local enterprises in arts, culture, and

⁵¹⁸ For Libohova see Fischer, *Mbreti Zog*, p. 223, p. 250. Beshiri became General Secretary of the Premiership in the collaboration government of Shefqet Vërlaci and was one of the signers of Victor Emanuel's II Royal Decree including Enti to the Entity The Liktorian Albanian Youth. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Asimit, Y. 1939, D. 451, p. 1.

education, it was the inspector of education that was able to intervene also with the attitude of the prefecture in these matters.

The prefecture was able to offer its insight on the political attitudes of people involved in such activities or provide information on their development, yet it was the opinion of the inspector of education that determined their continuity (as all these activities and local associations entered primarily the field of operation and responsibility of the Ministry of Education). In the spring of 1936, the position of the head-instructor of physical education was revised.⁵¹⁹ According to the journal *Arbënia* that reported this modification effecting the role of the head-instructor of physical education, this regulation had in practice made the instructor of physical education a secretary of the inspector of education as these instructors were permanently busy with supporting the inspector in all his administrative duties.⁵²⁰

From 1927 when the journal *The Voice of Korça (Zëri i Korçës)* reported that there were only a few inspectors of education in the country,⁵²¹ their number had been increasing to cover all prefectures, particularly their centers, the major cities and sometimes even smaller ones that were centers of sub/prefectures. This represented a small number in regard to teachers, yet, it was important as at the contrary of the case of teachers, the Ministry of Education had succeeded in selecting very carefully the inspectors of education and all the correspondence reflected a continual accord between the Ministry of Education and these inspectors. The

⁵¹⁹ requiring the head-instructor of physical education to share the office with the inspector of physical education.

⁵²⁰ Q. “Dekret-Ligja Arsimore dhe Instruktorët e Edukatës Fizike” *Arbënia*, no. 234 (15 April 1936).

⁵²¹ *Zëri i Korçës*, no. 226 (20 September 1927).

inspector of education would represent a fundamental linkage in the networks' centre-localities.

The governance of youth involved multiple power balances, those between the Albanian and Italian staff, the King and the Albanian administration, the Albanian higher administration and the lower ranking employees, the King and the Italian representatives. The advancement of the Albanian administrative actors since 1934 in the state's youth organization stood on a delicate balance of power. On the one hand, it strengthened the position of the King *vis à vis* the Italian dominance of the organization. On the other hand, it challenged the stature of the organization promoting the King as the unique authority concerned about youth in the country as well as their unique representative.

This would be evident through the discordance of the government of Mehdi Frashëri, backed as mentioned in the previous part by "the young" and the promoters of the Enlightened Dictatorship. In an article in *Arbënia* on 13 June 1936 it was explained that the prime minister Mehdi Frashëri had declared against the Enlightened Dictatorship, stressing the importance of the parliament.⁵²² The writer maintained that they would agree with the prime minister, if he would make possible the assembling of a parliament without the traditional egoism that could reflect the Zogist dictatorship as did the fascist Italian one reflect that of Mussolini and the Hitlerian parliament the dictate of Hitler.⁵²³ This group of writers was against the ruling elite in the parliament as in this case was also the bureaucratic elite in the government (of Mehdi Frashëri). Yet, obviously, this did not represent a concordance as far as it regarded the promotion of the King as the ultimate authority in the

⁵²² L. "Rreth deklaratës së Kryeministrit," *Arbënia*, no. 285 (13 June 1936).

⁵²³ Ibid.

governance of youth, meaning also in the governance of education, culture, sports and arts in the country.

Such attitude of the bureaucratic elite that in this respect was claimant not only on an Italian domination, but also on the unlimited authority of the King showed that Enti had two different effects on two different elite groups: those who operated in governance, and those who analyzed the governance in the press. The latter adopted and advanced its emphasis on the unique leader, the King. The former adapted and advanced its nationalist stand. Otherwise, these can be considered as two different strategies of action in challenging power and increasing the share in governance. On the other hands, the effect of both of these groups on larger strata of the society depended particularly on the reaction of the intermediary actors such as, teachers, head-instructors of physical education, inspectors of education, and the heads of various artistic and sports associations in localities.

This latest deduction is important particularly in responding to the idea about citizenship in the Balkans, claiming that “Citizenship appears to be a prime example of Western institutions implanted into a social and political context without the necessary preconditioning for its functioning (...).”⁵²⁴ I have briefly discussed in the first part the idea of citizenship as a “western” institution. What this part provides is elements to go beyond the conceptualization of *implanting institutions* and the ideas about the functioning of institutions related to it. First, as seen throughout this part,

⁵²⁴ “(...)such as the collapse of feudal estates and the emergence of autonomuos cities, the existence of an ethnically homogenuos centralized state, the rationalization of the legal system, an dteh development of capitalist industry.” Iordachi summarised this idea, central for many works on citizenship in the Balkans and showed through a comparative institutional analysis that institutional frameworks and legislative regulations were an outcome of complex dynamics that cannot be regarded within the duality posed by the idea of *adopting western models*. See Constantin Iordachi, “The Making of Citizenship in the Post-Ottoman Balkans: State Building, Foreign Models, and Legal-Political Transfers,” in Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Win van Meurs, eds., *Ottomans into European* (London: Hurst, 2010), pp. 181-222. p.219.

institutions were not implanted. They were the outcome of inspirations and domestic visions of what was regarded as successful models adapted, reshaped and changed through the local, national, international and trans-national interaction of various groups and individuals, the entanglement of their interests with the socio-political stakes and the power struggles. This was so even in the case when outside actors, Italians in the Albanian case, played key roles in the foundation of a state youth organization, its functioning and were constraining for the implementation of a specific model, the fascist Italian one.

Second, and most importantly, institutional forms and employed regulations were not the only factors or even the most important factors in determining the operation of these institutions that depended very much on the attitude of their bottom-level employees and these actors' interaction embedded in socio-cultural and political negotiation with everyday people and the subjects of the operations of institutions (in our case students, young people, artists, sportsmen). Thus, functioning of institutions was an outcome of socio-cultural and political conditions and negotiations. The idea of preconditions for functioning represents an analytical reversal of reality, which showed that there were no pre-conditions for the functioning of institutions, but that conditions and institutional operational dynamics shaped each other constantly.

Concluding Remarks

The state's enterprise in youth organization in Albania in terms of institutional developments can be considered in two main periods, 1928-1934, and 1934-1939. As far as it regards this first period, which had as a breaking point 1930, the state enterprise in youth physical, sportive, cultural and patriotic education was a

King's engagement as much as it was an international establishment under Italian domination. The model of the good citizen projected onto the youth during this period included many elements of "belligerent citizenship."⁵²⁵ Following Porath, belligerent citizenship emerges in times of war and is characterized by the shaping of the action of the citizen according to the national security threats.⁵²⁶ Moreover, belligerent citizenship conceives a belligerent patriotism also characteristic of time of war, characterized by the limiting of individual liberties in the name of a greater collective good and sacrifices.⁵²⁷

In our case, belligerent citizenship indicates this physically trained, disciplined citizen and the collectivity of citizens prepared to sacrifice every time for the nation represented by their bodies and the regime associated with one man and regarded as the basic condition for prosperity of this nation. What I previously put forward as laic, national and political morality⁵²⁸ were at once entrenched in this approach to citizenship. In this respect, belligerent citizenship did not necessarily require an exterior enemy, because the enemies of the nation, the regime and the King could fulfill this function. Similarly, it was not necessary to feel the risk of war, as this could be easily replaced by the risk of the division of the nation by the activity of interior groups and persons, who could be anybody opposing the regime and the King. Although external threats were perceived, Albania was not being prepared for war. The belligerent aspect of the Albanian interwar state's youth organizations'

⁵²⁵ See Sigal Ben-Porath. "Civic Virtue out of Necessity: Patriotism and Democratic Education," *Theory and Research in Education*, no. 5 (2007), pp. 41-59.

⁵²⁶ Porath, p. 41.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., p. 49.

⁵²⁸ See this thesis Part 2.

approach to citizenship served mainly to delegitimize political opposition, while legitimizing its punishment.

Nevertheless, the functions of this state enterprise were more complex than this. Although in the 1930s Enti's focus was not paramilitary education and even the director Jella in one of his correspondences with prefectures warned against the use of the term "paramilitary" regarding Enti,⁵²⁹ physical education remained one of its founding pillars. The military logic expressed in aims like "safeguarding the dignity of the state" was fundamental for its existence. In this sense, it institutionalized a (para)military patriotism. This patriotism was not regarded as separate from moral education, as the aim of Enti was physical, moral and patriotic education. In this sense, patriotism became an institutional reality, which was an important step in making it a moral reality.⁵³⁰

Macintyre maintains that morality provides the relation between patriotism and loyalty, although this relation is based on many contradictions and is basically illogical if we contrast it with the human logic that pursues self-interest.⁵³¹ Enti represented the national collective interest identified with the survival of regime, which was presented as the interest of each citizen and the national community together. It institutionalized the means to provide individual and self-images of

⁵²⁹ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 117, p. 2. In September 1931, Enti was preparing for the celebrations of the King's birthday. In the correspondence concerning this event the director Jella ordered the inspector in Peshkopia to avoid the use of words military or paramilitary, explaining that they did not have any relation with Enti.

⁵³⁰ In their articles Druckman and Porath elaborate on patriotism as a moral reality. Daniel Druckman, "Nationalism, Patriotism and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective," *Mershon International Studies Review* 38, no. 1 (April 1994), pp. 43-68. Porath, "Civic virtue out of necessity."

⁵³¹ Macintyre puts this forward as the logic of liberal morality. Alasdair MacIntyre, "Is Patriotism a Virtue?" in Ronald Beiner, ed. *Theorizing Citizenship*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 209-228, pp. 128, 218.

loyalty. As I understand from the article of Druckman, images that include the use of body as constitutive element of belligerent citizenship are fundamental in the establishment of loyalty to the nation.⁵³² Consequently, in Enti, were entrenched politics and policies of cultural nationalization, including the identification of the nation and its institutions with one person with the attempt to structure and control the citizen's body, the effort to determine generations' political attitudes and the distribution of socio-cultural roles.

Functioning as a showcase of the regime, as Nekke claims,⁵³³ was an additional Enti's characteristic that rested in this entrenchment of its function between nationalization of the society and governmentality.⁵³⁴ However, the institutional network that emerged within complex interest, aims, aspirations and ideas had some serious limitations. Its primary institutional model, ONB, had thousand of employees, hundred of branches, many other organs and institutions under its jurisdiction all over the country. ONB, and then GIL had branches, camps, school, boards, and thousands of instructors. With the dissolution of the youth organization of the Fascist Party their institutional framework was shared between several ministries.⁵³⁵ In Albania, the organization operated with a small number of employees, some instructors and with very limited means in terms of equipment, materials and areas in its use. The financing of the organization was beyond the ability of the central state institutions. This is why although the decision about the

⁵³² Druckman, "Nationalism, Patriotism and Group Loyalty."

⁵³³ Michael Schmidt - Neke; *Entstehung und Ausbau der Königsdiktatur in Albanien (1912-1939)*. R. Oldenbourg Verlag München, 1987, p.216.

⁵³⁴ *governmentality* refers to the concept put forward by Foucault, while *nationalization* of the society refers to the use of this term by Noiriel.

⁵³⁵ See Zapponi.

organization were made in the capital, a part of its financing was done by municipalities.⁵³⁶ Moreover, the difficulties had a changing structure through the period.

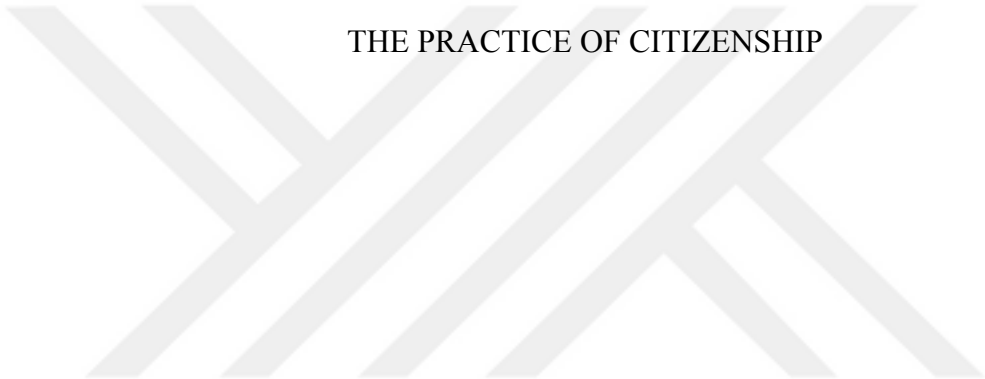
During the early 1930s sports and cultural youth associations flourished throughout the country. Enti, which attempted central control of all of the activities of youth associations, did not result in efficiency as a great part of them operated without needing its consent or even asking its support. Moreover, the relations with Italy were arduous. The increased inquietude of the government and press *elites* regarding the spread of communist ideas and associations in the country⁵³⁷ represented additional incentives for the formation in 1935 of the Federation, which preserved the aims of Enti, but had a different institutional structure, and henceforth was dominated by the Albanian staff. Paramilitary training and physical education ceased to be primary concerns of this organization that represented the state's enterprise in the sports and artistic associational life of the country. Enti and then the Federation remained the unique state organizations that operated in the field of the "physical, moral and patriotic" education and cultural-sportive activities of youth in interwar Albania. Their effect and consequences cannot be considered fully without analyzing closer the practices produced by these institutions. In this respect, the following two parts focus on their activities moving the inquiry at a different level: the sphere of interaction of the institutional framework and its representatives with young people and everyday citizens.

⁵³⁶ See Appendix A, note 55.

⁵³⁷ "In the second half of the 1930s, this unexpected Islamic revivalist evolution within the official Islamic institutions came to serve the new politics of King Zog, who abandoned his secularist politics, to fight the 'communist danger.'" Nathalie Clayer, 'The Tijaniyya: Reformism and Islamic revival in Interwar Albania. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 4 (December 2009), p. 483.

PART 4

THE PRACTICE OF CITIZENSHIP



In the previous part it was seen that the interwar Albanian state analyzed as conglomerate of diverse actors was engaged in an institutional enterprise that, explained simply, would attempt to shape sports and cultural life in the country. Such enterprise was developed closely related to the Ministry of Education and was directed at the youth. It was neither limited to students, nor schools, but represented a complex project of shaping also the content of the free time of those who spent, could or should spent it in various (collective/group) activities. Obviously, the state was interested⁵³⁸ in each and all of its younger subjects' physical performance and cultural choices that represented political choices.

The practice of citizenship represents some aspects of a huge sphere of experiences of the citizen in his/her individual or communal, formal or informal relation with the state. I examine the practices in which Enti, then the Federation, were involved in terms of their socio-cultural functions, affecting in overall the society and different actors, individuals and groups, interacting at different levels. This constitutes a large sphere of interactions in which the state tried to be determining. Even more, the state youth institutions had a project of the good, ideal citizen for this state that they projected on the youth. This is why I regard the practices organized and induced by Enti and the Federation as practice of citizenship.

This is not, however, to say that the state was a homogenous entity. On the other hand, the approach to state as a multiplicity of actors does not contradict the idea that “the state uses various means to organize visions of society and forms of conduct that ‘individuals internalize imperceptibly as political “unthought”

⁵³⁸ Due to the contiguous and competing aspirations of its institutional actors. See this thesis Part 3, Chapter: Institutional Actors: Contiguous and Competing Aspirations.

(*impensée*) which applies to everyone, even those who had thought they could escape it.”⁵³⁹

This part represents an analysis of the ways the state actors tried to fulfill their aspirations with the means of the state’s institutional framework. Compared to Part 3 at this stage we are at a higher level of social interaction where actors are multiplied. The practice discussed here is about this interaction, multiplicity of experiences and social functions that were not necessarily predicted by any of the actors. I try here to reveal the activities of Enti and the Federation through their various fields of operation from public marches and gymnastics performances to sports, arts, cinema and conferences. This sports and cultural practice of citizenship was experienced differently by different actors. In this respect, each chapter analyzes it within the perspective of socio-cultural functions related to different groups. In Chapter 9, I examine the ways national values and common experience were produced by ceremonies and celebrations. In Chapter 10, the idea that different sports had different socio-cultural functions versus different socio-cultural groups is discussed. Chapter 11, the arts are evaluated through their functions and meanings as a public utility. Obviously, the state’s institutions’ and actors’ intervention, transformative action and instigation of activities varied through the years. In this respect, each chapter develops sensitive to the changes during the period without regarding it as a whole in these respects.

⁵³⁹ Bourdieu and Saaud in Jordi Tejel Gorgas, “The Shared Political Production of ‘the East’ as a ‘Resistant’ Territory and Cultural Sphere in the Kemalist Era, 1923-1938,” *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no.10 (2009), pp. 1-19, p. 2.

CHAPTER 9: CEREMONIES, CONFERENCES, AND CELEBRATIONS

The public display of bodies was a powerful source of the fascist ritual project. Fascist rhetoric describing ritual actions suggested that the sheer accumulation of bodies in public space created a feeling of emotion and political community. As the regime moved forward, its use of bodies from the bodies of mothers to the dead bodies of fascist heroes, to the living bodies that trains carried to public events, became more pronounced. The Italian individual and collective body was a powerful ritual resource that the regime mobilized consistently.⁵⁴⁰

Obligatorily Together

As noted the previous parts, one of the reasons for the foundation of Enti was the development of physical education, in relation and as a part of moral and patriotic education in the country. Enti did this in ways that were not precisely explained in its statute, enlarging the field of operation by using the physical performance of the younger generations for wider socio-cultural goals. The public paramilitary training of boys took the form of ceremonies in which people (should) witness(ed) the success of the regime through the common physical performance of their sons. The boys were presented at once as the demonstration of its energy and the representation of its young face, which (should) spread hopes for the future. The continuity and the regular repetition of these ceremonies was assured by various arrangements; for example, the decision to make a ceremony including physical movements every day before starting the school or the ceremonies at the end of each school-year. Although attending these events as spectator was encouraged by the authorities, who spent important efforts in transforming them in ceremonies,

⁵⁴⁰ Mabel Berezin, *Making the Fascist Self. The Political Culture of Interwar Italy*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 116.

presence remained at the initiative of the inhabitants. On the other hand, while common people were accepted as spectators to be pleased and affected by the show, boys - and girls, although without explicit obligation - were obliged to participate. Boys between thirteen and eighteen years old, that did not attend schools were included into this practice by means of paramilitary training and regular paramilitary gatherings.

On 7 October 1929, the King sent a circular to the Council of Ministers. He explained his satisfaction with the gathering of paramilitary troops in Tirana, asked to transmit this to the prefectures and municipalities together with the suggestion to receive the paramilitary units returning in their cities with celebrations, possibly accompanied by music.⁵⁴¹ The paramilitary training was applied as means of bringing boys together particularly during 1928-1930, the first period of existence of Enti. In its issues of 7 and 13 June 1929 the journal *Gazeta e Re (New Journal)* gave a detailed report on the gatherings of paramilitary units and students organized by Enti in the cities of Korça, Shkodra, and Vlora.⁵⁴² According to the report, the ceremony in Korça was held on 31 May. This was also a school-year ending ceremony. Students, boys wearing red shirts and black trousers and girls red shirts and skirts, were lined up under the supervision of physical education instructors in the area where paramilitary exercises were usually organized, and waited for the commander of Enti, S. Blloshmi. The commander arrived at 16:00 taking his place in

⁵⁴¹ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 14.

⁵⁴² “Një festim i madhnueshëm gjimnastikuer me rastin e marrjes së flamujve prej Entit Kombëtar,” *Gazeta e Re*, (13 June 1929). “Enti Kombëtar dhe Komandanti i Përgjithshëm në Vlorë,” *Gazeta e Re* (13 June 1929). “Ardhja e Komandantit t’Entit të Rinisë Shqiptare në Korçë,” *Gazeta e Re* (7 June 1929), p. 3.

the area reserved for the authorities. It was from there that he watched the gymnastic performances of the city's schools, including elementary schools and lyceum.⁵⁴³

According to the journal, whose issues should be considered with certain care, taking into account its alignment as an ardent favor of the King, these exercises were followed by a march of the 3.000 paramilitary troops under the direction of the Lieutenant Ndod Nikolla. Accompanied by music and a festive atmosphere, the journal claimed that the overall performance of the students and paramilitary units was like "a panorama of Czechoslovak Sokols." The ceremony continued with the speech by the commander S. Blloshmi, who emphasized the patriotism of the people of Korça and gave to each of the represented schools a flag brought from the capital, Tirana. Afterwards the students and paramilitary units were directed to the main boulevard of the city, Saint George (*Shën Gjergji*) led by the head-instructor, the Italian citizen Pasquale Lissoni, followed by the spectators, all together singing the national and royal marches performed by the band under the direction of the music professor, Sotir Kozmo.⁵⁴⁴

Similar ceremonies were reported from Shkodra and Vlora. In his speech in the ceremony in Vlora on 10 June 1929, the commander Blloshmi emphasized that, henceforth, with the means provided by Enti, the poor would be side by side with the rich and the ignorant with the cultivated, contributing in the unification of the nation. The ceremony of delivering the flags to schools was organized at the area of paramilitary exercises; the field between the city and the dock (*skela*), where a special sector was reserved for women. The participants were saluted by a speech by

⁵⁴³ "Ardhja e Komandantit t'Entit të Risisë Shqiptare ne Korçë," *Gazeta e Re*.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

elementary-intermediate school (*plotore*) student Ilia Peço and of the girls' school student Nako Lamani.⁵⁴⁵

Also from Shkodra where the ceremony was held on 9 June, high participation, approximately 3000 boys and girl students of elementary and high schools, was reported. The students and paramilitary units were led by the head-instructor Zanchi, while the secretary of Enti's branch in the city Nush Bushati, addressed the invited. To this ceremony was included a general foot race won by a student of the Franciscan high school and a 80m running race won by a student of the State Gymnasium. Not surprisingly, the race results were balanced "satisfying" the sides. And, the ceremony following the words of the commander Blloshmi on these occasions, was a means to national unification. In all of these ceremonies the students declared *besa*, swore loyalty, to the King. Blloshmi asserted that these activities were crucial for the moral advancement of the youth.⁵⁴⁶ Obviously moral advancement was related to physical performance and swearing loyalty to the King. In this respect although the discourse employed mainly masculine terminology giving stress mainly to the boys, the authorities encouraged such morality also for girls. The concern of wider loyalty to the King and consent to the regime included girls in these mobilizing activities. This would be more evident in the following years.

From 1933, Enti's general directorship received regular reports from prefectures about the organization of the school-year ending ceremony in the prefectures. The report of Lushnja, a small center of the country, noted that the 1932-1933 school year ending program included a running race for girls. According to the

⁵⁴⁵ "Entit Kombëtar dhe Komandanti i Përgjithshëm në Vlorë," *Gazeta e Re*.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

report of the elementary-intermediate (*plotore*) school director Adem Shehu, twelve girls participated in this race and the winner was Fitnete Pipa (grade four), while Bedrije Boriçi (grade three) came second and Sesar Berati (grade five) third.⁵⁴⁷ In the 1933 reports arrived for the organization of such ceremonies also from Shistaveci and Tropoja, relatively remote regions of northern Albania. The head-instructor of physical education, at the same time the vice/prefect of Tropoja, reported on 29 May 1933 the content of the ceremony as follows: gymnastic exercises, traditional games and the participation of young boys and girls.⁵⁴⁸

The ceremony ending the 1935-1936 school year in Tirana where would participate also the Minister of Education was prepared in detail. The general march of the youth (students and paramilitary units) was directed by the head of the Albanian Youth Section in the Ministry of Education, at the same time vice/head of the Federation, colonel Aqif Përmeti. The general secretary of the Federation, Luigj Shala, assisted him. A known sportsman of the period, Eqrem Stermasi, directed the movements of the students. The teachers were responsible for the direction of the spectators to the arranged areas. The clothing of the students and participating teachers was particularly explained in details. The elementary school girls were to wear white shirts, black skirt with their daily shoes, but without socks. The elementary schools boys were to wear red shirts and black shorts with their daily shoes, but without socks. Neither of the groups was to wear hats.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁷ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1933, D. 94, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁸ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1933, D. 156, p. 1. See Appendix B, photo 2.

⁵⁴⁹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 335, pp. 2-3, 10.

The female teachers directing them were to wear white shirtwaist, with a black band as necktie, a black skirt and white socks with white shoes. The male teachers were to wear red shirts, black neckties, black trousers and white socks and shoes. Nobody was to wear hats. A group of students was to wear national costume, but this was to be only a small group. High school girl students participating in the ceremony were from the Institute Queen Mother (*Nana Mbretneshë*). They were to tie their hairs back with a white band, wear white shirtwaists with black trousers or skirts and if possible use a black band as necktie and wear white shoes with white socks. High school boys were to wear white short-sleeved shirts with black shorts and white shoes without socks. The physical education teachers were to wear short sleeved, white shirts, black trousers and white shoes with white socks. The general rehearsal was to be held ten days in advance and physicians with necessary first aid equipment were to be present.⁵⁵⁰

Obviously the authorities wanted to present a vision of order, obedience, tidiness, energy and success. Additionally, considered together with the daily school physical exercises, these marches can be considered as examples of body and discipline to be introduced in the ordinary lives of the citizens. Furthermore, Berezin stressed this as an attempt to impose ritual as ordinary life.⁵⁵¹ Actually, this would become even more explanatory thinking about the importance of religion in the daily life of the population and the confrontation between religion and state actors in terms of morality.⁵⁵² This was a struggle over the control of individual and collective values that were reflected by the bodies of the individuals. In its turn, the struggle

⁵⁵⁰ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 335, pp. 11-13, 15-16, 23.

⁵⁵¹ Berezin, p. 194.

⁵⁵² See this thesis Part 2.

over the body represented itself mostly in issues about youth. This display of disciplined, energetic, tidy, and obedient bodies was ascribed in larger sphere of the interaction of actors. In this sense, it can be delineated, in Berezin's words evaluating marches as *political communication*.⁵⁵³ This political communication had at its focus the young individual body as model of ideal and/or good citizen, while using it as the crucial point of interconnectedness and representative of the collective physical, sociologic, cultural and political body.⁵⁵⁴

This was a communication shaped by the state and which regardless of their willingness, young citizens, students, and paramilitary boys were made its main actors. Yet such communication was a city experience. Moreover, it was the interaction of the city with the national⁵⁵⁵ (as ceremonies in these various cities were under central control, involved speeches about national cohesion and were donated by national flags). This can be thought also as an interaction of city actors with central ones, as well as local actors with each other on a national platform. While national-local/city interaction was a main characteristic of these ceremonies, the ceremonies in the capital city Tirana, more than with such interaction were marked by the process of image building. From 1929, with these activities, young citizens were practically included in the disclosure of the national (secular) morality and loyalty, both inseparable from consent to the regime. On the other hand, from the point of view of youth institutions - as such indirectly the state - spectators were implicitly proving their loyalty and accord with the citizenship morality by attending

⁵⁵³ Berezin, p. 136.

⁵⁵⁴ For idea of the body as physical, social, political and their analysis in interconnectedness, see Meira Weiss, *The Chosen Body in Israeli Society* (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 2002), p.10-11.

⁵⁵⁵ In Berezin, p. 167 is mentioned the local-national interaction.

these events, because, unlike the students, paramilitary boys, and teachers, they were not obliged to participate or/and attend.

Youth organizations representatives regarded the presence of people in events as success of their enterprise. The internalization of values promoted by the events represents a particular debate to which I will return in the following sections. Yet, from the point of view of the state representatives it was crucial to generate a cohesion that would overcome diversities among social groups through these activities. As it was very important, due to an accent brought to the organization particularly through the fascist Italian collaboration, to display through youth the force of the nation, the state, and the regime all closely related to each other. Whereas, some additional aspects of the activities can be noted from the perspective of the observer. Among these, it is crucial to re-underline the centrality of the city in this experience of citizenship. Though, ceremonies were conducted in some minor centers as shown above, this kind of practice was not experienced in rural areas. This practice of citizenship, while including the attempt to bring together in a national platform some groups, excluded others. Nevertheless, the organization of such events can be regarded in short term as a success of the youth institutions, accordingly of the regime.

Patriotic Conferences: Convincing and Assuring the Citizens

La Grande Revanche. Campagne de France (1870-1871) - (1914-1917)

Conférences Morales et Patriotiques, a book prepared by commandant Leroux and

published in 1919.⁵⁵⁶ The author explained in the preface that the book was dedicated to teachers as school was going to be the basis for the military preparation of the youth.⁵⁵⁷ One of the aims of the first conference titled “La campagne de France de 1870-1871” was explained as: “to guarantee the future of the republican patrimony by preparing the youth physically and morally.” Among various conferences most of them were dominated by the explanations of various wars and actions of French troops, was included the conference about physical education, including particular explanation of its moral effects. This one was followed by the conference, “What is the Fatherland” and the importance of having a strong army for France. “La patrie” (The Fatherland) is the conference that succeeds this one. And the fatherland is explained through “*le devoir militaire*.” Among the other publications of the same publisher given at the end of the book there are: *Guide pratique d’éducation physique, l’Hygiène en cinq conférences, Manuel d’Hygiène pratique, La gymnastique chez soi, Douze leçons de gymnastique éducative*.⁵⁵⁸

A very similar discourse was promoted by Enti, then the Federation, through one of their most important fields of activity that shared almost the same name as the above-mentioned book, *Patriotic conferences*. As in this example of early 20 century France, the Italian militaries engaged in Albania also bore the idea that the moral and patriotic education could be developed by historical and patriotic conferences. In a report submitted to the General Directorship of Enti on 4 August 1932, the Central Instructor of Physical Education, Gino Riccioni, explained that in order to further the

⁵⁵⁶ Camille Leroux, *La Grande Revanche. Campagne de France (1870-1871) - (1914-1917) Conférences Morales et Patriotoques*, (Paris: Henri Charles-Lavauzelle Éditeur Militaire, 1919).

⁵⁵⁷ Leroux, Preface.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 7, 127, 141, 152, last page (no page number).

moral and patriotic education, the physical education instructors and teachers should give historical and patriotic conferences.⁵⁵⁹ This was one type of conference the officials of Enti tried to multiply and transform to a regular practice.

Since 1930 similar conferences, but to different audiences, were organized by Enti in its centers in various localities. The journal *Gazeta Shqiptare* (*The Albanian Newspaper*) on 9 August 1930 reported on a “Patriotic conference” held at Enti’s center in Lushnja, where L.H. Karafili lectured the young paramilitary boys on the dangers of passing time in coffee-houses and harmful games, referring to burgling. He is reported to have repeated frequently, “a healthy mind, in a healthy body,”⁵⁶⁰ a phrase noted often also in the above-mentioned moral and patriotic conferences booklet from France.

The conference of Karafili was made of two parts, the first dedicated to the tendency of solitude and egoism of the human spirit, and the second to the creation of community, which was generated by the individual being responsible to others. He explained citizenship through responsibility and duty and in this discourse, being a citizen (*qytetar, nënshtetas, nënudhës*) was related to the duty of knowing the responsibilities toward the fatherland. In its turn, this duty was related to the right to know the law of the state and according to the conference giver this was the reason why “his majesty the King desired the foundation of Enti.”⁵⁶¹

It is very difficult to deduce the effect of the conferences on the audience. However, it can be said that it implicated a multiplicity of effects. First, it mobilized

⁵⁵⁹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1932, D. 70, pp. 4, 7.

⁵⁶⁰ “Një konference me randësi në Lushnjë për mbledhjen e Paraushtarakeve në Entin Kombetar,” *Gazeta Shqipëtare* (9 November 1930), p. 2.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

in giving these conferences and speeches individuals not part of the staff of the organization or not even state employees. Second, it promoted through these diverse transmitters not necessarily identified with the regime the values of the regime. Third, the conferences created (temporary) social spaces dominated by the ruling discourse. Finally, the ability to reach illiterate public made this practice as important as festivities and ceremonies.⁵⁶²

The book, *Patriotic Conferences (Konferenca Patriotike)*, authorized by Enti in 1933, similar to the conference of Mr. Karafili, was dominated by a discourse of responsibilities toward the fatherland and the King (p.12).⁵⁶³ Moreover, it put forward dates like 24 December 1924 the return of Zog to the country and 1 September 1928, the Declaration of Monarchy, as the most important dates of the lives of boys' and girls' (p.15).⁵⁶⁴ As in the booklet, the example from France, the conferences in the book were dominated by historical examples of the heroic struggles of the nation(al armies) or/and national figures. A particular part was dedicated to the paramilitary boys (p.65-80). This part consisted mainly of a re-

⁵⁶² For additional example of such conferences during the period of the Federation, see A.Q.SH. F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y.1936, D.317, p. 194: Hysen Kala, "Qëllimi i formimit shoqënie jashtëshkollore dhe roli i tyre në jetën shoqërore e qytetnimit (The reason of foundation of out-of-school associations and their role in the social and civil life), (Kruje):15 March 1936). Ramadan Minxalli, "Patriotizma" (Patriotism), (5 April 1936). Vehdet Doda, "Zhvillimin i arteve të bukura e kulturës" (The development of fine arts and culture,) (26 April 1936). Zejnel Zajmi, "Bujqësi Gjenerale" (General Livestock)," (27 April 1936). An additional example is in the correspondence between elementary school (plotore) in Bilisht and the Ministry of Education on 6 February 1932. The director of the school reports the various conferences he gave in the facilities of Sportive and Artistic Club of this locality. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 90, Y. 1932, p. 99.

⁵⁶³ Aqif Domini, *Konferenca Patriotike për Djelmëninë*. (Të pëlqyeme nga Drejtoria e Përgjithëshme e Entit Kombëtar "Djelmënia Shqiptare), (Korçë: Shtyp. Kartolerie Peppo & Marko, 1933).

⁵⁶⁴ The two other dates were 28 November 1912 the declaration of independence and 21 February 1931 explained as the date of salvation of the "leader of the Nation". On 31 February 1931, Zog survived an assassination attempt in Vienna.

emphasis on the duties toward the country and the King already mentioned in the book.⁵⁶⁵

The military logic of citizenship, which we saw also in the above-mentioned patriotic and moral conferences book of 1919 France, transmitted through Enti to interwar Albanian citizens promoted a discourse of duties and gave meaning to rights only in relation to the defense and prosperity of the fatherland. Enti organized various types of conferences trying to reach larger audiences. There were conferences for youth done by teachers, mentioned in the report of Riccioni. There were conferences to mix audiences given at various Enti centers in localities, as also mentioned-above. In addition, there were conferences given on the occasion of festivities to all the participants, as that held in Korça on 8 October 1931 by Papahristo.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, from 1935, the Ministry of Interior Affairs brought to the state employees in rural centers the obligation to held conferences for village inhabitants.⁵⁶⁷

A similar attitude in the balance of rights and duties was pursued in the guidebook of conferences for villagers, explaining as follows:

“Each citizen (*shtetas*) has duties and rights toward the state. In the content of this book are included in a detailed manner the duties. But each citizen (*shtetas*) has duties towards the state and has the right at the same time to enjoy the rights given to him by statute and law. These latest are explained occasionally here.”⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁵ *Domini, Konferenca Patriotike për Djelmëninë.*

⁵⁶⁶ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, D. 117, Y. 1931, p. 1-3.

⁵⁶⁷ Mbretëria Shqiptare Ministria e P. Të Mbrëndëshme Drejtoria e Korispondencës, *Qarkore Prefekturave, Nënprefekturave, Bashkive dhe Komuneve të Mbretëris N. 760/7* (Tiranë, 20 June 1935).

⁵⁶⁸ Mbretëria Shqiptare Ministria e P. Të Mbrëndëshme Drejtoria e Korispondencës, *Udhëhjekës për Konferenca* (Durrës: Litho-Tipografia “Stamless,” 1935), p. 15. The term “statute” was used to refer to the constitution known during the period as “*statuti i shtetit*” (the statute of the state)

However, in interwar Albania citizenship, values were not transmitted to all the citizens in the same way through conferences. This different type of conference had a remarkably different content. The rural conferences were not dominated by historical accounts, or a military discourse, but by descriptions of issues such as the of state administration and explanations about agriculture (*bujqësi*).⁵⁶⁹

In the version of the conferences for the youth the participants received lectures on how to act as soldiers in defending the fatherland (associated with the regime). This was also a characteristic of the conferences given on the occasion of festivities in the cities where the public was not only made of students or paramilitary boys, but a mixture of city dwellers. The commonality between these types of conferences was the discourse of duties superseding rights. This practice of citizenship was an attempt to limit the activity of individuals as political subjects by forming them as citizen soldiers. It can be said that this practice promoted the duties towards the fatherland as the *raison d’agir*, while it marked the difference youth vs. the rest of citizens, and particularly city vs. village as far as it regarded the modality of action (*modalité d’agir*).⁵⁷⁰ Overall, it promoted an a-political citizenship for rural citizens. They had duties, but these were related to contributing to the fatherland by focusing on production activities in their areas. In the case of youth and city dwellers, it can be regarded as a politically conditioned citizenship. They, and particularly the youth, were the defenders of the fatherland and thus consequently of the regime. So the political engagement was defined, within the terminology of patriotism and it could not go beyond or against this definition.

⁵⁶⁹ *Udhëhjekës për Konferenca.*

⁵⁷⁰ “ (...) *une modalité particulière d’une operation beaucoup plus large, parfaitement banale dans notre vie quotidienne, consistant à donner des raisons d’agir aux individus qui nous entourent.* ” Mariot, *Bains de foule*, p. 12.

“Greatest Joys of the Nation”: The King, the Monarchy, and the Independence

On 6 November 1928, *Gazeta e Re (New Journal)* a newspaper, close to the King⁵⁷¹ reported new regulations about official holidays. According to the news, the country had three main national celebrations each related to an official holyday: 28 November; 1 September, the proclamation of the Monarchy and the accession to throne of Zogu, King of Albanians; and the birthday of the King, 8 October.⁵⁷² The other official holidays were the first day of the year, 1 January, and the main celebrations of the three religious communities, the Muslim, the Orthodox and the Catholic. The religious holidays were calculated as seventeen days and together with the secular ones the country had twenty-one national holidays.⁵⁷³ Having common holydays was already an experience contributing in the making of the national community.⁵⁷⁴ Yet, only some of these holidays were celebrated with activities that enhanced this experience throughout the country. In fact, the religious holidays responded to the demand of each religious community, while the holiday of 1 January, was not only demanded by many pro-western and secular groups and currents in the country, but also represented one of the regime's efforts to show its congruence with western European holidays.

⁵⁷¹ The political director of this newspaper was Zoi Xoxa who in his memoirs described his appointment by the King Zogu to this position. The responsible director was Said Toptani, also known as a supporter of the King. The particular affiliation of the newspaper with King Zog is described in the memoirs of Xoxa. See Xoxa, pp. 111-113, 200-207.

⁵⁷² *Gazeta e Re*, no. 5 (Tiranë: 6 November 1928), p. 1.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ For a very interesting work on national celebrations see Rémi Dalisson, *Célébrer la Nation. Les fêtes nationales en France de 1789 à nos jours* (Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2009).

The declaration of independence, the proclamation of the monarchy and the birthday of the King were related directly with the continuity of the regime and its legitimacy. Enti, then the Federation that engaged all their institutional framework and human resources to make these days the greatest joys of the nation regarded the organization and management of celebrations in these three days as of utmost importance. In terms of space, these celebrations were vested with greater importance in Tirana, but efforts were made to celebrate similarly in other localities. The capital reaffirmed its place as the center of power through these celebrations: the most inclusive celebrations took place in Tirana; the content of celebrations there represented an example to follow for all the localities; participation of regional groups in the activities in the capital was particularly encouraged; actors participating in activities in localities altogether saluted the King in Tirana; then, it was the center of Enti or the Federation in Tirana that received detailed reports of celebrations in various localities.

In terms of actors, the youth remained the main subject of the celebrations. On 23 September Enti's general director, R. Jella, sent a note to the Ministry of Interior Affairs asking to transmit an order of participation in the celebrations for the King's birthday to prefectures and municipalities. He explained that several patriotic conferences would be organized in each prefecture, emphasizing that the center expected participation. After the celebrations, reports came from each prefecture to Tirana. On 13 October 1931, the main inspector of physical education in Korça reported to the general director office about the organization of many patriotic sports activities. The report explained that the participation rate of both men and women was high. It gave also the course of events, the patriotic conference held by Papahristo, the parade of paramilitary, the parade of students and then the football

match. A similar report dated 9 October 1931 arrived at the general director office from Vlora, this time in Italian and signed by Piacentini, the main inspector of physical education in Vlora.⁵⁷⁵

Reports also came from smaller cities like Peshkopi, where in addition, small donations were made to children of families in difficult economic conditions.

Paramilitary groups from remote northern localities like Kukës had marched to Tirana to participate in the celebrations. On the morning of 8 October, all the participating sports clubs, student groups and bands walked through the center of the capital Tirana to the Royal Palace. Once before the palace they sang the march of the Albanian youth. These groups met before the palace with the paramilitary units that sang the paramilitary march. Various artistic and sports contests were organized during the day, and in the evening at the Tirana club, the winners were awarded in the presence of members of the royal family.⁵⁷⁶ The flags, the patriotic marches and the speeches of the highest authorities all pointed to the patriotic youth loyal to the King. Symbolically, the youth were offered to the King on his birthday as a most important gift, an assurance for the future, a security for the present.

Although *the day of the independence*, 12 November remained as a main celebration throughout the period, the foundation of the republic disappeared as a celebration after 1928 and was substituted with the celebrations for the proclamation of the monarchy and the birthday of the King. Moreover, from 1928 to 1937, the celebrations of the King's birthday were vested with greater importance since the existence of the Albanian nation-state after 1920 was presented as closely related to his struggles and abilities. In this sense, the nation, the King and regime were

⁵⁷⁵ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 117. p. 1-4.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 7-8, 17-18.

celebrated together and on each of these days the fate of the nation was related to the survival of the regime and accomplishments of one person. The mobilization of youth in these celebrations was also more successful between 1928-1937 due to efforts of Enti, later on, of the Federation. Although the young people and students were already forged to participate in celebrations before 1928; henceforth, they were forbidden to leave before the end of all of the activities.⁵⁷⁷

Celebrations in these years were marked by an increased presence of young people. On the other hand, the importance given to the birthday of the King and the establishment of monarchy showed that celebrations were related not only to the process of nationalization started before 1928, but also to politicization started since 1928. However, another process was entrenched in these two first ones: secularization. News about the celebrations of the republic in Vlora in 1926 reported about students (boys and girls) assembled before the municipality. All together they went before the mosque, the Orthodox and Catholic churches for prayers. Then, together with religious authorities the crowd was directed to the Boulevard of the Flag (*Sheshi i Flamurit*).⁵⁷⁸ The religious authorities participated in the celebrations, but the ritual of prayer before the main mosque and church of the city was not included in the programs of celebrations of independence, the monarchy or the birthday of the King after 1928.

The journal *Arbëria* of 26 September reported that the most beautiful and important ceremony for the King's birthday in 1929 was going to be the paramilitary

⁵⁷⁷ *Afrimi*, no. 12 (20 January 1926).

⁵⁷⁸ Albanian Independence was proclaimed in Vlora and the area where was located the house from which the flag was flown as a symbol of independence was named *Sheshi i Flamurit* (The boulevard of the flag).

parade.⁵⁷⁹ This is evident also from the archival documents. The head of the celebration committee, Teki Selenica, sent a circular to the prefectures at the beginning of October asking them to send each two delegates to Tirana for the big paramilitary parade that was being organized for the birthday of the King.⁵⁸⁰ The students were to surround the marching army and throw flowers to the soldiers. The paramilitary members arriving from all of the regions of the country were to assemble to a main area in the city (before Cafe Klub) and walk through the main streets of Tirana (passing before the Hotel Bristol International, Company SITA and the Ministry of Interior) to reach the Royal Palace.⁵⁸¹ All those who wanted to accompany this military and student parade were to wear national costume, full dress and other ceremonial attire. Veiled women were not accepted.⁵⁸²

While the celebration in 1929 would be marked by a paramilitary presence, those in 1930, in accordance with the reformation of the youth organization had as a most important component artistic activities,⁵⁸³ as it was the case for both sports and artistic ones in 1931. According to *Gazeta Shqiptare* (Albanian Newspaper) of 7 October 1930, the celebrations of the King's birthday had started three days earlier, on 5 October with national artistic performances, among which the "Gulmihal" by the drama group of Tirana, then the next day "The Great Alexander" by group of Elbasan were performed. The performances of groups from Shkodra, Durrësi, Kavaja and Bilishti, a small city in southern Albania, took place in the following days. In addition,

⁵⁷⁹ *Arbënia*, no. 1 (19 September 1929).

⁵⁸⁰ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 49.

⁵⁸¹ *Arbënia*, no. 1 (19 September 1929).

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*

⁵⁸³ *Gazeta shqiptare*, no. 237 (5 October 1930), p. 1.

music performances of various bands such as the Bogdani and Franciscan from Shkodra, the band of Korça, Durrësi, Elbasani, the Royal and the Military Bands also took place.⁵⁸⁴ The newspaper explained that in these performances organized by the Artistic Committee of Enti the youth enjoyed *the music of its forefathers*.⁵⁸⁵

As mentioned, since 1930 the importance of sportive, artistic and gymnastic activities in celebrations superseded that of military parades. This was evident not only from the content of the celebrations, but it was also framed explicitly by the director Jella, who during the preparations for the King's birthday in 1931 warned the inspectors in localities to avoid the use of terms such as "militia" or "paramilitary."⁵⁸⁶ From 1931 to 1937 the celebrations were dominated by the performances of young athletes and artists and marches by students, mainly boys, but also girls. All the participants in the marches that in several occasions included members of artistic and sports groups as well as soldiers, paramilitary or army, were asked to swear an oath (*dhënë besën*) to the King,⁵⁸⁷ an oath that many newspapers propagated as the guarantee of a better future, a sign of a strong progressing nation.⁵⁸⁸

Actually, the content of the three different celebrations, independence, monarchy and the birthday of the King, had become almost the same. First it was decided in Tirana, then forwarded to the prefectures, which in their turn announced

⁵⁸⁴ *Gazeta Shqiptare*, no. 238 (7 October 1930), p. 1.

⁵⁸⁵ *Gazeta Shqiptare*, no. 238 (7 October 1930).

⁵⁸⁶ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 117, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁷ See *Gazeta Shqiptare*, no. 291 (7 December 1930).

⁵⁸⁸ See *Gazeta Shqiptare*, no. 288 (28 November 1930). See "Festimet entuziaste në Kryeqytet e ndërkrahina për vjetorin e shpalljes së pamvarësisë," *Vullneti i Popullit*, no. 120 (3 September 1930), pp. 1,4. See also Një mik, "Kremtimi i ditës së 1 shtatorit në Himarë. Nga aktivitetet e zhvilluara me rastin e shpalljes së Monarkisë," *Vullneti i Popullit*, no. 130 (14 September 1930), p. 3.

the program. In the case of modifications, they took care to receive authorization from Tirana. The official buildings, main streets and possibly houses were decorated with Albanian flags. The bazaars were closed, a platform for the authorities was built in the area where students and athletes would give gymnastic performances and participate in various contests. The music bands marched through the main street of the city and reached this area where they would perform various pieces accompanying these exercises.⁵⁸⁹

Prayers were not included in the official program, but in various cities religious authorities participating in the celebration led prayers from the platform arranged for the authorities. More than an act showing their own authority and social-position, this was a demonstration of loyalty and celestial benediction to the citizens that through their bodies put their minds and spirits at the service of this state, while enhancing the panorama of social cohesion. Inaugurations were also part of these festivities, as for example the opening of a new athletic course or a library, the foundation of an association or the arrangement of a athletic field. The evening would follow with artistic shows and eventual invitations to the city hall or prefecture, where authorities and main organizers made speeches. Authorities in Tirana were careful to send felicitations and express gratitude to organizers in the localities, while a correspondence took place between the King and Enti, (and the Federation) directors in these cases. The director of Enti, or eventually the president of the Federation, reported the celebrations underlining the oath of the youth in the localities to the King. The King, in his turn, sent public letters acknowledging the success of the celebrations, remarking on the importance of the youth for the country and explaining

⁵⁸⁹ See *Gazeta Shqiptare*, no. 291 (7 December 1930).

his hopes that rested on the youth and his faith in their future accomplishments for the nation.⁵⁹⁰

The loyal youth was the main theme of these celebrations for which Enti, then the Federation, spent a great effort to promote in a highly festive atmosphere. The conferences, speeches, performed songs and plays all praised patriotism, which defined the moral performance of each participant, but particularly the youth. Consequently, the festivities on these occasions while celebrating patriotism as a crucial moral quality, made the independence, the regime, the monarchy, all in relation with the King the greatest joys for the community of the citizens, but in particular for each young citizens.

Unlike the ceremonies examined in the previous section, these celebrations were concentrated in Tirana. Thus, while the previous marked the difference with rural areas in terms of the practice of citizenship, these instigated a difference of the capital dwellers from the rest. This does not imply the possibility of a stronger loyalty of capital dwellers to the regime, although, it emphasizes the difference in relations with the state and the differences that can be detected when such activities are approached from the perspective of citizenship practice. A perspective that enables us to see concretely the limits of the state and governance as well as the eventual consequences of the latter.

⁵⁹⁰ See AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 118, p. 1.

Celebrating Joy or Hiding Fears? The 25th Anniversary of Independence

In summer 1937, the government gave start to the preparations for the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of an independent Albanian state. These celebrations should be considered particularly not only for the importance given by the government, the large budget, the greater mobilization, the multiplicity and diversity of activities, but also as they represent a first step in the institutionalization of various national myths. A special commission was appointed to prepare the festivities and activities for the 25th anniversary. The government managed the budget for celebrations, yet the members of the commission decided about on the content of the celebrations and managed the coordination with the localities. The central commission, then known as Commission of 25th Anniversary of Self-Government (*Komisioni i 25 Vjetorit të Vetqeverimit*), operated through commissions assembled in prefectures and sub-prefectures. Commissions were headed by prefects in prefectures and by the highest official, eventually the vice/prefect in sub-prefectures.⁵⁹¹

According to the memoirs of Zoi Xoxa, the members of the central commission were Mati Logoreci, Teki Selenica, Odhise Paskali, Karl Gurakuqi, Kolë Rodha, and himself.⁵⁹² Still, from the organizing committee it was evident that these celebrations would be somehow less dominated by the figure of the King, as it would be the case in ceremonies organized by Enti or the Federation. The majority of the members of the commission were not among the known supporters of the regime,

⁵⁹¹ Xoxa, p. 219.

⁵⁹² In the correspondence of the period additional personalities known particularly for their activity in education and culture are mentioned as members of the commission as they participated on various juries related with activities of the commission.

although they had important governmental duties during the period. A relative exception to this was Teki Selenica, who for long years directed the official publications responsible for the public image of the regime.⁵⁹³

Zoi Xoxa can be regarded as pro-regime intellectual taking into account his appointment in the direction of various pro-regime newspapers,⁵⁹⁴ despite the fact that in his memoirs, written in late 1970s (during the communist regime) and published in 2007 (in the pluralist period), he took a critical stand toward the King and as well as the regime. Karl Gurakuqi and Mati Logoreci⁵⁹⁵ were both activists of Albanian national education. Both had been collaborators with main figures of the June Revolution. Afterward neither of them has been known for being ardent supporter of the King, while both held various positions during the period in the Ministry of Education. Odhise Paskali,⁵⁹⁶ the youngest member of the commission, had studied art in Italy with a government scholarship and would become one of the most well known sculptors of the country during the interwar years and afterwards.

The commission was going to take a “naturally” nationalistic stand, as each of its members can be defined as activist of an independent Albanian state and nationalization of the society. However, the attempt to relate the persistence of an independent Albanian state with the King and the monarchy, otherwise the effort to associate the survival of the nation with the endurance of the regime, was going to be less evident in these celebrations than when they were organized by Enti or the Federation.

⁵⁹³ Puto, *Shqipëria Politike*, p.160.

⁵⁹⁴ Xoxa.

⁵⁹⁵ See Appendix A, note 56.

⁵⁹⁶ Born in 1903.

Another aspect that would lose the centrality in these celebrations compared to the previous era was the youth. These celebrations were marked by the effort to offer a common past to the national community, contrary to the others who were marked by the prospects of future. Puto noted that the various celebrations, but particularly those for the King's birthday, monarchy and independence during 1937-1938 were done with a noticeable increase in grandeur and festivity.⁵⁹⁷ Among these the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of independence held a particular place. Apart from the inclusion of various artists and intellectuals they represented the entrenchment of many activities that had never been applied as such before. These activities had to do with offering visions of an common past, national heroism and a national cultural heritage.⁵⁹⁸

In terms of activities related to building the past of the nation, I would first discuss the collection of life accounts of people who participated in various wars for the Albanian cause (*çështjen shqiptare*), independence (*pamvarësi*) and territorial unification (*bashkimi i trojeve*), or people known for their nationalist activity (*aktivitet atdhetar, patriotik or kombëtar*). Hundreds of resumes with photos and life details of various people were directed from different localities of the country to the commission.⁵⁹⁹ Not only did families send such material, which included certification of local authorities for participation, injuries and death in *conflicts for independence* (*lufta, qëndresa, kryengritje për pamvarësi*), but also sub-commissions in prefectures were charged with collecting such *patriotic memories*

⁵⁹⁷ Puto, *Shqipëria Politike*, p.590. For details of the celebrations in Tirana see also *Gazeta Shtypi*, no. 162 (28 November 1937), pp. 4, 12.

⁵⁹⁸ more than presenting young bodies loyal to the King, had been the case previously.

⁵⁹⁹ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 50, pp. 1-152.

(*kujtime, sende, foto me vlerë patriotike e kombëtare*).⁶⁰⁰ Streets and schools in various cities or in the countryside were named after these *patriots*.⁶⁰¹

Moreover, the photos and individual objects of these people became part of the national exposition in Tirana. This exposition was mainly about the so-called National Renaissance. The content of the *National Renaissance*, in terms of individuals, their socio-cultural profile, discourse and actions and historical period would be fixed many years later, during the national-communist regime. Nevertheless, it was during the Celebrations of the 25th Anniversary of Independence (*Festimet e 25 Vjetorit të Pamvarësisë*) that the state officially took the initiative to collect the memoirs of the *renaissance struggles* and make an exposition of the *Albanian renaissance*.⁶⁰²

This represented also a retreat from the insistence of putting the King at the heart of the *renaissance of the nation*.⁶⁰³ As well it represented a rearrangement of the priorities of the state. The youth were still important, but national heroes became prominent to the same degree. Through youth organizations, such as Enti and then the Federation, the regime emphasized the importance given to the present and the future of the nation and national community. Thus, the King was promoted as a representative of the youth. Yet, during the 25th anniversary celebrations the King was presented more as the heir of a heroic past than as a representative of the youth.

⁶⁰⁰ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 53, pp. 1-114.

⁶⁰¹ AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1937, D. 14, pp. 1-7.

⁶⁰² *Gazeta Shtypi*, no. 162 (28 November 1937), p. 9.

⁶⁰³ Since 1930 there was a tendency to regard 1920 as a renaissance of the Albanian nation due to the military achievements of Ahmet Zogu. See Fshazi, "Textbooks and 'Another renaissance.'"

They were not in action this time; they were a spectators of the nation's past animated through expositions, publications,⁶⁰⁴ and monuments.⁶⁰⁵

This does not mean that the students' and paramilitary parades were unappreciated during the celebrations. In the capital, a big paramilitary march⁶⁰⁶ and large student parade⁶⁰⁷ were organized. Many artistic and sports activities⁶⁰⁸ took place for the celebrations. Bands accompanied the parade. Streets and buildings were decorated with flags and other decorations such as flowers or local handicrafts.⁶⁰⁹ The lyrics of folk songs were collected in a book called *Visaret e Kombit* (The Treasures of the Nation).⁶¹⁰ Earlier importance had been given to the collection of folk songs and poems; however, this time it constituted a particular axis in the celebrations.

Actually, the public authorities had revised their attitude toward the youth also in matters of morality. In 1937, the Ministry of Education explained that morality should have its religious elements without which it was impossible to exist.⁶¹¹ The secular, then national, and finally political, morality was "returning" to some of its religious elements that it had attempted to exclude before. Retreating

⁶⁰⁴ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 15, pp. 1-7.

⁶⁰⁵ The decision to make a huge statue of Skanderbeg to be placed at the center of Tirana was taken as part of activities for the celebration of the 25th anniversary. AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 15, pp. 1-7.

⁶⁰⁶ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 27, pp. 1-4.

⁶⁰⁷ AQSH, F. 170, Fondi Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 28, pp. 1-8.

⁶⁰⁸ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 40, pp. 5-11.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 36, pp. 39-57.

⁶¹¹ "Shkollë e Moral," *Jeta e Re* (22 April 1937), p. 3. About the state's authorization of the religion course in schools.

from its position as the unique authority on citizen morality, the state had accepted to share such authority with the clerics. The youth, promoted as a conglomerate of trained bodies that represented the regime and the nation and had a morality based in patriotism and loyalty to the King, saw now the content of this morality revised. This was a third reconsideration related to the youth after the revision of its relation with history and the King (in 1937).

The main initiatives of the central commission for the 25th anniversary celebrations⁶¹² affected more the celebrations in the capital than in other cities. The most impressive change for the localities was the broadcast of the King's speech for this anniversary by radio transmission⁶¹³ provided by the Italian technical service offered by the company Marconi.⁶¹⁴ The speech was transmitted during the ceremonies that took place in localities. The ceremonies in localities did not change much in terms of content with the previous ones, although they started earlier this time and the festivity was greater. In Shkodra there were three days of celebrations starting on 25 November.⁶¹⁵ According to the program distributed by the municipality of Shkoder, from noon Thursday (25 November 1937), all the private

⁶¹² The building of the Skanderbeg monument in Tirana, the collection of *folklore* in a volume, the change of the national march, the organization of various expositions among which the most important that of National Renaissance, various publications with photos from the country, etc. See Xoxa, p. 220-221.

⁶¹³ This was a first step in terms of radiophonic transmission. Within the decisions for these celebrations was also the construction of a radio station. The first Albanian radio station, Radio Tirana, would be working one year later inaugurated for the anniversary of independence in 1938. Gjergj Bubani was the first director of Radio Tirana. See Bubani, *Publicistikë*, p. 10. See Appendix B, photo 3.

⁶¹⁴ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni 25 Vjetori i Qeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 36, pp. 3-22. The company received a high fee which was paid by the fund in disposition of the 25th anniversary commission and an additional fund from the Council of Ministers.

⁶¹⁵ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni i 25 Vjetorit të Pamvarësisë, Y. 1937, D. 58, p. 1.

and public buildings were to be decorated with national flags and green leaves. The main streets would be decorated with ornamental arcs.⁶¹⁶

At 1 o'clock civil and military authorities, girl and boy students of private and public schools, various associations, notables and people will assemble before the Popular Garden (*Lulishte Popullore*) to listen to the Royal Message, voiced by his Majesty the King himself, that will be transmitted by radio. Before the message, the band of the municipality will play the Flag March and after the Royal March. Also, at the end of the message prayers will be called from the minaret of mosques and bells of churches will ring. At 2.30 pm a patriotic conference will be held from Filip Fishta. At 5.15 pm various associations, all public and private 5th grade elementary schools and high schools' boys and girls students, teachers and the Band of the Municipality will walk through the main streets of the city holding lights in their hands and singing national songs. At the end of this walk the band will assemble before the municipality and perform various pieces. At 6.30 pm will be fireworks. At 8 o'clock pm the association Vllaznija will perform at its own hall the national drama "Free Albania. The 500 hundred years old dream."⁶¹⁷

Apart from the King's speech, which was broadcast to the public, the celebrations had very similar content to that of the other 2 days. Although in order to spread the festive atmosphere in the diverse space of the city students marched also in secondary streets reciting poems and singing songs.⁶¹⁸ Additionally, sports activities such as a cyclist tour from Shkodra to Lesh⁶¹⁹ and back, a football and handball match as between the teams of the state gymnasium of Shkodra, took place. The theater performance "Under the Shadow of the Flag," prepared by all the students of the elementary school, took place at the hall of Parruca's school.⁶²⁰ On the twenty-seventh, the celebrations consisted of a gymnastics show done by the

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ AQSH, F. 170 Komisioni i 25 Vjetorit të Pamvarësisë, Y.1937, D. 58, p.1.

⁶¹⁹ In present day the name of this city is written Lezhë.

⁶²⁰ The name of a district in the city of Shkodra. This is also today one of the central districts of the city, although with a much different appearance where it is not be so easy to find these historical references.

students of the State Gymnasium in the athletic field of the city. A football match and athletic contest followed.

As on the previous days the celebrations ended with fireworks and a drama performance. The particularity of the 27 November celebrations was the commemoration of Vaso Pasha,⁶²¹ defined by the authorities as the “famous patriot from Shkodra.” A ceremony with the presence of the authorities took place for the inauguration of the commemorative plaque placed before his native house.⁶²² On 28 November, the celebrations started with a practice used before 1928: the civil and military authorities assembled at the Municipality and visited the mosque (of Fushë Çelë), the Catholic cathedral and the Orthodox church. After the prayers in each religious institution a parade of students, boys and girls, from all schools of the city was held. During these four days, shops were ordered to be close during the ceremonies and all day long on 28 November. Moreover, on this day, coffeehouses, drinking houses, and restaurants could open only at the end of the prayers.⁶²³

As seen, many trends were reversed in 1937. The government had a revised attitude toward the role of the religious authorities in the process of nationalization. The King had a revised position *vis à vis* national history and the youth. Several mainstream journals emphasized particularly the “crucial role of fascist Italy” for the existence of an independent Albanian state.⁶²⁴ Obviously, the government was eager to show its appreciation for the Italian presence and preponderance in Albania in the effort to avoid or postpone an Italian invasion, which was progressively perceived

⁶²¹ See Appendix A, note 57.

⁶²² AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni i 25 Vjetorit të Pamvarësisë, Y. 1937, D. 58, p. 2.

⁶²³ AQSH, F. 170, Komisioni i 25 Vjetorit të Pamvarësisë, Y. 1937, D. 58, p. 2.

⁶²⁴ *Gazeta Shtypi*, no. 162 (28 November 1937), p. 5.

and articulated. Moreover, groups in the government and the King were increasingly concerned about the rise of the communist movement. Overall, there was growing discontent among the people.⁶²⁵ In these conditions, the King and the government had revised their attitude toward some groups, notably religious, other parts of society that were not identified as youth or with “The Young,” and nationalist groups, in order to obtain their support.

The grandeur of the 25th anniversary celebrations was closely related to these concerns about the continuity in power of the King and factions supporting the regime. These celebrations put the accent in the strength of the nation-state at the contrary of previous celebration that highlighted the preeminence of the monarchical regime for the existence of an Albanian nation-state. It was an attempt to approach, by showing the change in attitude and obviously through this demonstrating the will to offer greater share in governance to forces, the above-mentioned groups, that would contribute to restraining the communist movement or/and delaying an eventual Italian invasion. After the festivities of 25th anniversary rested these serious “fears,” formulated in various occasion as the communist danger (*rreziku komunist*) and Italian intention (*qëllimet e Italisë*). In terms of the practice of citizenship, the changes in attitude of 1937 demonstrate the inconsistency in policies related to this practice. Apart from the problems with the institutional formation evident in the previous part of this thesis, noticeably the government’s attitudes toward the past, the youth, morality and even loyalty were deeply affected by power relations. These were all issues, implicitly or explicitly, part of the negotiations for power.

⁶²⁵ The event of Fier, the demonstrations in Korça etc. See this thesis Parts 2.

CHAPTER 10: SPORTS

(...) la dictature fasciste a été, sans aucun doute, le premier régime politique européen à mener une action d'envergure dans le domaine du sport et de l'éducation physique, allant de l'introduction massive des exercices corporels dans l'éducation des jeunes Italiens, à la construction de stades aux allures futuristes, en passant par l'obtention de succès de prestige aux Jeux olympiques ou dans les Coupes du monde de football. (...) travaux consacrés notamment à Mussolini, qui soulignent le rôle du sport comme élément original des politiques mises en œuvre par le régime et du culte du Duce.⁶²⁶

Football, the Cultural and Political Instrument

Enti, then the Federation, managed various sport activities such as volleyball, basketball, cycling, car racing, tennis, and wrestling.⁶²⁷ A particular effort was spent to organize national championships in each sport. However, national championships for sports like volleyball, and basketball were not organized during the period. Sport was regarded as means of promoting collective and communal values even before the interwar years and by diverse groups. Analyzing the activities of the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century world wide operating Christian youth organization YMCA, Zafer Toprak, notes that one of the organization's main aims was to socialize people, bringing them together through its various activities among which the sports contests held a particular important

⁶²⁶ Paul Dietschy, "Sport, éducation physique et fascisme sous le regard de l'historien," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, no. 55-3 (2008/3): 61-84, p. 61.

⁶²⁷ Attempts were done to develop winter sports. However, these attempts remained limited in practice. Boçe mentions that a skiing competition was organized in March 1933 in Peshkopi. He also mentions the development of chest without noting a specific activity. See Armando Boçe, *Sporti dhe Enti Kombetar "Djelmënia Shqiptare" në vitet 1929-1930*, *Revista e Arkivit*, no.1-2 (2009), pp. 49-55, p. 52.

place.⁶²⁸ The YMCA was active also in the Ottoman Empire,⁶²⁹ where football clubs flourished some years before the declaration and foundation of an independent Albanian state. However, the Albanian government had entered this field of operation supported and forged by the fascist Italian government.

In 1930 the first football championship was organized, declared under the guidance of Princess Myzejen (*në patronazhin e princeshës Myzejen*). According to Dizdari six teams participated in this championship: SK Tirana, Skënderbeu of Korça, Bashkimi Shkodran, Teuta of Durrësi, Urani of Elbasani and Vlora. The national event of football developed in three different national championships, the first teams (*Divizioni Kombëtar*), the Students' championship (*Kampionati i Nxënësve*) and the Military Championship (*Kampionati Ushtarak*).⁶³⁰ This corresponded to the categorization of youth by the government: young civilian men, students (boys and girls) and military boys. However, the first or primary teams championship was the one organized more regularly, mobilizing a greater number of citizens in various localities. In 1938 the national championship was organized in two categories that were named Division One (*Divizioni i Parë*) and Division Two (*Divizioni i Dytë*). The first division had ten, while the second had eight teams.⁶³¹

⁶²⁸ Zafer Toprak, "İstanbul'da Spor: Vay Em Si Ey (YMCA) Jimnastikhaneleri," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 2, (February 1994): 8-12, p. 9. See also Zafer Toprak, "YMCA," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt 7, pp. 531-532. For the development of athletics in interwar Turkey, see also Zafer Toprak, "Taksim Stadında Mini-Olimpiyat 1922," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 4 (April 1994): 15-18. Zafer Toprak, "Türkiye'de Olimpiyatlara Başlangıç ve 1922 Taksim Mini-Olimpiyatı," *Tombak*, no. 26 (June 1999), pp. 102-109.

⁶²⁹ Toprak, "İstanbul'da Spor," p. 9.

⁶³⁰ Besnik Dizdari, *Historia e Kampionateve të Shqipërisë. Vitet 30'të*, (Tiranë: Lushta, 1999), p. 17-20.

⁶³¹ Teams in the first division were: Group A: Sportklub Tirana, Vllaznia, Besa. Group B: Skënderbeu, Bashkimi Elbasanas, Dragoj. Group C: Bardhyli, Durrsi, Ismail Qemali, Tomorri. Division 2: Groupi A: Leka i Math, Drita, Namik Delvina. Group B: Shkumbini,

Seven national football championships were organized during the interwar period. The second started in April 1931, and the third, in March 1932. The Sports Federation, part of Enti, organized five championships. In 1935 due also to changes in structure of youth organization many championships were not held.⁶³² The changes in the structure of the state's youth organization affected the presence of the Italian staff. In the first championship, almost all of the referees came from Italy. Yet this number reflected a decreasing phenomenon through the years, as was the case for the organizing staff. The committee created by the Sports Federation to organize the third championship was composed of four people: Izedin Beshiri, G. Consentini, Ymer Sharra, G. de Marchis.⁶³³ Only two of them were from Italy. From 1935, the list of referees was made of Albanian citizens and Oakley-Hill, a member of the British army.⁶³⁴ The fourth and fifth football championships were organized, respectively, in April 1933⁶³⁵ and April 1934,⁶³⁶ while the Federation organized the football championships of 1936 and 1937.⁶³⁷

Kongresi, Apollonia. Group C: Devolli Bashkimi Dibran. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 261, Y. 1938, p. 13.

⁶³² In an international correspondence of 1935 the Ministry of Education explained to foreign counterparts that due to a reformation of the sports and artistic central organization in the country, championships were not organized in 1935. They declared that the winner of the football championship of this year should be considered Sp. Klub Tirana, which was the winner of the previous championship. See AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 101, Y. 1935, pp. 30-31.

⁶³³ Dizdari, *Vitet 30'të*, p. 49.

⁶³⁴ See Appedix A, note 58.

⁶³⁵ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombetar "Djelmnia Shqiptare," D. 84, Y. 1933. p.1. The document in this page is a circular informing the beginning of the national championship of football.

⁶³⁶ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar "Djelmnia Shqiptare," D. 172, Y. 1934. p. 1. See also Appendix A, note 59.

⁶³⁷ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombetar "Djelmnia Shqiptare," D. 180, Y. 1937, p. 1. See also Dizdari, *Vitet 30'të*, pp. 103-130.

Apart from these, championships were organized for several second level activities managed by local associations as in the case of “Kupa Skampa” of the Elbasani’s association Skampa⁶³⁸ or other local institutions, such as the journal *Vullneti i Popullit*,⁶³⁹ *Besa*, and *Vatra*.⁶⁴⁰ As mentioned, the organization of sportive and artistic activities without the prior consent of Enti, (then the Federation) was forbidden by law. As such, it would be impossible to officially conduct a similar event without assuring Enti, then the Federation, that it would serve their purposes or at least would not go against their aims. In a telegram sent to the department of the “Albanian Youth” in the Ministry of Education on 18 November 1935, the inspector of education in Shkodra explained that he was collaborating with the association of the city, “Vllaznija” to organize a football contest between four quarters (*lagje*) of the city.⁶⁴¹

The inspector explained that the aim of such activity was to promote sport and to prevent the youth from going to coffeehouses or similar places.⁶⁴² His explanation summarized the purpose - briefly propaganda, control, and socialization - which such second level sportive activities awarding various trophies had for the public authorities. In this case we can detect the scheme of the implementation of such activities. Although the permission was taken only from the centre of the public youth organization in the capital, the initiative and proposition came from local

⁶³⁸ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 101, Y. 1935, p. 15.

⁶³⁹ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmenia Shqiptare, D. 51, Y. 1933, p.7.

⁶⁴⁰ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 101, Y. 1935, p. 15.

⁶⁴¹ AQSH. F. 444, Ministria e Arsimit, D.101, Y. 1935, p. 28.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

branches. In this sense, these activities were adapted to the needs for the socialization, mobilization, control and propaganda of each city or rural area.

I denote these activities as second level to point out a different type of interaction than the one occurring during national championships. This level of interaction engaged many actors who could not be or were involved to a limited degree in the national championships. It provided an additional step in the diffusion of regime's values in the country. Moreover, it provided also an economic support to a centralized system of financing of sport activities. The municipalities provided a part of financing of the local associations. However, the main financing of the activities came from Enti, and later the Federation or/and the Ministry of Education. During these matches, fees for the fields, uniforms for the players, technical materials including balls were all provided from the general directorship of Enti, then the Federation.⁶⁴³ Yet, the awards, medals, trophies, and financial rewards to give to the winners represented important elements of these contests that the general directorship of Enti, then the Federation were not always able to offer.⁶⁴⁴ In such cases, such sponsorship gained particular importance.

The message that the regime tried to transmit particularly through its engagement in football on multiple levels was the unity of the nation. In his speech in the meeting with the winner of the first football championship SK.Tirana, at a place called Banjat, the King addressed the team as he was addressed all the Albanian youth, urging them (*djalëria*) to love the country, be united, and

⁶⁴³ AQSH. F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 101, Y. 1935, pp. 15-28.

⁶⁴⁴ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 6, Y. 1934, p. 43.

disciplined. He emphasized discipline as a unique value without which the youth would be worthless, while explaining that youth was the future of the nation.⁶⁴⁵

Actually, the idea of football forging national unity was reflected in the national teams' unquestioned representations of nation-states and was a basic component in the understanding of football during the period. According to Dietschy, the foundation of organizations like FIFA at the beginning of twentieth century should be regarded as part of the movement of the nationalization of football that was ongoing in Europe and South-America.⁶⁴⁶ The internationalization of football by representation of football matches as the confrontation of nation-states or/and of peoples⁶⁴⁷ thus had at its base in the comprehension of football as means of construction of the totalitarian consent, mobilization and distraction of masses,⁶⁴⁸ but also and particularly in its understanding as a unique tool of cohesion that superseded socio-cultural divisions within the nation-states.

In this regard, different representations each promoted in international spaces enhanced and even legitimized, in its own way, national governments approach football. For example, the approach to football as "*rapprochement des peuples*,"⁶⁴⁹ (connecting peoples) in national terms would also be translated as the ability of football to contribute to the "unity of the nation" or "brotherhood of national citizens," as framed by Enti, then the Federation. Genuinely, this was considered a

⁶⁴⁵ Dizdari, *Vitet 30'të*, p. 28. See also Appendix A, note 60.

⁶⁴⁶ Paul Dietschy, "'Les Avatars de l'Équipe Nationale' Football, nation et politique du la fin du 19e siècle, Vingtième Siècle," *Revue d'histoire* 3, no. 111 (2011), pp. 35-47, p. 37.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ Dietschy, "Les Avatars," p. 39.

⁶⁴⁹ Jules Rimet in *ibid.*, p. 35.

football competition that would contribute to smoothing differences, notably regional and cultural diversities.

The Albanian case in the interwar period represented an example of how concerns about “national unity” superseded those about foreign policy attempting “*rapprochement des peuples*,” or international representations contributing in representing “cohesive, achieving nations.” The country would not have a national team during the period.⁶⁵⁰ This was due to many reasons. However, it is important to stress here that as already mentioned, the Albanian regime, particularly since 1925 with the return to power of Ahmet Zogu, was much more concerned with internal issues. The government and the King, even in 1937, less than two years before the Italian occupation of the country, felt more threatened by the internal opposition dynamics than from any intervention from outside.

The organization of football championships, where citizens from different localities and socio-cultural backgrounds would share experience on a common platform offered by the government and as declared also in matches, under the guidance of the Royal Family, was more important for the regime than any international representation of the nation. Football constituted one of the most important fields of operation of the state youth organization from 1930. Its approach to football was quite in tone with the international understanding of this sport. Yet, its engagement in football was closely related to its popularity and spread in various localities in the country. Both of these factors made football such an indispensable cultural and political national instrument for the government that it was used throughout the above-mentioned championships and activities. Yet, what were the

⁶⁵⁰ For a history of the Albanian National Team See Besnik Dizdari, *Historia e Kombëtares*, (Tiranë: Dituria, 1993).

consequences of this practice of citizenship encouraging “brotherhood,” otherwise the neutralization of regional and cultural identifications and diversities? The answer is given below in Part 5 by scrutinizing more closely particular football matches.

Swimming, Tennis, Athletics or the *Westernization* of Society

Administrators, institutional actors, but also many intellectuals consecrated important efforts to the adaptation of what they regarded and promoted as western manners. Sports were part of these efforts. Contrary to many of the governments of other Balkan states, which as Kissidou maintains, regarded sportive activities as a chance to ameliorate inter-state relations,⁶⁵¹ the Albanian government, as already mentioned, was more closely concerned with the internal effects of sports. Enti, then the Federation officials, regarded the sports practice as an aspect of westernization (*oksidentalizimin*) of society. In this regard, tennis, athletics, and swimming had particular importance. In tennis, the governing groups engaged in the demonstration of their western attitude, while athletics and swimming were important promoters and demonstrations of the westernization of (the regime's) citizen's body.

Tennis⁶⁵² was the sport that particularly represented a “class” aspect in its practice. Enti organized a national championship of tennis in 1931.⁶⁵³ The matches took place in the Royal Tennis Club (*Tenis Klub Mbretëror*) on 16-22 October. Apart

⁶⁵¹ See Penelope Kissoudi, *The Balkan Games and Balkan Politics in the Interwar Years 1929-1939: Politicians in Pursuit of Peace*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2009). See also Penelope Kissoudi, “Antidote to War the Balkan Games” in *Militarism, Sport, Europe*, pp.142-165.

⁶⁵² AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombetar “Djelmnia Shqiptare,” D. 91, Y. 1934, pp. 1, 2.

⁶⁵³ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 71, Y. 1931, p. 38.

from foreign citizens,⁶⁵⁴ members of the governing elite, high civil functionaries and their families were present.⁶⁵⁵ The limited and homogenized image of the west they (re)produced had two effects. On the one hand, it detached the latter groups, members of the governing elite, high civil functionaries, from larger groups of society. On the other hand, it put them at the top of the social hierarchy where western values were promoted by the official discourse and many intellectuals, as the universally highest/civilized socio-cultural values.

Swimming championships received the particular attention of the King who attended most of the championships. The national championships of swimming started in 1931 and were organized in the city of Durrësi,⁶⁵⁶ one of the most important ports of the country.⁶⁵⁷ The King and the Royal Family from time to time attended sports activities in Tirana, but for the national swimming championship, which lasted one day,⁶⁵⁸ they moved to Durrësi.⁶⁵⁹ In various regional activities, for

⁶⁵⁴ See Appendix A, note 61.

⁶⁵⁵ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 41, Y. 1926, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁶ AQSH, F.195 Ministria e Arsimit, D. 71, Y. 1931, p. 38. For the swimming national championship of 1936 see AQSH, F. 847, Federata e Shoqerive Artistike e Sportive “Vllaznia Shqiptare,” Y. 1936, D. 67, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁷ Durrësi was the capital of the Albanian principate known in 1913 by the Great Powers that appointed Princ Vilhelm Wied as ruler. For the international diplomatic negotiations resulting in the appointment of princ Wied as ruler of an Albanian monarchy and Albania under prince Wied see Ferdinando Salleo, *Shqipëria: gjashtë muaj mbretëri* (Tiranë: Shtëpia e Librit&Komunikimit, 2000).

⁶⁵⁸ Besnik Dizdari, “Një kërkim historik i kulturës së notit modern në Shqipëri,” January 18, 2012, Available [online] at <<http://www.zemrashqiptare.net/article/Sporti/SportiShqiptar/9863/1/print/>>

⁶⁵⁹ The journals of the period confirm the attendance of the royal family in swimming championships see *Besa*, (28 August 1934). Dizdari referred to the participations of princ and princesses at the swimming championships that generally lasted one day. Ibid. The geographical proximity of this city to Tirana made attendance at the championships by the King Zogu and the Royal Family easier. Yet, this was not the most important reason for attending swimming championships.

example swimming activities in the regions of Vlora and Himara organized by the regional association of Vlora, - during 1932 the activity in Vlora was directed by the Italian citizen Piacentini-,⁶⁶⁰ messages were exchanged between the King, the Princesses, the organizers and the participants. These were telegraph messages, in many cases, transmitted also by the press. However, the particularity of the swimming championship was the physical presence of the highest regime representatives in the event. As the national championship with the permanent attendance of the royal family, swimming was a crucial practical means of promoting the athletic citizen in total accordance with the regime.

If tennis was a sport in which elites participated in evidence of their “western attitude,” swimming was the confirmation of the strength of the regime and display of its ideal body. The citizen with a healthy, strong, competitive body was particularly exposed in swimming. The King himself had a famous photo in a swimming suit showing not only his strong, but also healthy (masculine) body.⁶⁶¹ Presenting ones naked body in public, although this was a masculine body, was not common for society. In this respect the organization of swimming championships was more a demonstration of the (ideal) citizen’s body than in other sport.

In 1929 the organization of the national championships in athletics started. A circular dated 5 May 1929 sent from Rexhep Jella, major of Tirana, to other prefectures asked for support for the first championship of athletics that had been declared under the guidance of Princess Myzejen. The circular explained that the opening of the championship should be gorgeous (*madhështore*) and that a vivid

⁶⁶⁰ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar “Djelmnia Shqiptare,” D. 145, Y. 1932, p. 1.

⁶⁶¹ See Appendix B, photo 4.

propaganda should be done to promote the championship.⁶⁶² By 1932, four national athletic championships had already been held.⁶⁶³ As also shown in the emblematic image⁶⁶⁴, which became the international symbol of athletics adopted by many nation-states during the period, even the image used in announcing athletic championships promoted this mobilized, ready-to-fight citizen whose socio-cultural and political goals were defined by the government. In addition, athletic activities had a second particularity.

As mentioned, the state through the youth organization Enti, then the Federation, had the tendency to limit the participation of teams and individuals in international activities. Yet the insistence and pressure of these latest gave results particularly in athletics.⁶⁶⁵ The Albanian team participated in the Balkan Games⁶⁶⁶ (referred to in Albanian archive documents as the Balkan Olympic Games) since 1933 in Greece (Athens 1933),⁶⁶⁷ Yugoslavia (1934), and Turkey (1935). Actually, the tendency of the limiting of the international engagements of the Albanian

⁶⁶² AQSH. F. 444. Enti Kombëtar “Djelmnia Shqiptare,” Y. 1929, D. 159, pp. 101-107. According to the document included in this dossier as page 107, the members of the committee responsible for the organization of the championship were Rexhep Jella, Rasim Karakulla, Bellocchio commandant of the Tirana group; Hasan Lame, secretary of the prefecture; G. De Marchis, head of the Enti branch in Tirana; captain Kol Zadrime commandant of the gendarmerie; Harry Fultz director of the technical school of Tirana; S. Pejani, director of the dormitory Naim Frashëri.

⁶⁶³ Detail about athletic championships see Boçe, pp. 51-52.

⁶⁶⁴ Appendix B, photo 5.

⁶⁶⁵ See Appendix A, note 62.

⁶⁶⁶ For the Balkan Games, see Kissoudi, *The Balkan Games*. See also Kissoudi, “Antidote to War the Balkan Games.” According to Kissoudi the games started in 1929 (pre-Balkaniad, while officially in 1930 in Athens) and continued to 1939. Kissoudi, “Antidote to War”, p. 143. Following the documentation in Albanian archives it is evident that Albania had not been participating since the beginning of these games and did not have a regular participation through the years. This was the case also for other countries.

⁶⁶⁷ Minella Anastasiadhi of the Albanian team came sixth in 1000m run contest. AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, D. 243, Y. 1934, p. 200.

sportsmen was not a persistent strategy of the government. It depended on concerns related to fluctuating internal political tensions and in some case even on the attitude of individual members of administration engaged in the process of authorizing such participation. Thus, it would be difficult to make a periodization in this case.

Nevertheless, it can be said that throughout the period, the state youth organization did not regard such participation, in various European countries to which Albanian teams were often invited, as an eventual contribution to “the westernization” of society.

In addition, a change in the approach to *westernization* of Albanian administrative actors from 1933 occurred. Members the governing elite during this period did not regard the idea of *westernization*, adopting *western manners*, as contradictory to nationalization. Consequently, since 1933 members of the Albanian administration although still pro-*westernization*, reacted to *western intervention* embodied mainly by the Italian presence in the country. The speech of Elbasani’s inspector of education on the occasion of the independence celebrations in 1935 had two main assertions. According to the report transmitted to the Ministry of Education, the first was about the necessity for amelioration of sports areas and adding new ones, while, the second one focused on the capacity of Albanian teachers and instructors to organize and manage manifestations (gymnastics and sports performances) without the support of foreigners.⁶⁶⁸ As mentioned, the number of foreign citizens, or foreigners as the inspector framed it, engaged in sport activities in Albania had markedly diminished in 1935 compared to late 1920s and early 1930s.

⁶⁶⁸ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 103, p. 9.

The remark of the instructor at this point stood at once as a reaction and as the legitimization of the government's increasing nationalizing attitude since 1933.⁶⁶⁹ On the other hand, it is important to (re)underline that nationalization, for these individuals, was an aspect of westernization. And they were in accordance with the international trends because national enterprises and national representations, that were reduced and homogenized representations of societies were, as Thiesse showed,⁶⁷⁰ nationally and internationally promulgated by dominant discourses in various western societies, otherwise, powerful nation-states and in the international arenas. In this respect, for many Albanian interwar secular intellectuals, bureaucrats as well as the highest representatives of the regime, *westernization* and *nationalization* were two complementary trends.

Sports activities were closely related to both, while some of them like swimming, tennis, and athletics were supposed to contribute more to westernization. Football with crucial importance due to its popularity, and others like cycling and car racing had effects related more to the nationalization of society. All these sports had a double effect in both of these respects. They produced collective representations, while at the same time affected individual practices of the citizens with diverse socio-cultural and political profiles. This latest aspect concerns particularly the practice of citizenship in terms of tennis, athletics, and swimming activities organized by the state youth organization that in this case attempted to advance in *westernization* of society through the production and promotion of images of individual citizen bodies.

⁶⁶⁹ See Part 2.

⁶⁷⁰ Thiesse, pp. 233-240.

Cycling and Car Racing or the Efforts to Materialize *the Imagined Community*⁶⁷¹

This part will focus on cycling and car racing, regarding them the part of the citizenship practice that intensified the contacts between citizens from different localities, thus enhancing direct relations between different and diverse members of this (nation-state's) society. The championships in cycling and car racing were not organized regularly. Cycling national championships date back to 1932 with the tours between Shkodra - Tirana⁶⁷² and Kavaja - Lushnja - Tirana.⁶⁷³ In 1934, the tour for the championship was held between Tirana and Elbasani.⁶⁷⁴ These activities appealed mainly to young citizens that did not attend school. Schools organized sport activities under the control of Enti as interschool championships or contests between students of the same school.⁶⁷⁵ This was the case not only for cycling, but also and particularly for volleyball and basketball. In this sense during the period were organized several inter-school championships in different sports including volleyball and basketball.⁶⁷⁶

On 22 August 1931, Stratti, the Italian officer at the head of the Regional Sports Association in Vlora sent a request to Tirana asking approval for the organization of the car race Cup of Vlora (*Coppa Vlora*). The event was introduced in the sports calendar of the Sports Federation and announced as “(...) offered by the

⁶⁷¹ Anderson, *Imagined communities*.

⁶⁷² AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 146, p. 1, 2.

⁶⁷³ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 146, p. 3.

⁶⁷⁴ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 514, p. 2. AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1934, D. 89, p. 1. Cycling contest were organized as part of various national celebrations. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1938, D. 261, p. 21.

⁶⁷⁵ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 348, p. 3. AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 349, pp. 2-3, 5.

⁶⁷⁶ See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 329/1, p. 285.

athletic delight of the Royal Princess Myzejen Zogu, moral founder of Albanian Sport.”⁶⁷⁷ The winner was awarded the Trophy of the Princes Myzejen (*Kupa Princesha Myzejen*).⁶⁷⁸ The activity was a regional car race that the authorities tried to repeat each year in order to transform it into a traditional leisure activity under the control of the state. Through this activity, which took place for the third time in 1931, the promotion of regime values and of the royal family, was attempted. These activities forged socialization and mobilization in the localities where the racing cars passed, transmitting through these different spaces the presence of the state and that of the royal family.

For example, in the case of cycling, before the national championship preliminary tours (*provë për kampionatin kombëtar*)⁶⁷⁹ that were generally managed by the regional branches of Enti, were held.⁶⁸⁰ To succeed this organization, different spaces entered networks of denser communication, in this case, to fulfill a common aim and duly share a common experience. In the case of car racing and particularly cycling tours the contacts between different actors in different localities, public officials in various cities, municipal actors and many other smaller institutions such as schools or boards where sportsmen were to be housed, increased remarkably. This represented the implementation of what the government officials called *national mobilization*. Moreover, officials eagerly reported on citizens following the races.⁶⁸¹ Though, these reports should be considered with caution, obviously, such races

⁶⁷⁷ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Dossier 127. Y. 1931, p. 2. For some details on regional organizations see also Boçe, p. 51.

⁶⁷⁸ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 129, pp. 1-3.

⁶⁷⁹ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1934, D. 89, p. 1.

⁶⁸⁰ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 146, pp. 1-9.

⁶⁸¹ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 54, pp.3-4.

induced a larger and denser mobilization of everyday citizens. These practices connected spaces and actors, but in this case they connected spaces and actors in a larger national context. The nation as an *imagined community*⁶⁸² was donated with real connections that would provide common experiences enhancing, but also implementing, such imagination.

The way public institutions managed, promoted and controlled sports was crucial in order to shape its social functions as a the utility of the regime. This was also a unique way to transform sports practice into citizenship practice including the implementation of the regimes morality and forging loyalty toward it. On the other hand, in spite of the enhanced mobilization these tours were done mainly between the main cities that were connected with improved roads. The infrastructural conditions were poor in terms of roads for the car racing and cycling competitions. In this regard, the connections they enhanced were mainly between these cities and the villages closer to them. Similarly, car-racing tours were made in many cases only within one city, as it was the case for Vlora and Tirana.⁶⁸³ So, the attempts to materialization of the *imagined community* left outside the majority of rural areas and even some small cities geographically located a certain distance from the larger and more developed cities. Yet while the infrastructural conditions, or even the poor management of infrastructure by the government, enhanced the exclusion of a part of the citizens from the practice of citizenship, economic condition had an enlarging effect. It opened way for the inclusion of non-citizens in some aspects of this practice.

⁶⁸² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

⁶⁸³ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 127, pp. 1-3. AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 54, pp. 8-9.

Though participation in sports activities was limited by the regulation of the states youth organization to Albanian citizens, lack of equipment and expertise required the involvement of foreign citizens. More concretely, in the case of car racing, it was the lack of adequate cars that made the participation of foreign citizens, mainly Italians,⁶⁸⁴ unavoidable in order to hold the contest. Yet the application of this limitation was very selective. It was applied only in some cases. For example, the Cup of Vlora that offered the trophy of the Princess Myzejen was not among these.⁶⁸⁵ Italian officials were among the organizing staff, but obviously, the trophy of the Princess, declared patron of sports in Albania, was reserved exclusively for an Albanian citizen. The organizers would not run the risk of offering such a trophy to an Italian citizen, as evidently, more than a material it had a politico-cultural meaning.

Similarly the necessity for the exchange of experience and know-how had an enlarging effect in terms of exceptions that also included the managing staff. As we know, Enti included Italian staff at various levels, while during the Federation staff with foreign citizenship was active as referee.⁶⁸⁶ There is no evidence to show that a limit of citizenship was imposed on coaches. Since the early 1930s Enti, then the Federation, received various requests from foreign citizens to be accepted as coaches

⁶⁸⁴ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 54, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁸⁵ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 127, pp.1-3.

⁶⁸⁶ The case of Oakley Hill, who was a referee, tennis player and member of the KTASH (*Këshilli Teknik Arbitral Shqiptar*) - The Albanian Technical Arbitral Commission.) A part from Oakley Hill, *An Englishman in Albania*, see also AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Dossier 377, Y. 1936, p.183.

for Albanian teams. The correspondence between the interested and the authorities did not include any notes revealing a limitation in this sense.⁶⁸⁷

Nevertheless, the way the exclusion to the limitation of citizenship for participation in activities should not be regarded only in terms of the imposition of some economic, infrastructural, or technical conditions. It was closely related to the logic of social engineering that was salient during this era. The idea that intellectual elites could shape society according to what they regarded as “developed,” “western,” “civilized,” and so forth, patterned the state’s and regime’s logics of creating the good citizen. In a sense, this idea lay at the very base of state youth organization.

The limitation of citizenship for participation in sports activities imposed on players, but excluding the directive staff, created a targeted group of subjects to be affected by the practice of citizenship and those that had to structure this group’s practice of citizenship. Nevertheless, it created the hierarchy of those who were subjugated to the rules of citizenship and others who could profit from exceptions. In these two latter examples we witness the boundedness of citizenship not only according to larger socio-economic conditions of the country, but also to the interests and attitudes of the national governing elites. While in the case of differences in engagement in citizenship practices between rural and urban areas we see how citizenship was not only bounded by inner-national frontiers. The discourse about the imagined community, or national community was much more inclusive than the practice to which it was ascribed. On the other hand, it was much more

⁶⁸⁷ See AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1939, D. 798, p. 1. For the contract of employment by the Albanian State of the Italian citizen Ostilio Piancentini, see AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 234, p. 1.

homogenizing than this practice which, intentionally or not, forged some additional diversifications.



CHAPTER 11: ARTS

The attempted use of arts for political ends after 1875 was marked by innovative approaches to arts to art administration and arts policy, however, than by increased intervention in the creation of arts. (...) Since republicans and much of the French society believed that society and the state were one and the same, to change the structure of the society, it was essential to change the structure of the state. (...) Henceforth, the administration of the arts as a public service would be the “personification of the patrie and supreme arbiter of interests, representing all the general needs of society.”⁶⁸⁸

Making National Objects

The aims of Enti, then the Federation included the directing and supporting of the artistic education of the Albanian Youth.⁶⁸⁹ The organization of expositions was one of the missions of the Artistic Patronage⁶⁹⁰ that, as already noted, was formed with Enti and continued its existence with the Federation. Based on these legal regulations particularly, Enti engaged in the organization of various handicraft expositions that aimed not only at the creation and institutionalization of a national patrimony of artisanal objects, but also the highlighting of how this patrimony was esteemed and regenerated by the Royal Family. The process of estimation/valorization had, as Verebelyi explains a double function. It puts the accent on authenticity and, at the same time, on innovation.⁶⁹¹ The association of the

⁶⁸⁸ Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2009), p.268.

⁶⁸⁹ *Dekret Ligjet*, p. 1. *Statuti i Federatës*.

⁶⁹⁰ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1930, D. 15, p. 4.

⁶⁹¹ “*De même, le processus de valorisation se prête également à une double fonction : d’une part, il peut souligner l’importance de l’authenticité, et d’autre part, il peut mettre en évidence la nouveauté des phénomènes.*” Kincső Verebelyi, “*L’Art Populaire et la Patrimonialisation en Hongrie aux XIXe et XXe Siècles,*” Accessed, 1 January 2012, Available [online] at <<http://recherche.univ-lyon2.fr/crea/IMG/pdf/VEREBELYI.pdf>> p.8.

national patrimony with the royal family was intended to fulfill these two very important aspects related to its legitimacy, the future of the regime, and their power. This also explains why the activities related to the making of the national patrimony, highlighting the past of the nation, were organized and managed by the state's youth organization in interwar Albania.

On 11 February 1931, the general director of Enti, Rexhep Jella sent a letter to the King explaining as follows:

Your Majesty, Her Majesty Princess Ruhije, the Head of Fine Arts, that happily directs the activity of the Artistic Committee, working for the appraisal of our artistic patrimony and its progress in accordance with the new ideas of development of Albania, has decided to resemble the first exposition of national handicraft in June. The exposition while serving as a document of the artistic feelings of the Albanians will show once again the care of the state toward the handicraft that in historical moments has been charged to show the national spirit present through centuries in its productions. (...) ⁶⁹²

After the exposition, the King sent letters of congratulation to the general director Jella; the general organizer, Crispino Agostinucci; and the organizer of the Artistic Committee, Adelmo Manna. Inspired by the congratulations of the King who in the letters underlined the importance he attached to such activities, Jella sent a circular of congratulation to the regional branches of Enti. Taking into account that a part of the organizers at the center as well as in the localities were Italian citizens, the letter had also an Italian version. In the letter, he congratulated the branches for "contributing enthusiastically" in the first handicraft exposition of Albania and stated that this was a high order, which the newly formed institution (the Artistic Committee) had performed with great success. Such an organization demonstrated the discipline of Enti and the eagerness to follow the words of the King, who said: "The

⁶⁹² AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 24, p.1. See Appendix A, note 63.

youth must be prepared.” Through this exposition, the committee had valorized the moral cohesion and solidarity of the youth.⁶⁹³

Exhibitions were promoted as a rediscovering of the old national patrimony. Yet, organized and managed by the state’s youth organization, obviously they were regarded as particularly important in the education of youth with national feelings, but not only. The solidarity and cohesion of the new generation was also sought. For the way exposition it was organized, the displacement of the objects represented a displacement of values. The objects were moved from their original space to make a new national space, which subordinated all these other spaces to the national one. The time of this space appropriated the past by means of the objects and offered a present and a path to the youth for the future.⁶⁹⁴ Following Thiesse, it can be said that the representation of nation through these objects in total harmony, was well ahead at the mid-nineteenth and internationalized mainly at the end of that same century.⁶⁹⁵ Obviously, the promotion of these interiorly perfectly harmonious nations had been an attitude adopted by many European states long before the interwar years and according to Thiesse, affected by the Swedish model a particular importance was given to the country-side, the village in these representations.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹³ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 24, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁹⁴ “Exhibitions Identitaire” calls Anne-Marie Thiesse these exhibitions of national spaces made of objects, exhibited in the *X Section of the Universal Exposition* in Paris in 1867, that according to her were regarded as objects intended for the physical and moral amelioration of the populations. Thiesse, p. 201.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 189-228.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 202-205.

This process, on the one hand created a national craft art patrimony, on the other developed the “national craft art,”⁶⁹⁷ notably with the opening of the ethnographic museums, the spread of folklore research societies and reproduction (including and particularly industrial reproduction)⁶⁹⁸ of these “national objects,” some of them becoming symbols of particular nation-states. Taking into account the Albanian example, I regard such construction of the national patrimony in terms of patrimonialisation, a complex socio-cultural and political process. However, in terms of patrimony it should be immediately stressed that: “Le patrimoine est l’un des vecteurs privilégiés pour accéder à ce que Michel Verret a appelé le ‘conservatoire de l’espace’ (Verret, 1995), où se joue l’affirmation, la légitimation des groupes sociaux.”⁶⁹⁹ The effect of the marking of the space and legitimacy of groups was quite evident also in the process of making of the national patrimony⁷⁰⁰ in interwar Albania.

The national space generated by such exhibitions was made of hundreds of objects part of the everyday lives of individuals from various regions of the country. Objects such as traditional shoes (*opinga me xhufkë*), rugs, prayer rugs (*sexhade*), curtains, small tables, window ornaments (*zbukurime për dritare*), pillows, and hundreds of other small objects including table sets, sugar fork, pins, and decorative

⁶⁹⁷ See the development of *Art Nationale*, through expositions in *ibid.*, pp. 210-224.

⁶⁹⁸ For an analysis of this process developing concomitantly nationally, transnationally and internationally, see *Ibid.* pp. 204-224.

⁶⁹⁹ Vincent Veschambre, “Le processus de patrimonialisation : revalorisation, appropriation et marquage de l’espace,” Accessed 23 April 2010, Available [online] at <http://www.cafe-geo.net/article.php3?id_article=1180> p. 1. “The patrimony constitutes a privileged vector in terms of access to what Michel Verret called ‘conservation of the space,’ in which is negotiated the affirmation and legitimacy of social groups.”

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

coverings.⁷⁰¹ Obviously, the national space generated in the exposition was made of hundreds of individual objects. Thus, the process of making the national patrimony penetrated into citizens' private lives. In this way, it nationalized also the private, including additional aspects of the private to the practice of citizenship. However, these objects in the Albanian case had an additional particular characteristic: they mainly belonged to city dwellers.

In the catalog of the exposition it was noted that the greatest amount of objects came from Korça's and Shkodra's associations, respectively 426 and 250 objects.⁷⁰² The objects were property of individuals and in a few cases, but particularly in that of Shkodra, they were property of various institutions in the city such as religious schools or other private schools.⁷⁰³ Obviously, the objects brought by the associations of these important cities included objects from other localities. In this regard they can be regarded as representing a region more than the city itself. However, the region was represented by a city association, like those of Shkodra and Korça, under the city's name and evidently dominated by city dwellers' objects. The rural population was not barred from the exposition, but the exposition included the rural spaces through the presence of somehow different objects: regional costumes or agricultural products.⁷⁰⁴ The catalog of the exposition included details about the variety of pumpkins produced in different areas of the region, and brought to the

⁷⁰¹ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombetar Djelmënia Shqiptare. D. 124, Y. 1931, pp. 1-9.

⁷⁰² Enti Kombetar Djelmnia shqiptare. *Komiteti Artistik. Ekpozite e Parë Artizanatit Kombëtar. Nën mbrojtjen e nalte të N.S.S. Mbretinore Princeshes Ruhije, Kryetarja e Arteve të Bukura. Katalog i pergjithshëm*, (Tiranë: June, 1931). In the catalog it is noted that these are approximate numbers.

⁷⁰³ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁴ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1938, D. 368, pp. 1-2.

exposition by Shkodra's association.⁷⁰⁵ The most important element entering this national space from the rural areas were folk songs. Particularly since the foundation of Enti, the state had supported the collection of regional folk songs.⁷⁰⁶

In an article about popular art and patrimonialization in nineteenth and twentieth century Hungary, Verebelyi states that the *traditional* peasant culture had a crucial place in the Hungarian national patrimony.⁷⁰⁷ The peasant element (*élément paysan*) marked this patrimony at the point the author tended to equalize *popular culture* and *peasant tradition*, while analyzing why the latest is privileged in the creation of *national culture or national patrimony*.⁷⁰⁸ As Verebelyi noted for the Hungarian case,⁷⁰⁹ the songs and poems that added the mythical elements to the national patrimony, also in the Albanian case, came from rural regions, more precisely (in the Albanian case mainly) from the northern highlands.⁷¹⁰ However, the objects, songs, dances and even costumes brought together to engender the national space were not dominated by rural spaces. At the contrary, they were dominated by cities, although the greatest part of population lived in rural areas, as already noted. Moreover, to the collection of *national patrimony* were added songs and dances

⁷⁰⁵ *Komiteti Artistik. Ekpozite e Parë Artizanatit Kombëtar.*

⁷⁰⁶ See Appendix A, note 64.

⁷⁰⁷ Verebelyi, p. 1.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁷¹⁰ In this regard it is important to highlight the reflection of Thiesse who, analysing the production of folklore in nineteenth century Europe, emphasizes that the peasants described in folkloric works (of nineteenth century) had nothing to do with rural masses that were in miserable conditions. She explains that at the end of this century the nations were proud of the folkloric tradition, which she describes, employing the connotation of Richard Dorson, as 'fakelore.' Thiesse, p. 162.

performed during shows done for different celebrations.⁷¹¹ All these were works of artists living in the cities. Some of them were inspired by rural dances; however, an important part of these were known as dances and songs from Shkodra, Korça, and Elbasani cities.

There were some practical reasons for this substantial presence of city dwellers' objects in the exposition. Local associations, could reach people more easily in the towns. Moreover, in terms of economic conditions, families in towns, were much better equipped than those in rural areas. Nevertheless, this preponderance of the city had to do with the structure and way of operation of power and, related to these, the functioning of state institutions as well as the official and intellectual discourse in the country. The *popular culture* that was transferred to the *national patrimony* was dominated by the city. In this regard, the national space as a whole, embodied by the national patrimony, did not represent the majority of the population and this practice of citizenship did not include this majority. The objects, garments, and poems were dispossessed from their cultural context and particularly the socio-political different everydayness they represented.⁷¹² In this regard, this space represented a nation in total harmony with its every part and loyal to the monarch.

The interwar years were marked by the national and international institutionalization of popular art, popular songs and the promotion of “popular tradition,” ethnographic research and museums.⁷¹³ It was not in vain that the

⁷¹¹ AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 505, p. 1.

⁷¹² In its article Verebelyi points out to a similar effect provided by the insertion of folklore to the national patrimony, or national culture. See Appendix A, note 65.

⁷¹³ A brief and concise analysis on the development of museums and exhibitionism at the end of the nineteenth and the twentieth century, see Şeyda Barlas Bozkurt, “Turkey in the Global Art Scene: Dual Narratives in the Politics of International Exhibitions after the 1980s,” (Ph.D. Diss., Boğaziçi University, 2011), pp. 25-33, pp. 52-65. See also Appendix A, note 66.

organizers of the First National Handicraft Exhibition in 1931 regarded it as an adaption to progressing trends (*adoptim me frymën e re të përparimit*).⁷¹⁴ Obviously, these trends put forward what the director of Enti formulated as the “individuality of peoples”⁷¹⁵ by internationalizing this kind of exposition of the nation-states. The objects exposed in these national and international expositions, once part of this harmonic national space were reproduced as national objects, while one of the missions of Enti was regarded the development of national handicrafts.⁷¹⁶ The official as well as the mainstream press called these objects national objects, or national objects of this or that region.⁷¹⁷ So, all the regions that previously had been, let’s say under various political regimes and the respective administrative units,⁷¹⁸ were now of the nation-state, which in its turn claimed that they had always been part of this nation.

The making of the national objects consisting of an appropriation of space and time by the nation-state in interwar Albanian, apart from being inscribed in the international and transnational circulations of the period, represented an example of an international collaboration to make a national patrimony. The Italian officials of Enti contributed actively to this process. It was during this active participation that the first Albanian handicraft exposition in 1931 was organized. Yet, the

⁷¹⁴ AQSH, F.444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 34, p. 1.

⁷¹⁵ AQSH, F.444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 25, p. 2.

⁷¹⁶ See *Vullneti i Popullit*, no. 80 (15 July 1930), p. 3; *Vullneti i Popullit*, no. 81 (16 July), p. 2.

⁷¹⁷ *Shqipëria e Re*, no. 545 (28 November 1933).

⁷¹⁸ Lately they had been part of the Ottoman Empire. For a concise analysis of the exhibitionism and museum development in the Ottoman Empire, see Bozkurt, pp.162-165. For exhibitionism in the late Ottoman Empire and interwar Turkey, when arguments about “Orientalism” would be used to mark the break with the Ottoman past, see Bozkurt, pp. 87-106.

transformation of the state youth organization into an enterprise dominated by Albanian administration (the Federation), did not intensify, but on the contrary resulted in a decline of such activities. There were no further important developments in the institutionalization of the *popular culture*⁷¹⁹ after the foundation of the Federation.⁷²⁰ In this regard, the making of the national objects, that contributed in the promotion of a *harmonic national space*, represented a temporary practice applied without consistency during the interwar years. This constituted an additional difference of this process in Albania compared with the general trend in the promotion of national art craft. Inasmuch as it was temporary it is important to note this practice was intended to provide a perfect space for the youth's imaginary of the nation-state, an imaginary to be introduced in their everyday private and public life. Moreover, such space was to generate loyalty to the King, as the main actor in this *revival of the nation*.

Arts as National Utility⁷²¹

In her article “The Role of Culture and Art in Early Republican Modernization in Turkey,” Duygu Köksal contrasts the approach to national art of different intellectual groups with the state's approach to arts; she regards an official

⁷¹⁹ In interwar Albania the term *popular culture* gained the meaning of *national culture* and both replaced each other in many cases. The celebrations of 1937 can be regarded as an exception to this. However, more than with the national craft art expositions these celebrations were marked by the *Renaissance* exposition and promotion of *national heroes*.

⁷²⁰ The foundation of the National Museum was not an initiative of Enti. It had started previously. See Appendix A, note 67.

⁷²¹ This subtitle is inspired by the subtitle “Music as Public Utility” in Pasler, p. 82, (see pp. 82-93).

attitude that can be considered also as official nationalism.⁷²² Although the official nationalism is admitted to be the main actor in shaping the cultural politics in the country, Köksal maintains that the intellectuals, whom she defines as cultural nationalists, grouped around literary circles, art trends and journals, put forward approaches differing from the official one in terms of the functions of arts in society.⁷²³ The reflection on contradictions with the official approach in a context in which the state monopoly is presumed to be unchallenged, provides not only an enhanced understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics of the Kemalist Turkey, but it also constitutes an important path to be followed by researchers exploring authoritarian regimes. However, what I want to underline here, is the nationalist approach that was shared by both of the groups.⁷²⁴ The contrasts on how arts should represent the national society and their functions in this society were based on the common assumption that arts were a national utility. Other wise a socio-political utility to promote or generate common national cultural values and national representations.

Such assumption was shared by the Italian and Albanian officials collaborating in Enti, then by the Federation officials and many Albanian intellectuals. Actually, it was a transnational trend ascribed to the spirit of the era, the

⁷²² Duygu Köksal, "The Role of Culture and Art in Early Republican Modernization in Turkey," in *La Multiplication des Images en Pays d'Islam; de l'estampe à la Television (17-21 siècle)*, in eds. Bernard Heyberger and Sylvia Naef (Würzburg: Istanbuler Texte und Studien, Orient Institut der DMG, 2003), pp. 209-227.

⁷²³ Ibid., pp. 211-212, 221.

⁷²⁴ In this regard I found this passage very meaningful in the article of Köksal; "From a theoretical standpoint, Baltacıoğlu's demand for national art is caught in the tension between the call for a search for national sentiments in art and the urge for the description of such sentiments as already existing realities. In other words, is the nation to be reflected as a reality through artistic work, or is it going to be searched for in the folk traditions and reimagined?" Ibid., p. 220.

interwar years, that particularly through fascism had seen cultural activities become more than ever before a foci of the regimes' attempts of social control and consent. What I want to explore here is how this shared assumption was implemented by the interwar Albanian state's youth institutions, attempting to make an analysis of functionalities through implementation. The state's enterprise in arts had two main facets: it tried to take under control all artistic activities in the country, and it sought to develop arts as common national undertaking. In this second regard, arts would not only transmit and promote patriotic values, but also provide common experiences such as common stories, melodies and poems. Once produced, these cultural elements permanently traversed spaces, providing the continuity and multiplication of the common experiences. The foundation of the national theater, the school of fine arts and various contests organized for enrollment in these latest, show how this traversal operated in the ground.⁷²⁵

One of the innovatory national enterprises in arts of Enti was the organization of national contests. These were organized as yearly national artistic activities or for enrollment in various arts schools. In the earlier case artistic associations of the main cities were mobilized, while in the later, individuals from different regions. Between 1930 and 1934, the Italian officials of Enti played a crucial role in the organization of such activities. The Artistic Committee headed by Ekrem Libohova organized, under the supervision of the Italian army member Pariani, the first national choral contest (*prima manifestazione corale nazionale*) in October 1931.⁷²⁶

⁷²⁵ Though, they do not show whether the communality was generated.

⁷²⁶ Awards to the winners were accorded on 8 October 1931 by Princess Ruhije. AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 117, p. 20.

Pariani, who set the guideline for the contest, explained that the songs performed should be traditional and patriotic. “Traditional” implied that the songs should be in Albanian, while “patriotic” meant songs that praised the fatherland and the King. This activity was followed by a contest of bands arriving from the main cities, such as the Band Bogdani and the Band of the Franciscan school from Shkodra, the band of municipality of Korça, the band of paramilitaries from Elbasani, and the band of the Municipality of Durrësi. The Royal band and the Military Band were to participate only in the general concert. The obligatory pieces to be performed by the participants in the contest were the national hymn and the symphony “Patria.” Among the criteria for selection were the use of local costumes as well as the quality and beauty of these clothes.⁷²⁷

Obviously, this cultural practice (of citizenship) promoted by the regime through arts imposing the criteria “traditional,” excluded, as in many countries, groups whose popular, so local songs, were not in the dominant language, in this case Albanian. On the other hand, with the criteria of patriotic, it excluded the political diversity and particularly opposition to the regime identified with the King that was continuously promoted as the savior of the nation. Similar evaluations on exclusion can be made about the contest of national dramaturgy organized at the same time in the national cinema-theater in Tirana with the participation of groups from Tirana, Shkodra, Bilishti, Durrësi, Kavaja and Elbasani. The guideline prepared (again) by Pariani in Italian underlined the fact that priority would be given to groups performing works of national character.⁷²⁸ The jury composed of the president Ekrem Libohova, vice president Luarasi and members Sherko and Vivaldi, evaluated groups according

⁷²⁷ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 117, pp. 21-22.

⁷²⁸ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 117, p. 22.

to two main criteria: the national character of the performance and interpretation. As the national criteria included at the same time the “traditional” and the “patriotic”, this contest also emphasized the same exclusion in terms of this practice of citizenship.

The practice of art in national, but also local levels had been given a royal mark since the early 1930s to continue until the end of the regime in April 1939. A correspondence between the Federation and Princess Ruhije dating November 1937 showed the presence of the Princess in cinema Gloria in Tirana where the association of Shkodër performed the drama “The Struggle for Freedom, a 500 Years old Dream.”⁷²⁹ The Princess explained her enthusiasm for the performance of the actors and the fervent patriotic feelings transmitted by the play. Emphasizing that the development of the theatrical art was of crucial importance for the country, the Princess asked the head of the Federation to transmit a letter of congratulation to Shkodra’s association.⁷³⁰ The presence of the Royal Family was remarkable in the capital Tirana, where its members often attended similar activities. Yet in localities where the King or the Royal Family had not been attending activities, this presence was significantly reduced and depended on the efficacy of actors in various networks to transmit the royal messages sent on various occasions.

In this regard, national contests were important means in transmitting more directly the royal presence as well as the regimes values in localities. The circular sent to the prefectures for the organization of drama contests as an onset of the foundation of the national theater was presented as a request of the Princess and a direct order of the King.⁷³¹ A circular of 5 May 1931 announced that Princess Ruhije

⁷²⁹ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 365, p. 72.

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ Ibid.

had charged the general secretary of Enti Nush Bushati with finding talented boys and girls who would be taught the dramatic art. According to the circular this would be followed by the creation of a Royal National Theater (*Teatri Mbretnuer Kombëtar*). The circular, including the assertion that this constituted a verbal order of the King, was sent to the prefectures and all high schools of the country.⁷³² There were two general criteria of selection: age and talent. For the art education, the age limit for girls was fourteen, while it was sixteen for boys. The general secretary Bushati explained the reason for such an age limit relating it to the age when talent in this field appeared and was detectable.⁷³³ Exception to the criteria of age was to be done only in the case of extraordinarily talented people.⁷³⁴

Actually, this age was very close to the age limit for participating in Enti (17-18).⁷³⁵ It represented the age regarded within the limits of the possibility of education of the individual with some basic values.⁷³⁶ However, active members of cultural associations engaged in theater were generally older than sixteen. They were more commonly civil employees or young people who had already finished intermediate studies aged mainly between eighteen and twenty-two years old.⁷³⁷ The

⁷³² AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 123, p.1-3. The cities displayed in the circular were Shkodra, Tirana, Elbasani, Berati, Vlora, Korça, Gjirokastra, Kavaja.

⁷³³ AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 123, p.3

⁷³⁴ Ibid.

⁷³⁵ 18 years old for Balilla

⁷³⁶ There were two main social explanations for the lower age criteria in the selection of girls. The rate of school attendance was lower for girls and they left school younger than boys, to be given in marriage or just taken out of such public spaces. So, a lower age of selection for girls increased the number of girls to be considered for selection and the possibility of the selected ones to follow school.

⁷³⁷ This is not necessarily the case for members of associations active in sportive activities. Their age was lower than those active in theatrical and artistic activities.

drama school, excluded these individuals from education in arts, showing, once again, that this was not intended as an education in arts per se, but of national arts. What the implementation enables us to see in addition in this case is how such assumptions,⁷³⁸ transformed in public policies, limited the life choices of the individuals. The non-eligibility due to the age condition, left the older than sixteen years old boys and fourteen years old girls with two choices: continue engaging as amateurs in the various artistic associations or opt for private art education, which was not a common option in Albania and impossible for the majority to afford in foreign schools abroad.

Art as a national utility entered the everyday life of the citizens also by shaping the content of their cultural activities. The cultural associations were not only under the control of the state's youth organization, but also for each cultural activity permission was to be requested from Enti and afterwards the Federation. The permission was issued as far as the activity had a patriotic aspect or could be regarded as a contribution to the national art. For an activity to be considered as a contribution to national arts there were some main criteria.⁷³⁹ First and most importantly, it should be made clear that the activity could be organized due to the care and interest the King and the Royal Family had for the development of the arts in the country. Put otherwise, gratitude and thankfulness, implying loyalty to the King and the Royal Family, had to be shown. Secondly, subjects about the nation, freedom, independence, the ancient existence of Albanians, and the Ottoman yoke were almost

⁷³⁸ "Common assumption" does not imply common interests.

⁷³⁹ I deduced these from various correspondence between the associations and Enti/Federation in Tirana. For example see AQSH. F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1939, D. 119, pp.1-2. See also AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 100, p. 20-33.

always permitted and even given financial support. Yet, the association barely came through on other subjects, due to the implicit prohibition on social themes.⁷⁴⁰

The state's attention to arts in arts produced some additional results toward the end of the interwar years. The school of drawing founded in 1933 by the Italian citizen Mario Ridola,⁷⁴¹ in 1937 was directed by Odhise Paskali⁷⁴² who had returned to the country after studying in Italy.⁷⁴³ Actually, from 1931 started the organization of exhibitions of contemporary artistic works such as painting, sculpture, designs and applied arts.⁷⁴⁴ The national art exposition organized in 1932 was presented (as usual) an initiative of the Princess and under her guidance, while it was explained that it was meant to obtain the best artistic works produced by Albanian artists and those residing in Albania.⁷⁴⁵ The presence of non-Albanian citizens works in this national exhibition was an important exception to be stressed in terms of the pragmatist attitude adopted by the authorities as far as it concerns inclusion and exclusion in citizenship practice. The regime identified with the King, and the royal family had endorsed the development of national arts that should be particularly a

⁷⁴⁰ Not only the activities, but also the artists were under the governments surveillance. The prefectures sent regularly to the Ministry of Interior and Enti (then, the Federation) lists including the names, activity and place of operation of artists in their areas. A.Q.SH. Found Ministria e Arsimit, Nr.195, D.98, Year 1935.

⁷⁴¹ Nebil Çika, "Një djep i jetës artistike në Shqipri. Shkolla e vizatimit e hapur nga italianii Ridola në Tiranë," *Minerva*, no.10 (15 May 1933), pp. 12-14. *Gazeta Shqiptare*, "Ekspozita e Arteve të bukura në Shkollën e vizatimit," no. 211 (6 September 1933), p. 1. "Akademija jonë e arthme e arteve të bukurisë. Shkolla e vizatimit e Tiranës. Foto e veprave të disa nxënësve," no.12-13, *Minerva*, (July - August 1933), p.18-19. "Ekspozita e artit, Nxënësit e shkollës së arteve të bukura çelën një ekspozitë të bukur në shkollën teknike. Tërhoqën verejtjen disa piktura skulptura dhe punime profesionale," *Vatra*, no. 230 (4 September 1934), p. 1.

⁷⁴² AQSH. F.170, Komisioni i Vetqeverimit, Y. 1937, D. 27, p. 4.

⁷⁴³ For the biography and works of Odhise Paskali, see Accessed, 1 January 2011, Available [online] at <<http://www.odhisepaskali.com/>>

⁷⁴⁴ The exposition of decorative design for applied arts was organized on 1 July 1931. See AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 25, pp. 1-3.

⁷⁴⁵ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 1937, pp. 1-2.

representation of their success. In order to enhance such success, they applied to exceptions such as allowing foreign citizens to participate in a national activity. And, this was not the case for other exhibitions. If the expositions about patrimony were to be marked by the Albanianism that legitimated the regime, the ones about contemporary arts were to be marked by success that would justify the regime's continuity in power.

Consequently, it should be said that the representations of the nation through arts were very much related to the struggle for power and socio-political contradictions of society. These representations shaped the free time and cultural activity of the citizens' conditioning many of their choices. The common assumption about arts as national utility went hand in hand with the assumption that development of arts was one of the main fields of operation of the state. As the article of Köksal shows, common assumptions could reside in diverse approaches to art as utility and art as representation.

What this section seeks to emphasize additionally is that practice could unfold not directly related to either of the approaches, including the dominant, the one adopted by the state. The Albanian interwar regime dominated the activities in Tirana, but it did not to the same degree in localities. The sensitivity of the regime toward artistic work reflecting social contradictions in practice was translated in the aim of mobilizing various groups toward cultural activities that would transverse such differences. Scholarships given to talented young individuals⁷⁴⁶ in difficult economic conditions were an opportunity for upward social mobility offered to some

⁷⁴⁶ The most evident example is that of the school of drawing. When the financial situation of the Ministry of Education did not permit the payment of scholarships, the Artistic Committee decided to endorse such payment, though in smaller amount as the students were in very difficult economic conditions, but had gained the contest organized for the artistic school. See AQSH, F.444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1933, D. 74, p. 3.

students and a way of smoothing social differences among groups, while providing cadres for the state or/and the regime. Yet the contests were organized in the main cities of the country and the possibility of rural area habitants, the majority in very difficult economic conditions, to participate was almost nonexistent. So the social possibility given to the town inhabitants was not available for the rural inhabitants. In this case, the state youth institution, while contributing somehow to decreasing the social tensions between city dwellers, increased the socio-cultural differences between the city and the rural areas.

Cinema, Far Too Risky for the Practice of Citizenship

On 9 December 1939, almost nine month after the annexation of Albania by fascist Italy, from the general directorship of the press, propaganda and tourism in the Ministry of Interior Affairs was sent a circular to the prefectures of the country:

Honorable Mr. Prefect, the ever-increasing importance of cinematography as means of education and cultural and national propaganda requires the careful examination of every opportunity to promulgate it. In order to make possible to all the social categories access to this powerful means of moral and spiritual elevation, and particularly to document all the achievements of the Fascist Regime in different fields of national activity of the Italian and Albanian Kingdom, is indispensable to ameliorate the technical equipment of the cinemas. (...) Above all, it is crucial to construct cinemas, even improvising, where there is none, or at least should be found the ways to take, even by moving auto-cinemas, to the farthest corners of the country what the Duce calls "the strongest weapon."⁷⁴⁷

The circular concisely represents the fascist government's approach to cinema, regarding it not only as a means to promulgate the regime's values, but also

⁷⁴⁷ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1934, D. 230, p.7.

and particularly to produce/fabricate its own image. This was not, however an approach peculiar to fascism. Grisprud writes,

“The leader of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, V. I. Lenin, proclaimed that film was the most important of all the arts since it was the most efficient medium for propaganda and Soviet film theory (and that of Eisenstein in particular) was very much concerned with how to move the mass audiences of film to perceive the world in certain ways and act accordingly.”⁷⁴⁸

The importance given to cinema by various regimes, and more particularly the Italian fascist regime, which affected, as this work shows particularly through the organization of youth, the cultural politics in Albania, was not shared by the interwar Albanian monarchical regime. The interest in cinema of the population increased as the number of cinemas increased in the country from the early 1920s. Yet, this was not the case for the interest of the government in cinema. The application on 3 January 1926 for help in opening a movie-theater by the Kinema-Theater-Nacjonal company was rejected by the council of ministers, despite, the company having explained that the support of the government was required “to open an artistic institution that will develop the artistic feelings of the population and offer great service to the cause of education of the new generation, while serving to take it away from the activities not adapted to the desired behavior and morality.”⁷⁴⁹

The company will bring films particular to students contributing in the concretization of their training as it is being done in the civilized countries. It is known that the development of serious artistic feelings is important for the population as youth is attracted by music coffeehouses (kafe shandane) and casinos where it can listen but to foreign songs harmful to the morality. The opening of a new institution with national artistic principles will rejoice people donating it with artistic taste congruent to the national education. Moreover, the female population that until now could not attend cinema-theatrical shows

⁷⁴⁸ Jostein Grisprud in Hakkı Başgüneş, “Sinematek (Turkish Cinematheque Association): Cinema and Political Debate Between 1965-1980,” (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007), p.23. See this thesis also for a concise analysis of cinema, image, art and audience from a socio-historical perspective, pp.18-26.

⁷⁴⁹ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1926, D. 41, p.3.

will have the opportunity to enjoy artistic work. Consequently, the Albanian family would make the first steps in the wanted direction, moving toward the occidental way of living.⁷⁵⁰

This explanation, which could very well have been made without changing any of its elements by the Albanian Ministry of Education in the early 1920s (as well as in 1928 and late 1930s), was not sufficient to convince the Council of Ministers to support the company in this enterprise. Movie-theaters, or as called in Albanian cinema-theaters (*kino-teater*), would open in the 1930s and many activities with participation of the Royal Family would take place there. Yet the attitude of the governments toward cinema would not be the same as toward theater. The state youth organization since 1930 had as an important field of its activity the development of the theatrical art. However, cinema was not mentioned and such action was not taken in this area. The regulation for public shows and entertainment (*Rregullore mbi argtimet e çfaqjet publike*) of 1 July 1930, although including cinematographic, musical, theatric, pantomimic, choreographic and analogous shows, focuses on cinema in the majority of its articles.⁷⁵¹

As evident from this regulation the relation of the state youth organization with the cinema was an uneasy one. The state tried permanently to prevent students from frequenting cinemas. Police were demanded to control and remove any students if caught watching films that were not allowed to them and, more precisely, in the days and hours during which the frequentation of cinema by students and people younger than 18 years old were prohibited. According to a correspondence of 15 January 1935 between the prefect of Shkodra and the Inspector of Education of the city, students could frequent cinemas only on Sundays and Wednesdays between

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁵¹ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 100, pp. 1-14.

16:00 and 20:00.⁷⁵² Police could even apply force to take the student out of a show if they were found in a cinema outside these hours. In addition, before each show the police (*gjindarmë*), were to bring to the prefecture the ticket of the film control commission, that gave permission for the screening.⁷⁵³ Actually, the decision to oblige students to wear their school uniforms or bear the emblem of the school even outside of school hours was related to the effort to prevent them from frequenting coffee houses, casinos and cinemas.

The Italian fascist government's attitude in Albania also required the adoption of restrictions on young people frequenting cinemas to particular hours and films with specific subjects such the "representation of artistic works, cities, regions, historical events, scientific experiments, agricultural works, costumes of peoples and similar themes."⁷⁵⁴ Yet, at the same time the propaganda office in 1939 under Italian control issued an order obliging cinema owners to screen films with "cultural and educative character" for students, at least two times per month according to Article 29 of the Law for Cinema and Theater. The tickets should be at lower price; a students' price.⁷⁵⁵ The failure to fulfill such obligation was to be regarded a penal crime.⁷⁵⁶ So, in the fascist Italian governing logic appearing in this case, the censorship applied to cinema was contrary to that of the Albanian government's censoring attitude and, associated with the policy of supporting cinematography (obviously the one promoting the regime). Yet, the politics of controlling cultural

⁷⁵² AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1935, D. 260, p. 1.

⁷⁵³ Ibid., p. 2.

⁷⁵⁴ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1939, D. 230, p. 13.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 1.

activities associated with that of developing national art, as in case of theater, fine arts, or opera did not include cinema for the interwar Albanian governments.

The Ministry of Education, from 1926, regarded cinema as useful in the education of students.⁷⁵⁷ Yet, the regime did not attempt to build in its own image, making propaganda and promulgating regimes values through cinema, in spite of the evident interest of the population in it. According to the journal *Arbënia* of 19 September 1929, a talking picture was made for the first time in Albania by a movie track of the American company Film Productions on the occasion of the festivities for the 34th anniversary of the King, on 8 October 1929.⁷⁵⁸ According to the news, the movie track was rented by the company Kinema-Teater-Nacional, consequently not directly by a state institution (although it could not be rented without its consent).⁷⁵⁹ The lack of interest on the part of state authorities to cinema is reported also for early republican Turkey.

As Rekin Teksoy explains, the Republican elites were not very interested in cinema, in the early Republican period, although they attempted to bring artistic forms like theatre, ballet and even opera, as part of the activities that were organized in Halkevleri (Peoples' Houses) buildings. A similar argument is defended by Yusuf Kaplan as "The new secular Turkish Republic, established in 1923, gave enthusiastic support to the Western oriented Turkish music, theatre and opera, but did not show any interest in cinema."⁷⁶⁰

Although research remains still to be done on this issue, it cannot be said that the Albanian elites were not interested in cinema. Newspapers of the period often mention the importance of the cinema. In an article in *Vatra* of 1934 it was even

⁷⁵⁷ AQSH. F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1926, D. 41, p. 3.

⁷⁵⁸ *Arbënia*, no.1 (19 September 1929).

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁰ Teksoy and Kaplan in Başgüneş, p. 27.

maintained that the prohibition of detective and erotic⁷⁶¹ films to children (*fëmijët*) was useless and not necessary.⁷⁶² Often the press wrote about the important educative role of cinematography for young people.⁷⁶³ The opinions were divided on the degrees of censorship and the values transmitted by various films, yet cinematography was mentioned almost as much as theater in the period's press. Contrary to this trend, while the state youth organizations supported the foundation of theatric branches in local associations, cinema was not mentioned.

The reasons for the disinterest towards cinema of the Albanian governments could be better revealed by a study on the socio-historical development of cinema in Albania. Yet, as far as it concerns the citizenship practice through the organization of youth in the country, it can be maintained that the politics of containment towards cinema was closely related to the doubts on the capability to control and manipulate it in the desired direction. The government, through youth organization, had already intervened in the theatrical space, or as Bilge Seçkin in her work on theatre in late Ottoman Empire puts it, in the mobilization, mass politics, communication, individual and group representation generated by the theater as a social

⁷⁶¹ Obviously the concept of *erotic film* and *eroticism cinema* should be thought within a socio-historical perspective. In this regard, it would be mistaken to take the connotation *erotic* in this article as equivalent of what *erotism*, would mean contemporarily.

⁷⁶² "Kinematë. Filmat të jenë të lira. Nuk ka arsye përse filmat me përmbajtje policeske dhe erotike t'u ndalohen fëmijëve," *Vatra*, no. 179 (11 May 1934), p. 1.

⁷⁶³ For some examples among many such articles, see "Për moralin e brezit të ri të gjithë jemi përgjegjës/ndikimi i filmave në edukimin e rinisë. Cine-film," *Besa*, no. 669, (3 October 1933), p. 3. "Kinematë dhe roli i tyre edukues. Zhvillimi i kinemave, shpirti tregtar-kohe krize," *Besa*, no. 589 (30 June 1933), p. 2. "Problemi edukues i filmave, një urdhër i ri i ministrise se brendëshme - kontrollimi i mire, roli edukativ i filmave," *Besa*, no. 454 (16 January 1933), p. 2. Semini Koço, "Arti i kinemasë e atdhedashuria. Filmi camicia neri, subjekti i filit -paraizi ktheht ne ferr- populli zeri i Atdheut," *Vatra*, no. 21 (4 May 1933), p. 3.

organization.⁷⁶⁴ Yet, the networks in which would operate the cinema production would be distinctively more transnational, international than the networks in which operated the theatrical activity in the country. This was due to the technical, economic and artistic conditions required for cinematographic activities. Consequently, the intervention of the state in the public space in this case would evidently be less effective than in that of theater.

Cinema, as theater had a particular popular appeal, because, as Seçkin writes, it attracted the illiterate masses not reached by the press.⁷⁶⁵ Obviously, the regime was not willing to leave an important part of its population, open to effects it could barely control. Consequently, cinema represented a major tension between the state authority and the population. Such tension could be particularly detected in the relations with the cities' youth who, taking into account the correspondence of prefectures, repeatedly infringed the regulation about cinema going. Cinema was an opportunity to build its own image and to educate the young generations that through the states' youth organizations had been the main subjects of the nation-states loyalty and morality requirements. Nevertheless, cinema represented a risk of the politicization of the population and particularly young individuals who were to practice citizenship within a totality of cultural activities conditioning the political (and excluding the social). Obviously, the risk was high, the stakes even highest. The Albanian government chose not to take the risk, while the public youth organization operated as a means to minimize and prevent it.

⁷⁶⁴ "Theater as social organization and a fundamental institutions of the public sphere" in Bilge Seçkin, "Staging the Revolution: The Theatre of the Revolution in the Ottoman Empire 1908-1909" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007), p.1. See also p.16, pp. 9-18.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 13, 19.

Concluding Remarks

This part focused on showing how and with what possible effects the activities undertaken by two public youth organizations intervened in the artistic and sports life of the country. I insisted on using the concept of "intervention" to emphasize that these state institutions did not initiate such activities, although, this intervention had a salient effect on them. I regard the spaces and actions generated by the activities of the two public youth institutions as ascribed in the larger sphere of the practices of citizens. The approach to these activities by the concept of the practice of citizenship enables marking the effect of the state intervention and analyzing state-national community members relations without underestimating the interaction in which these were embedded. Consequently, this practice of citizenship was not necessarily pre-arranged or predicted as such by the state authority. It evolved through the interactions of the state with its subjects, the interaction of the subjects and other actors as well as the trends and ideas transferred, transmitted, reflected in this territory delimited by national boundaries.

I want to stress here such interaction, which may have appeared less throughout the text as I was trying to explore more deeply the impact of intervention of state institutions on citizens' sports and artistic activities. For example, the organization of different matches that we saw in this part was a request that came also from the localities to the center of the youth organization or the Ministry of Education. The idea to give participants, in many cases students, various trophies or medals including small material compensations that would encourage their activism, but also be important in terms of the economic difficulties of the students and of the organizing institution such as school or regional associations, was on various

occasion put forward by school directors in localities.⁷⁶⁶ Similarly, the demands of the organization of sports and artistic activities on holidays and in particular during religious holidays, when such activity was not planned or envisaged by the central authorities, came to the public youth authorities in Tirana by local actors such as the directors of schools or associations.⁷⁶⁷ Obviously, these activities were encouraged by the state, however, not in all the cases did the initiative originate from the government. Moreover, in these cases the local actors in the explanation of these request generally put forward *the desire of youth and of local people*. Taking into account that Enti, then the Federation, already charged schools and associations with such organization these additional supportive explanation of these actors can be hardly put in a personal register. They were transmitting an inclination of the local people.

Discussing the concept of the “culture of consent,” which I think is quite explanatory in understanding one of the incentives under the practice forged by the state through Enti and the Federation, put forward by Victoria De Grazia.⁷⁶⁸ Akın touches upon a very important aspect related to the reception of collective experiences. He makes a distinction of level between the producer of the message and its consumer.⁷⁶⁹ Nicolas Mariot as well as Remi Dalison⁷⁷⁰ working on festivities,

⁷⁶⁶ The director of the state gymnasium of Shkoder Anton Deda in a letter sent to the Ministry of Education explained the importance of trophies as inciting the students to participate, while concretizing the efforts of all the engaged in the development of sports. See AQSH. F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 349, p. 5.

⁷⁶⁷ For some examples AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1939, D. 116, p. 66 - 78. Correspondence of 21, 23, and 26 January 1939. See also AQSH. F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1938, D. 268, pp. 1-3.

⁷⁶⁸ de Grazia. *The Culture of Consent*.

⁷⁶⁹ Yigit Akın, “Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar.” *Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*. Istanbul: İletisim, 2004, p. 33, 43.

ceremonies and celebrations in France developed analysis about the spectator or/and the participant as distinctive and different from the organizer. Taking into account Enti, then the Federation, I would also note the difference in level between the organizers of the events, those who participated, and the spectators. More than anything, the difference between these groups would be marked by the numbers of members. While the organizers represented the smallest number of people, the spectators represented the largest. Although this distinction has an explanatory power, in our case it is evident that these groups were in continual interaction with each other in terms of shaping each other's actions. Moreover, in terms of participation, the organizers could be participants and spectators and vice versa, while interchanging the positions even within the same ceremony, celebration or festivity.

Apart from the different sports national championships that were organized regularly, particularly during 1930-1934 and 1936-1938, the government encouraged also the organization of smaller contests. These were regional, or even inter-quarters contest. Such organizations represented means of socializing in what, taking into account the aims of Enti/Federation, I would call the secondary level socialization such as region and city scales. National championships promoted what was called national brotherhood,⁷⁷¹ while these additional activities represented an opportunity to promoted cohesion between different local groups. The expectations of authorities from these activities are explained clearly in the following speech directed to students:

⁷⁷⁰ Mariot, *Bains de Foule*; Dalisson, *Celebrer la nation*; Rémi Dalisson, *Les Fêtes du Maréchal - Propagande festive et imaginaire dans la France de Vichy*, (Paris: Tallandier, 2008). Rémi Dalisson, *Les Trois couleurs, Marianne et l'Empereur - Fêtes libérales et politiques symboliques en France 1815-1870* (Paris: Boutique de l'histoire, 2004).

⁷⁷¹ Besa, *Gazetë Politike e Përditëshme* (5 July 1934), p.1.

(...)to prove to the public opinion that youth is not going to be stronger only by regular physical education, but also by sportive matches contributing in education and preparation for struggles and achievements. Both the struggling attitude and the capability to win struggles are qualities with important educative value for the pupils. Physical education as well as matches should advance physical capabilities. Yet, the aim of the pupils should not be being stronger, than other friends, but stronger all together as educated youth (youth of the schools). To reach this aim, all pupils should participate in sports contests, regardless of age, let it be 10 or 18. These should not be individual, but collective contests. So, each schoolboy should not struggle for himself, but for the group. Participation should not be limited to singular matches, but to all the program of matches. In this sense, all the youth of the school will develop uniformly. As such, sportive matches of the pupils are not an aim per se, but a means to an aim. A part from advancing qualities such as fastness (*shpejtësi*), smartness (*shkathhtësi*) and patience (*durim*), strengthen (*forcë*) and determination (*vullnet*), collective matches educate fellowship (*kamraderi*) and should eradicate the ego (*unin*). Consequently, the youth of schools follows a social principle: from the me to the us.⁷⁷²

The state youth organization had divided the youth into the youth of schools and the youth out of schools. Local and regional branches of this organization would focus mainly on the youth out of school and these additional contests represented by various matches constituted the means to implement on them these aims of sports according to the government. In this declaration of aims sports re-appeared, as they were already mentioned for the physical education, as a means of collectivization. This represented a further step in socialization. From the point of view of the organizers, sports activities not only brought people together in order to create a common experience that would diminish the socio-cultural tensions. Sports activities brought people together to promote the collective at the expense of the individual. So, the government had an approach to socialization that tried to deemphasize social-groups by pointing out the individual. Yet, the individual once extracted from his/her socio-cultural group was to be integrated, and in this case subordinated to a larger group, a cultural collectivity defined by the authorities.

⁷⁷² AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 336, p. 11.

So citizenship practice, in terms of sports practice induced by the government, indicated a collective relation with the state, an individual subordinated to the collectivity marked by the loyalty toward the King and the morality imposed by the regime. As far as the main aim would be such socialization, it became less important if the managers of such activities in localities were Italian or local people, although, since 1934 the balance changed in favor of the Albanian administration. Particularly, in documentation related to athletics it was evident how through the organization of the national championships by the public youth organization the state extended the control to the citizens. The sportsmen could participate in championships if they had their federal cards. Each local associations sent the names of its sportsmen to the center of the organization in Tirana, where were established the federal cards. So, it was not enough for a sportsman to be accepted by the local association, he had to be approved by the general directorship. Correspondence about athletics championship indicates that the permissions required for participation in representation of local associations were not obtained from the local administration, but from Enti's or the Federation's center in the capital.⁷⁷³

The regulations introduced to sports in the country by the state administration cannot be considered as separated from the mechanisms of control and centralization. Particularly taking into account that sports were already developed in the country years before the active state intervention in sports (starting in 1928). However, they cannot be reduced to control and centralization as many individuals and groups in the society were interested in collaborating with the state administration in the development of professional sports in the country. In this respect, the introduction of

⁷⁷³ AQSH, F. 195, Ministry of Education, Y. 1937, D. 352, pp. 12, 13.

athletic certificate for all players⁷⁷⁴ (*breveti atletik*)⁷⁷⁵ requiring additional tests for athletes⁷⁷⁶ should be considered also within this collaboration. Similarly, the regulation obliging each player to stay at least one year as a member of an association before passing to another association.⁷⁷⁷ Although signed by Musa Juka, the infamous Minister of Interior Affairs of the authoritarian regime the person identified with “the old,” the despotism and feudalism by the “young,” this order came as consequence of associations complaining for players changing associations from match to match as such making impossible the consolidation of teams.⁷⁷⁸

Similarly, in his position as the Head of the Sports Federation Musa Juka appeared to be more keen to adapt regulations to youth inclinations, then the one declared by “the young” closer to them, Mirash Ivanaj.⁷⁷⁹ A similar situation was mentioned also by Nathalie Clayer in the analysis of state and religious actors interaction and counter-reactions in the case of the nationalization of schools in Albania in 1933. “The concern for the public order,” a priority of the regime in order to assure its continuation in power and stability in the country that in turn contributed in to its national and international legitimacy, was one of the explanations of Clayer for the “inclination to negotiation of the Minister of Interior Affairs contrary to the

⁷⁷⁴ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1934, D. 171, p. 1.

⁷⁷⁵ See Appendix B, photo 6.

⁷⁷⁶ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Year - No Year (Pa Vit), D. 183, p. 1.

⁷⁷⁷ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1933, D. 86, p. 1.

⁷⁷⁸ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 32, p. 169.

⁷⁷⁹ For this debate see the Part 2 of this thesis.

intransigence of the Minister of Education.”⁷⁸⁰ This explanation is very important in order to enhance the understanding of the incentives under state actions and forms of interaction in interwar Albania. As it would be very important to note that the tensions created by the reform of the nationalization,⁷⁸¹ may have had a certain effect on the reformation of the state youth organization as a Federation of Associations (the Federation) in 1935. The government seemed to have made a step back in terms of the nationalization of schools in a reform that already included many exceptions,⁷⁸² yet on the other hand, it advanced its action in terms of associations precisely when the retreat on the nationalization of schools appears to have been more concrete, summer (August) 1935.

What appears in both of these state actions, among other concerns, was also that of national unity. Through this work I have been exploring this concern, put forward as a discourse of national achievements, loyalty to the King, and national morality, in terms of the attitude to control society, assure and legitimate the regime and the King. However, I propose to consider it also as a concrete issue of governance, an attempt to overcome distinctions that actors in governing networks and many intellectuals regarded as otherwise not possible to overcome. An idea very much responded to by the circulating trends in governance during the interwar period. In a correspondence among institutions, the Ministry of Education explained to the other organs that the model statute it had prepared for the sports and artistic

⁷⁸⁰ Nathalie Clayer, “‘Guerre scolaire’: la nationalisation des écoles en Albanie (1933-1935) (3)” in the *Seminaire, États, nations et confessions dans l’Europe du Sud-Est à la sortie des Empires* (Paris: IISMM, salle de réunion, 1er étage, 96 bd Raspail 75006, 27. February 2012).

⁷⁸¹ For a detailed socio-historical analysis of this process, see Clayer, “Guerre scolaire.”

⁷⁸² Ibid.

associations followed the laws and concern of the state for national unity, by avoiding local and religious intrigues and contradictions.⁷⁸³ This shows how the argument of avoiding religious and regional contradictions was an important argument for the state actors. It is important to note that the practice of sport was based on a larger social-accord, yet turning it into consent to the regime was the form the government and/or the King wanted to give to these practices of citizens.



⁷⁸³ AQSH. F.195, Minsitria e Arsimit, Y. 1935, D. 97, p. 102.

PART 5

LIMITS AND ACTS OF CITIZENSHIP



In this part of the research on Enti and the Federation, I analyze what I regard was a different form of interaction from what we saw in the previous part, the practice of citizenship. In this part I put the accent on disruption, insurgence, resistance, though I still regard them as forms of interaction and negotiation that permanently shaped the citizenship in all of its versions legal, ordinary, cultural, and so forth. Both Enti, then the Federation, were institutions founded and shaped within such transformations. Yet I think that the effect these institutions had on society was particularly conditioned by the reactions of particular groups and in particular spaces. I propose to see these reactions through two different perspectives, limits of citizenship and acts of citizenship. In this regard, the activity of the state youth organization was not only shaped, but also limited by the socio-cultural structure in which it operated. Taking into account that the state's youth organization represented a project of citizenship I regard these limits as limits of this citizenship and categorize them as follows; economic constraints, religious dynamics and gender dynamics. All of these stood as challenges affecting the operation of Enti, then the Federation, and the implementation of the cultural policies for which these institutions were the main official national responsible. Otherwise, they affected the practice of citizenship, which was made, as already discussed, by the totality of practices promoted or supported by these institutions.

The Practice of citizenship in terms of Enti, then the Federation, was inscribed to cultural practices including such areas as arts, sports, and education, yet obviously, with aims and consequences in terms of the political and social aspects of interwar Albanian citizenship. Acts of citizenship disrupted, the practice of citizenship, in this case, this totality of activities, experiences, and interactions that should make the citizen of this state and, in the case of Enti and the Federation, the

ideal citizen of the regime. The acts of citizenship are inscribed in the practices of the citizens. Yet different from the citizens' practice acts provoke important changes, momentary or continual, in the way the citizens deal with or experiencing the practice of citizenship. İşin explains that an act includes a third other. This is another difference of acts with citizenship practice and citizens' practices.

Acts involve others and the Other, but if others are not an undifferentiated mass then what differentiates them? Theorizing political acts raises the question of a third party, as political acts cannot always take place amongst beings of the same kind. A political act will always involve a third party. When a third party is present, the two parties will constitute themselves in their answerability towards being political, which constitutes the essence of the political.⁷⁸⁴

In all of the cases I will be analyzing through what I regard as constitutive elements of acts of citizenship, the creation (of alternative) space, disruption, and insurgence, three different parts were involved; one of them Enti (then the Federation) and two other parts involved in a conflict due to practices instigated by these institutions. In this interaction all the parts repositioned themselves *vis à vis* the citizenship and most importantly a subject (or group of subjects) emerged as political actor, as claimant *vis à vis* the central state institutions. What I regard as constitutive elements of acts of citizenship are all related and hardly separable from each other. It is almost impossible to detach one from the other, though in different cases one of the aspects can appear more evidently than the others. Yet, I regard it as important to analyze each of the elements separately in order to highlight the various perspectives from which I think is possible to detect acts of citizenship through the practices of citizens.

I regard this approach very revelatory in terms of an enhanced understanding of reality as it enables detecting the agency of the everyday people and their often

⁷⁸⁴ İşin, *Theorizing Acts of citizenship*, p. 35.

tacit or invisible force to change and transform institutional practices. Moreover, it enables the visibility of actions that are not included in the category of such events as revolts, riots, violent clashes, and demonstrations, and thus are not regarded as reaction, resistance, insurgency, and opposition. Moreover, in the case of Enti, then the Federation using the category of acts it was possible to analyze various cultural reactions that were not necessarily inscribed to an artistic current, popular culture or any other movement. It is a way of seeing how everyday people in the everydayness react to the establishment of a national-citizenship and interact in the making of its practice its values, spaces and boundaries.

CHAPTER 12: LIMITS OF CITIZENSHIP

“Engaging with heterogeneity and ambivalence in the real...” John Clarke⁷⁸⁵

Economic Constraints

Particularly two (interrelated) aspects of the economic life of interwar Albania can be discussed in regard to the operation of Enti, then the Federation. First, the economic situation of the citizens was an additional impediment to their active participation in the practice of citizenship promoted by these institutions. A meaningful example to this aspect constitutes the issue of girl students’ participation in physical education in the locality of Himara (*katundi i Himarës*). A situation that at a first sight seemed more related to gender dimensions than economic ones. Yet, closer research on the case demonstrated how these dimensions were related to each other and economic conditions could be determinant.

During the period May-March in 1932, the inhabitants of Himara (*katundi Himarë*), this sub-prefecture, the elementary (*plotore-intermediate*) school of the locality and the Ministry of Education were involved in a feverish correspondence.⁷⁸⁶ The inhabitants complained to the sub-prefecture and the Ministry of Education about the mixed physical training sessions. They said that there was no need to bring together boys and girls and to do such training in the streets of the locality, when in fact even the school for boys and girls (*shkolla plotore mashkullore, shkolla plotore femnore*) were separated (in this locality). According to the more than fifty

⁷⁸⁵ John Clarke in John Clarke and Nick Mahony, “Public Crises, Future Publics,” in *Opening the Boundaries of Citizenship*, International Conference.

⁷⁸⁶ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y.1932, D. 114.

inhabitants who signed the letters, this practice was not applied in civilized European countries and was also against *the brilliant Albanian customs*.⁷⁸⁷ The Ministry of Education first backed the position of the school director who had applied this mixed training, but all the same undertook an investigation into the case. In the conclusion of the investigations, the general secretary of this ministry, A. Xhuvani, noted that the most important reason pushing these parents to complain was the poor clothing of these girls due to the very bad economic conditions.⁷⁸⁸

Consequently, a letter was sent to the school director from the Ministry of Education. It declared that the Ministry understood very well the situation of the teachers and their efforts. Yet, continued the letter, as in this case the problem had a particular economic dimension due to inadequate clothing caused by the very poor conditions of the parents. It was suggested that the physical training of the girls be done in the garden of the girls' school and not in other public places or mixed with boys.⁷⁸⁹ The Ministry of Education would be inclined to make a concession to the inhabitants in such cases since 1937, but not in 1932, the years (1932-1933) when Enti's activities were particularly dense and physical education remained one of its important fields of operation.

Obviously, the case had an important gender dimension, but what obstructed the practice of physical education in this case was more the economic dimension than the gender one. Moreover, it was this substantial and real economic concern of the citizens that withheld the insistence of the institutions in the practice of physical

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁸⁹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1932, D. 114, p. 11.

education. This is a very peculiar case, due to the parents' choice to avoid to clarify their economic situation to the authorities, by employing elements adapted to the official discourse such as "the civilized European nations and brilliant Albanian costumes," to put forward/formulate a concern they thought the authorities would find more convincing.

Economic constraints appeared in various spaces and contexts and did not condition only the activity of youth institutions, but also of the system of education in general. An important example of this constitutes the issue of school attendance of children in the locality of Kruja in 1935. On 14 May 1935 the merchants of the city of Kruja (shopkeeper, dealer, tradesmen) sent a petition to the Ministry of Education demanding the continuation of the previous regulation, which had permitted the school of the city to close on Mondays. They explained that Monday was a market day and children helped their parents in the market. Without this help, they maintained, it would be impossible to provide the basics for the household, and even for the children to continue school at all. The merchants said that they were not against the school and would not like their children to stop attending schools. They explained that the extremely poor economic conditions, aggravated by the effects of the crisis, had made the contribution of the children irreplaceable in their struggle for economic survival. On 17 May the ministry approved their request.⁷⁹⁰

While in some cases the schooling and related physical education practice was limited by the economic conditions, in others it was interrupted. Particularly in villages children were not able to continue school at all, as they had to work. In his memories Lame Xhama, a teacher and a student of the period described his

⁷⁹⁰ AQSH, F.195, Ministry of Education, Y. 1935, D. 490, p. 2. Children were to go to school on Saturdays as a replacement for Mondays.

childhood in the village of Fterra (the zone of Kurvelesh in south Albania, somewhere between Saranda and Vlora): “like that of the majority of the Albanian children of the period: poor.” He remembered his mother explaining that they were in need even of some salt, a bottle of oil for fuel (*vajguri*), or a piece of cloth. Apparently, his mother bought him two notebooks and a pen in exchange for six eggs. He described himself and his friends in the village as dressing very poorly in the summer as well as in winter, being mainly barefoot and rarely using plastic shoes. Then, he explained that he had been obliged to leave elementary school and work as serving boy in a coffee house called Osman Bequa in the city of Vlora.⁷⁹¹ Actually, one of the reasons the activities of Enti, then the Federation where concentrated mainly in cities was the economic condition of villages. The questions whether village youth would engage in physical education and eventual regular artistic and sportive activities, cannot be answered, but in relation with questioning about their possibility to such participation, due to engagement in economic activities in support to their families. On the other hand, the economic conditions of the country in general represented an impediment for the state’s youth organization to enlarge toward rural areas.

Yet this represents only one part of the explanation, while the other is related to the second aspect of Enti’s and Federation’s operation in regard to socio-economic dynamics in interwar Albania. This aspect is related to these institutions socio-economic role and/or function. Enti and the Federation were state institutions that dealt with the youth in terms of sport, art, culture, and physical education. Their concerns about the youth were framed in terms of patriotic and physical education,

⁷⁹¹ Lame Xhama, *Mësues i Popullit Kujtime Dokumente* (Tirana: Botimet Europrint, 2009), pp. 12, 15, 24.

good morality and loyalty to the King, in complete disregard of the socio-economical situation of young people. Actually, “disregard” would be a disputable evaluation in this case as the activities of these institutions stood as a tool to overshadow and overcome socio-economic disparities by cultural practices.

The young people were workers (although in small number in manufacture, land working, cropping, agriculture, livestock), apprentices, serving boys, adjutants, beggars, jobless, public functionaries and, on the other hand, also young people of wealthy families who were engaged in the activities of the family (such as trade, managing of owned lands, and production).⁷⁹² This economic functionality was immersed in regional, religious, local and many other identifications, as well as rural-urban, social statute related to family origin and finally gender disparities. The relation of these disparities with the struggle of power brings to mind the way socialist historiography regarded the state’s youth institutions. Viron Koka, in his work done during the communist period, so necessarily written with political concerns imposed by the regime, maintained that Enti was part of the strategy to avoid as well as reject the consciousness rising from particular economic conditions, more specifically a working class consciousness that would lead to the proletarian revolution.⁷⁹³ The work of Koka includes the problems of class definition and consciousness⁷⁹⁴ in addition to the problems related with the writing of history in a

⁷⁹² See Appendix A, note 68.

⁷⁹³ Viron Koka, *Rrymat e Mendimit Politiko Shoqëror në Shqipëri në vitet 30’të shekullit të njetzet*, (Tiranë: Akademia e RPS të Shqiperisë Instituti i Historisë, 1935).

⁷⁹⁴ “My quarrel with the first and second is that they tend to obscure the agency of working people, the degree to which they contributed, by conscious efforts, to the making of history. My quarrel with the third is that it reads history in the light of subsequent preoccupations, and not as in fact it occurred. (...) Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas, and institutional forms. If the experience appears as determined, class-consciousness does not.” E. Thompson, p. 11-12.

totalitarian regime. However, his approach brought an important point to my attention, the positioning of citizenship vis à vis in-equalities as Marshall explained it:

We can go on to say that the claim to be admitted to a share in the social heritage, which in turn means a claim to be accepted as full members of the society, that is, as citizens. (...) the concept of full membership of the community-or, as I should say, of citizenship-which is not inconsistent with the inequalities which distinguish the various economic levels in the society. In other words, the inequality of the social class system may be acceptable provided the equality of citizenship is recognized.⁷⁹⁵

The insistence in building common cultural bounds that would form the bulk of the citizenship, which overshadowed and preserved the socio-economic disparities, and represented an important characteristic of the process of the making of citizenship in interwar Albania. This becomes more evident if we think that the good citizenship was projected onto the youth in the attempt to form a cultural group of politically loyal citizens before they would be totally captured by the conflicts and antagonisms rising from socio-economical disparities. In this regard, Enti, then the Federation were not only limited by economic constraints, but embedded in socio-political stakes.

Religious Dynamics

Tensions between religious communities and the state institutions had been ongoing since the first attempts of the state authorities to extend the control over all educational spaces, determine the curricula and the content of courses. I discussed in Part 3 of this work the tension between the parts as far as it concerned the moral

⁷⁹⁵ Marshall, p. 8.

education. The conflict on this issue that started as early as 1922 would leave the place to other subjects of disagreement in the following years. The physical education of girls would be an issue of tacit disagreement from 1930 with state institutions demanding religious schools to send their girls students in manifestations for various celebrations and the school refusing constantly to send their students⁷⁹⁶.

The tensions between these parts escalated with the nationalization of schools in 1933. The clash between religious communities that would oppose the closing down of their schools as the reform prohibited all private schools,⁷⁹⁷ would effect the out of school organization of the youth managed by Enti, then the Federation. Though the Ministry of Education would gradually retreat from its decisions about the nationalization of schools as such opening way to soothing the tensions in this respect toward the summer of 1935,⁷⁹⁸ the animosity will raise in the field of youth associations.

At the beginning of 1934, the prefect of Shkodra informed the secret office in the Ministry of Interior that immediately after the nationalization of schools the Antonian Association had become a center for the convening of the new generation under the direction of clerics organizing conferences for youth.⁷⁹⁹ According to him, the association settled in the facilities of the closed religious schools (in this case Franciscan school) had a political orientation.⁸⁰⁰ The stress put on the political orientation was important in order to prohibit students from frequenting and

⁷⁹⁶ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 41.

⁷⁹⁷ See this work Part 2. A thorough analysis of the nationalization of schools is done by Clayer, "États, nations et confessions."

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1934, D. 280, p. 17.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

becoming a member of the association. This was the measure proposed by the prefect who in addition proposed to constrain the association to send to the related Ministries its statute and present to their approval the directing committee and the center of the association.⁸⁰¹

As seen in Part 3 of this work, Enti was responsible for the cultural and sports activities in the country, but associations did not depend on it. The formal approval of local authorities was sufficient for the foundation of an association. So the Antonian association could not be constrained to send to central approval of its statute and the directive committee. Yet with the foundation of the Federation in summer 1935, the state obliged the associations to adhere to the Federation and by such submit to its approval their statute, directive committee etc.⁸⁰² It was this control that would reanimate the animosities between the state institutions and religious communities, in this case the Franciscan Order. On 1 March 1935 the inspector of education of Shkodra sent a note to the Ministry of Education in which he explained that utilizing the absence of the prefect in the city the priests have convened a meeting for the organization of the Antonian Association. According to him, the meeting was not successful as only 25 out of its 100 members attended it. Though, added the inspector, this was sufficient to elect a head of association, *a certain Anton Kiri*.⁸⁰³

The second part of this note dealt with the association Bogdani. The inspector explained that the prefect would not issue permit for the organization of a show this association had asked permission to perform from the Ministry of Education. Yet, he

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² See this work Part 3.

⁸⁰³ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1934, D. 280. p. 50.

wanted to be sure that this decision of the prefect would not be contradicted by the decision of the Ministry.⁸⁰⁴ As the state authorities retreated from their decision of the nationalization of schools, they advanced in what can be called the nationalization of cultural and artistic associations with the foundation of the Federation. As in the case of the nationalization of schools this decision affected all the cultural associations, for example, the above-noted Bogdani, and not only the religious ones. Moreover, the number of the other affected associations was vastly greater than the religious ones. However, again as in the case of the nationalization of schools, the tensions raised particularly with the religious communities, notably the Franciscan Order.

In spite of the attempts of the authorities to end its existence, the Antonian association would continue its activities even beyond Shkodra, its first place of foundation. On 1 January 1937, the prefect of Durrësi, M. Golemi wrote to the Secret Office (*Zyrës Sekrete*) in the Ministry of Interior informing that at the office of the catholic parson (*famulltar*) of the city was organized a meeting with intention the formation of the Antonian Association. The head of the association was Mario Skanjoti, vice head Lazer Vlashi and members Nikolin Kaçulini, Luigj Mazreku, Ded Kaçulini and Ndoc Kodheli. He maintained that this one was an offshoot of the Shkodra's association that had for aim "the antagonism with the organization of out-of-school associations (undertaken since 1935 by the state)."⁸⁰⁵ Obviously, the Antonian association continued its existence and it was organized in another locality, in spite of approximately two years of state efforts to stop the foundation of other associations and collect in one all the associations present in a locality. The

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 344, p. 9.

foundation of the Antonian Association of Durrësi was reported by the journal *Drita* (The Light) of 27 January 1937, provoking the reaction of the inspector of education in Durrësi and the head of the sportive and artistic association Durrësi.⁸⁰⁶

The inspector informed the Ministry that, as also noted in the journal, this association was a branch of the one in Shkodra, organized by the Franciscan priest, operated in the halls of the Catholic church and had ordered an important quantity of sportive tools and other materials from Italy.⁸⁰⁷ The head of the association Durrësi was harsher in his reaction transmitted to the Federation through a report where first he vindicated his deception for the declaration of the foundation of the Antonian association by *Drita*, a journal according to him, obtaining subventions from the state. He tried to give an overview of the situation of out of school/artistic and sports associations in Durrësi analysing the dynamics under the foundation of the Antonian Association.⁸⁰⁸ His letter summarized the competition between various local cultural groups and highlighted the effective action of the Franciscan Order in the cultural and sports out of school associational field. It was obvious that among the already existing competition and all the tensions hastened with the foundation of the Federation, the religious dynamics represented a particular and particularly tensioned axis.

The head of the association Durrësi claimed that there must be some relation between the journal *Drita* and the Antonian Association taking into account that its news about this association stood for publicity done to its activities. Moreover, he explained that the Antonian Association existed also through other organizations as

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., 10.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 14-18.

for example the Association the Passion for Theatric Art - Durrësi (*Shoqnija Vullnetit Artit Teatral-Durrësi*), headed by Mateo Mazreku that the author claimed was an adviser of the Antonian Association. According to him, this association's activities were on the verge of obtaining the support of the prefecture, which had already let them operate not being aware of the situation. He appreciated the intervention of the inspector of education who had brought the situation to the attention of the Federation that in its turn informed the prefecture that the association Durrësi was the only body responsible for cultural and sports activities in Durrësi. The author claimed that this form of control of cultural and artistic life of the country was important for "the national consciousness that was on a continual attack from religious currents." Yet, he maintained, the authorities should be better informed, because obviously they could support associations when they were actually illegal.⁸⁰⁹

National consciousness constituted a crucial element of the nationalist and intellectual discourse of the period. In this regard, the head of the association Durrësi shared the view of a part of the secular intelligentsia of the country. On the other hand, what made greater tension in the conflict with the religious associations than others was their capability of mobilizing a considerable number of citizens around alternative values and identifications, in this case religious Catholic ones. According to the head of the association Durrësi, some members of this association were also members of the Antonian association. The Antonian association, contrary to many other associations also had the materials means in terms of revenues and facilities to persist in its activity without local or central authorities support. This latest ability was not welcomed either by the local groups, nor the central authority. One month

⁸⁰⁹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 344, pp. 14-17.

after this report the Minister of Education wrote to the Secret Office in the Ministry of Interior Affairs underlining that according to the information obtained by the prefecture of Durrësi, the Antonian association had been destroyed (*u shkatërrua*) and no longer existed in the city.⁸¹⁰ Even though I consider as corresponding to the reality in the case of Durrësi this information from the Ministry of Interior, it was not the case for Shkodra.

On 8 April 1938, the director of the state gymnasium of Shkodra wrote to the Ministry of Education asking permission for the organization of two matches, one of football and the other of volleyball between the “students of this institution and the sports teams of the religious Antonian Association to which belonged the majority of the students of the Franciscan lyceum of this city” on the occasion of the Catholic and Orthodox Easter. On 13 April 1938, the director of the gymnasium received an answer from the Minister of Education permitting the match. However, a month later it received a second notification signed by the same minister claiming that the journals had reported a match between the gymnasium of Shkodra and the Antonian Association. He asked the reason for the gymnasium engaging in matches with such associations that were not legal and did not have a statute approved by the Ministry of Education. The director of the gymnasium, Anton Deda, answered, referring to the first permission signed by this minister. Yet the minister replied with another official notification to the director that the permission had been to make a match between schools not with an association that could not exist due to Article 380 of the Law for Education (*Ligjja Organike e Arsimit*).⁸¹¹

⁸¹⁰ Date on document, 11 March 1937. AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 344, p. 20.

⁸¹¹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1938, D. 269, pp. 1-6.

This correspondence highlighted two main aspects. First, that the Antonian Association continued its existence in spite of the disapproval of many local and central state actors and institutions, as well as a formal interdiction. Second, we are confronted with the different realities of (some) local and central actors. The Antonian⁸¹² Association was active and present in the space of sports, and eventually other cultural activities at the point that a state employee in education, the director of gymnasium of Shkodra, was not aware that actually its existence was in conflict with the latest regulations on out-of-school/cultural and artistic associations. As I have noted previously, in 1937, the state authorities revised their position toward religious communities in many aspects, including their share in teaching morality and determining moral values. However, associational life was related directly to the mobilization of what all the parts called the youth or the new generations, otherwise young citizens. This was an aspect closely related to loyalty to the regime and the ability to take action against the state authority. At this point the state institutions did not seem very willingly to make a step back. Actually, the Federation was an institution proposed and promoted by a secular nationalist current in the state administration, in this regard, as seen it was an institution with somehow larger support among institutional actors in both the center and the localities. These actors insisted on the idea that the educational and cultural activity of religious communities should be under state control. Yet obviously, it remained beyond this control and at the margins of the operational field of state institutions, while posing as a serious limit to the practice of citizenship by the capacity to enroll and organize activities for a considerable number of young people.

⁸¹² An Antonian association was founded on 11 November 2011 in Shkodër by the Franciscan community. Accessed, 29 Mars 2012, Available [online] at <<http://antonian.tv/rreth-nesh>>

Gender Dynamics

While analyzing the youth, in the first part of this work, I noted that the youth were ascribed to all the socio-cultural and political divisions of society. Yet, one of the most important aspects of these divisions, which in its turn remained ascribed to them, was gender. Youth were gendered and citizenship was gendered. It was so in terms of law regulations that treated men and women differently,⁸¹³ but also in terms of the practice of citizenship and the practices of citizens. My inquiry in this section explores the intersection of gendered youth and gendered citizenship (in interwar Albania).

In his article “Gendering the Citizenship in the Middle East,”⁸¹⁴ Suad Joseph analyzes the points of departure in examining citizenship, as it is, not neutral in gender.⁸¹⁵ Considering nation as a first departure point he highlights different usages of “women” in nation imaginaries.⁸¹⁶ In terms of the national imaginary in interwar Albania, I have tried to show that particularly between 1930-1937 youth was given a crucial position. It was the trained body of the young boy that embodied the strong young nation and all such bodies together that symbolized the unified nation. The woman’s body was not excluded from this embodiment. Yet, her presence in it would be an issue of tension and negotiations between socio-political-cultural groups or in terms of other points of departure noted by Joseph, between state, religion,

⁸¹³ For the changes of legislation and legal reforms concerning woman in the interwar Albania, see Musaj.

⁸¹⁴ Suad Joseph, “Gendering the Citizenship in the Middle East,” in Suad Joseph ed. *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pp. 3-30.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 5-7.

family, family law,⁸¹⁷ - and I would add - local costumes. In this regard the presence of the woman's body in the imaginary of the nation was on ongoing struggle that remained unsettled during the period.

Actually, first, it should be noted that a *girl's body* was different from a *woman's body*. During the period it was used girl (*vajza*) to point out to an unmarried and imply a woman who had not had sexual intercourse. Woman (*grua*) meant the opposite and, in addition, the possibility of being a mother. The restrictions on the body of a *woman* were stronger than those on the body of a *girl*. The high-school remained a space of transition between these two bodies and as such of additional tensions related with their presence in public space. Through youth organizations, first Enti, then the Federation, the regime encouraged the participation of *girls* in physical trainings and gymnastic manifestations. Groups in control of the institutions were interested in mobilizing the larger number of citizens, consequently also women, in their service (which evidently was not necessarily military, but also social-cultural and political).

In her *How Fascism Ruled Woman*, de Grazia claims that, "The perfect fascist woman was a remarkable new hybrid: she served her family's every need, yet was also zealously responsive to the state's interest"⁸¹⁸ and "...female emotion was joined to *raison d'état*, household to nation and peaceful domesticity to fascist militarism."⁸¹⁹ This was also valid for the Albanian case in terms of the the state and

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 7-22.

⁸¹⁸ Victoria de Grazia, *How fascism ruled woman. Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), p. 77.

⁸¹⁹ Ibid., p.78.

a part of the intellectual discourse on woman.⁸²⁰ Yet, the practice was more complex. A first differentiation lay at the point where citizenship intersected youth. In the state discourse throughout the period both *women* and *girls* were to be “zealously responsive to the state’s interest.”⁸²¹ Yet what could be called militarist action, physical education since 1928, appealed to *girls* and not to women. As far as women were girls, so not married (depending from and subordinated to a man), the regime included them in *youth*; citizens to be educated with the loyalty to the regime and become the example of good citizen (of the regime). Once married, their relation with the state was no longer direct, but through other means such as the child and the husband/the man. In this phase, the state tried a mobilization of women through arts and charity organizations. Thus, the approach to family and house as the breeding grounds of the regime was concomitantly a production of socio-cultural conditions as well as a strategy to reach out to women.

I will exemplify both of these situations with the living experience of the period. With a circular dated 5 July 1929 the Ministry of Education⁸²² asked all the schools in the city of Shkodra to send also girls to the celebration of 8 October in Tirana. The Ministry of Education asked for 15 to 18 year old girls who had had a certain kind of physical training or knowledge of gymnastics. The answer coming from the prefecture of Shkodra on 8 August was that it was impossible to find girls meeting the criteria in the city. The letter explained that some young girls who met

⁸²⁰ For some explicit examples of such attitude, see *Rilindja* (Korçë: 2 February 1935), p.12. *Shkolla Kombëtare* (Tiranë: 10 October 1937), p.7. It should be mentioned that the utilisation in the discourse was mainly singular, as such woman, - in its versions in Albanian *grua*, *gruan*, *gruas*, *gruaja* - and less in its plural form women, that in Albanian corresponded to *gratë*.

⁸²¹ de Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Woman*, p. 77.

⁸²² AQSH, F. 346. Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1929, D.159, p. 32.

the criteria would be in the Catholic Saverian College, but the college already had represented a letter with its justification for the impossibility to send the girls in the celebrations in Tirana.⁸²³ Firstly, the attendance of schools by girls was low, then particularly religious school that had a certain frequentation of girls refused from sending them to such events. Throughout the period, the central state authorities insisted on the mobilization of women. The government asked for the participation of *women* in various celebrations, tried to introduce physical training for *girls* in schools, yet this remained limited.⁸²⁴

On 24 May 1937, following directives from the Federation, the prefect of Shkodra announced that in the match Vllaznija - Pogradec that would take place on the 30th, civil servants were ordered to attend accompanied by their wives. In the related circular was explained that women and children would have a particular place and admission free-of-charge.⁸²⁵ To avoid any justification based on the non-receipt of this order, each state institution of the city took signatures from all their employees including teachers confirming that they were aware of the prefectures order.⁸²⁶ Yet, concomitantly with documents with these confirmation signatures from various state institutions the prefecture started receiving letters from their employees providing justifications, for the impossibility of attending the match with their wives. The justifications were quite similar to each other. They included pregnancy, the health

⁸²³ Ibid., p. 41.

⁸²⁴ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar “Djelmnia Shqiptare,” Y. 1933, D. 157, p. 1. The dossier included a document mentioning teacher of physical training in the institute “Nana Mbretresh,” Hilda Nushi and the list of training tools she asked be sent to the school. The high-school Nana Mbretresh in Tirana was a school for girls attended mainly by daughters of intellectual families and high functionaries. In this sense, it represented a small part of the population. Yet, in various cities there were also other girls’ school where physical education for girls was applied.

⁸²⁵ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër. Y. 1937, D. 69, p. 32.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., pp. 33-35.

conditions of the woman or child or the absence of the wife due to visit to her parents out of the city.⁸²⁷

Correspondence included in the same dossier showed that in the case when the justification was not accepted, the civil servant did not attend the match himself in order to avoid the wife attending the match.⁸²⁸ Doubtlessly, some of the letters declared a real condition. However, their jargon, the common type of justification and the insistent rejection by the prefecture of these explanations demonstrated that the question was not one of “health condition,” but of “woman condition” in the public space. Although, this is a particular case related also to dynamics specific to the city of Shkodra, the predominant religious, local and family costumes,⁸²⁹ restricted the woman to private space and subordinated her to man.

On the other hand, the limitations in the mobilization of women should not be considered only in terms of socio-cultural dynamics, but also political and more precisely the in way of functioning of the regime. Contrary to the Italian fascist example that provided a model of organization of youth between 1928-1934, the Albanian regime did not offer emblematic examples of women’s mobilization or activity in public spaces except for the sisters of the King. Following the work of de Grazia,⁸³⁰ it is possible to note in the fascist Italian case, as we also could remark in the interwar Republican Turkish case, women that personified the success of the regime. In other words, these were the women of the regime and the nation (at the

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ For an account of such restriction from the point of view of a woman living in the period and an analysis of her emancipation see Nathalie Clayer, “Keçi Sütünden Biraya: Osmanlı sonrası Arnavutluk’ta Sosyal Dönüşümler ve Beslenme,” in eds. Aksel Tibet, Ethem Eldem, Ersu Pekin, ed. *Bir Allame-i Cihan ; Stefan Yerasimos (1942-2005)* (Istanbul : Kitap Yayınevi, 2012.)

⁸³⁰ Victoria de Grazia, *How fascism ruled woman*.

same time) participating in gymnastic manifestations or being successful in sports, artistic or other fields of men domination, as for example, Sabiha Gökçen in aviation. In the Albanian case the women of the regime and the women of the nation would be personified only by the sisters of the King and his mother.

The royal regime through Enti, then the Federation, gave from 1930 the symbolical ownership of sport and arts to women, the sisters of the King. Yet, the sisters neither had nor tried to establish any relation with the women who operated in these fields in the country. Consequently, they remained an example of the tentative of the regime to dominate arts and sports and of the “royal” family to dominate the regime. The same could be said for the embodiment of the mother of the nation. The mother of the King was portrayed as the mother of the nation. The other women were to be mothers of future citizens that they should contribute in educating as loyal citizens - to the nation-state, that, as I already tried to show, was equalized with the regime - but not mothers of the nation, as the nation had a unique mother, the mother of the King Zog.⁸³¹ Consequently, the attitude of the regime toward women remained embedded in contradictions.

The state encouraged the participation of *girls* in physical education, sports and artistic activities. Yet it did not consistently support the further advancement of any woman in these fields. Consequently, although such examples existed, the regime failed to provide examples of mobilized women and the effective presence of women in public spaces, dominated by men, other than the sisters of the King. The

⁸³¹ For the discourse on the mother of Zog and her emblematic position as “The Mother of the Nation” (N.M. e Saj Sadije Zogu Mëma e Kombit) that would be then fully constituted with her death in 1934. For examples of such discourse see *Minerva*, Numër ri i posaçëm (Special Number), (10 December 1934). *Besa*, (Tiranë: 25 November 1934).

promotion through Enti, then the Federation, of arts and sports as inseparably related to youth, constrained them to the sphere of (patriotic) education.⁸³²

In this regard, the subject of the practice of citizenship was *girls* until they became *women*, meaning exclusion from the category of youth that happened much earlier than for *boys* (becoming *man*). The measures to introduce women (who did not have the right of vote until 1946), in the public space were contradictory and obviously faced considerable resistance. The intersection of youth with citizenship provided women some opportunity to participate in the public space. This was so for *girl* students, but also their *women* teachers. On the other hand, it was the tendency to dominate all of the spaces by Royal Family that in addition to other socio-cultural constraints limited the participation of women in the public space. Moreover, due to this latest inclination, the women's struggle to increase their share in public life developed separately from the regime's efforts to mobilize women.

Thus, the regime was self-limiting in terms of obtaining the *loyalty* of *women*. The steps it had made toward being an authority in terms of moral values by encountering the religious authorities as well as various local customs in various aspects remained much more limited considered in terms of gender. Loyalty was closely related to the mobilization (presence in the public space) and the regime failed in mobilizing women or even being a reference for women already active in public spaces.⁸³³ So, the regime, the royal family and the state authorities failed to

⁸³² Restricting art in the field of education was doubtlessly an effort to take under control spaces that resulted very difficult to dominate even for authoritarian regimes. See Appendix A, note 69.

⁸³³ From works done on artist women of the period as well as correspondence between institutions - we know that many women were active in the artistic and intellectual networks of the period in the country. The work of Manushaqe Salinji bringing interview and impressions of artist women of the period is very interesting. Her work is a university graduation thesis done during the socialist period. Consequently, the author was a-priori

assure the support of a part of the society that would represent an important asset in the struggle for power. The authorities became aware of this handicap toward the end of 1937. The changes I already mentioned in the previous part⁸³⁴ would regard also *women*, some month later, in 1938. The *girls* as part of youth, representing the future that became of secondary importance to “the heroical past” in 1937, had become secondary to women. The veil reform⁸³⁵ was preceded by the foundation of the association the Albanian Women (*Gruaja Shqiptare*) and succeeded by the Week of Women (*Java e Gruas Shqiptare*) starting 10 March 1938.⁸³⁶ Yet, obviously it was too late.

obliged to regard these years as repressive for women following the regime’s attitude toward the reign of Zog. However, the work includes valuable testimonials. See Manushaqe Salinji, *Pjesmarrja e gruas ne jetën kulturore dhe artistike ne vitet 30*” (Tiranë, 1978). On the other hand, it would be very important to explore further the engagement of women with various political movements and particularly the communist one. From memoirs and testimonials of the period we know that particularly in high-schools women were engaging in political activities.

⁸³⁴ See this work part 4.

⁸³⁵ See Clayer, “Behind the Veil.”

⁸³⁶ See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1938, D. 260, p. 32.

Disrupting Practices

Disruption is the most important distinctive characteristic of acts of citizenship constituting its main contrast with its other aspects like status, habitus, practice and practices of citizens. As used in this work, an act of citizenship disrupts the practice of citizenship not out of rejection of this citizenship, and/or the totality values it represents, but out of some of it and particularly some aspects of its practice. This disruption has two main aspects: first a group of citizens or a citizen that was to be included in the practice of citizenship that undermined his/her or its particularity, emerges as a distinctive group or individual. This emergence can be marked by cultural (including religion), local (including minor divisions such as quarter), social (workers in a certain sector), political (appertaining to a political group) distinctions or as a combination of some of these distinctive aspects. In each of the cases the group or the individual gains or enhances the visibility vis à vis the authorities and other groups of the society. This is what I regard as an example of enhancing, shaping or making one's political existence and subjectivity. Second, the practice of citizenship, which was presumed to contribute to smoothing, overshadowing and overcoming these distinctions, is disrupted irreparably. Whatever measures applied to restore the practice to its original form or let's say "normality," just enhances the visibility of this group or citizen by accenting its acts, so its being an actor.

This is how I regard the acts undertaken by young boys to avoid collective paramilitary trainings promoted and directed by Enti mainly between 1928-1930. In a circular sent from the General Command of Enti to the prefectures, the commander

of the organization, Blloshmi, explained that he was re-emphasizing to the prefectures, the fact that they should organize the paramilitary training sessions and that this was an issue of utmost importance.⁸³⁷ According to the regulation the young boys that were to be participating in the training had been born in 1910 to 1914.⁸³⁸ So they were from 15 to 19 years old in 1929.⁸³⁹ The lists prepared with the names of boys having such duty were to include all young boys in the city and the villages five kilometers around the city (*përfishet qyteti me gjithë katundet që janë 5 km rrotull qytetit*).⁸⁴⁰ This training was additional to the physical education course taken in schools. It was to be organized once per week in an open area or athletic field of the city directed by the head-instructor of physical education in that prefecture. As noted previously, until 1934 these inspectors were Italian citizens and members of the Italian army working for Enti. The trainings were envisaged to bring together this age group cutting across socio-cultural diversities and project on them the cultural and political model of the good citizen of the regime.

On 1 March 1929, a circular was sent to all the public institutions in Shkodra declaring that young boys were obliged to participate in physical training sessions as decided from and announced by the Enti authorities in the city. Families should inform the Enti branch in case their boys were out of the country. Those who had a limiting health condition should present a medical report.⁸⁴¹ A circular of 26 March 1929 from the prefecture of Shkodra to the Ministry of Interior Affairs stated that the

⁸³⁷ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar “Djelmënia Shqiptare,” Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 1.

⁸³⁸ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombetar “Djelmnia Shqiptare,” D. 159, Y. 1929, p. 31.

⁸³⁹ AQSH, F. 132, Arqipeshkvia e Shkodrës, Y. 1928, D. 7, p. 13. See Appendix A, note 70.

⁸⁴⁰ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 31.

⁸⁴¹ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 18.

military training of boys took place on 25 March in the field of Shtoji (*Fusha e Shtojës*). The circular explained that all the military and civil authorities in the city had been present and that the prefect and the head-inspector had presented the event. According to the circular 750 young boys had been present out of 1100 boys that were to participate in the weekly paramilitary training sessions taking into account the age and area limitation decided by law.⁸⁴²

For a following training session the prefecture reported on 4 April 1929, explaining that only 260 boys had participated in the event and the number of participants had been decreasing since the first training session.⁸⁴³ Various groups and individuals would disrupt this practice. Three types of people disrupted this practice by their absence: working young boys from low-income families of the cities, young civil employees from middle strata families, and high-school students. The low-income working young boys emerged as such by claiming through their families the economic situation and the importance of their labor to families' survival. High-school students used the medical report and went as far as to confront the head-instructors who did not accept the medical report as justification. The young civil employees claimed their professional situation to avoid trainings.

There are several written demands sent to the prefecture by families of boys, almost all of them asking for exemption of their boys due to very hard economic conditions. In most of the cases, they explained that the boy worked providing for the family and the weekly training prevented him from doing his work, resulting in a deterioration of their living conditions. Many explained that as the boy worked, a training would provoke over tiredness and make him fall ill. Several others'

⁸⁴² Ibid., p. 19.

⁸⁴³ Ibid., p. 22.

complains were about the fine levied in cases of absence at training sessions. Families claimed that it was impossible for them to pay such a penalty as they were living in very poor economic conditions.⁸⁴⁴ In some case, the families submitted to the prefecture certificates issued by the head of the quarter (*kryeplaku i lagjes*) certifying their poor economic situation.⁸⁴⁵ The prefecture reported to the central authorities (Ministry of Education and Enti) that the fine to which the absent young boys where subdued had no efficacy.⁸⁴⁶ On 5 September 1929, the prefect delivered to the court a list of the names of boys who should be punished as penalties were to be dealt with by the courts. Yet the punishments did not increase the participation.⁸⁴⁷

A similar reaction was seen in Korça. On 10 April 1930, the branch of Enti in the town sent to the prefecture a list of boys who had not participated in the training sessions, requesting their punishment by law. Moreover, a harsher punishment was requested for the boys who did not attend any of the training sessions. It was also asked to announce that it be announced that apart from fine penalty, imprisonment could be applied.⁸⁴⁸ The tension provoked by the paramilitary training continued through 1930. At the end of the year, the prime minister Kota wrote to the Ministry of Interior Affairs explaining that boys were just not attending. These claims of the prime minister were based on a list of those who had participated,

⁸⁴⁴ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1930, D. 163, pp. 2, 3 and pp.10-75. See Appendix A, note 71.

⁸⁴⁵ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 159, pp. 80-100.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

⁸⁴⁷ AQSH, F. 444. Enti Kombëtar “Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 65.

⁸⁴⁸ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1930, D. 13, p. 1.

according to which the participation in paramilitary training sessions in the main cities of the country was as follows.⁸⁴⁹

Table 1: Paramilitary Training Attendance

Place of Training	Date of Training:	Present	Absent without Justification
Tirana	29.8.1929	280	500
Durrësi	//	180	145
Vlonë (Vlora)	//	no training	-
Berati	//	//	-
Elbasani	//	187	300
Korça	//	no training	-
Shkodra	//	231	759

Table 2: Paramilitary Training Attendance

Place of Training	Date of Training:	Presents	Absent without Justification
Tirana	5.1.1930	198	592
Durrësi	//	120	137
Vlonë (Vlora)	//	133	400
Berati	//	141	400
Elbasani	//	344	425
Korça	//	350	600
Shkodra	//	?	?

Although the importance of the boys' work for the family's survival may, in some cases, have been exaggerated to avoid training, what emerged from the tensions that in many cases resulted in the detention of boys, was a profile of working boys on whom whole families depended economically. This was not how Enti regarded the youth. From the point of view the Enti, these boys were citizens to be educated and

⁸⁴⁹ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1930, D. 163, pp. 5-6.

whose primary duty was to be the model citizens of the regime. In this regard, their primary activity would be the training, which displayed their loyalty and morality.

Their confrontation with Enti's local actors and the prefecture made them visible to a third other, that was the central state apparatus. The "other" here is not a culturally or more largely *foreign other*, but obviously a social and political one. Yet, in the case of the confrontation between a high-school student and the Italian head-instructor a "foreign other" was involved in the disrupting act. The correspondence between a student of the Franciscan college, the head of Enti's branch in Shkodra Zanchi, the prefect Rodha and doctor Prela of the municipality of this city in September 1929 displayed the amount of friction provoked by the practices of Enti.

The tensions around participation in paramilitary training increased after Enti's decision to reject reports given from municipality physicians justifying the absence of boys in such participation. From October 1929, these reports could be obtained only from military physicians.⁸⁵⁰ A boy, student of fifth grade in the Franciscan school, had taken a report from the municipality physician, dr. Prela, as justification for absence in weekly paramilitary training.⁸⁵¹ The head instructor Zanchi, refusing to accept the report of the physician of the municipality had taken the boy to the military physicians who, in their turn claimed that the physical conditions of the boy did not represent an obstacle to his participation in the paramilitary trainings.⁸⁵² Upon this, the boy complained to the prefecture about the refusal of his report, maintaining that the head of Enti's branch Zanchi "...did not read the report in our mother language (*amtare*), but searched for the note in Italian," and

⁸⁵⁰ AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 73.

⁸⁵¹ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1929, D. 159, pp. 89-90.

⁸⁵² Ibid., pp. 92-93.

said, "...you (Albanian) students are without any capacity, immoral and not educated." In his demand forwarded to the prefecture, the student pretended to be deeply offended by such attitude.⁸⁵³

The student⁸⁵⁴ emerged as an actor *vis à vis* the prefecture and to reinforce his position he highlighted the "foreignness" of the other part he was confronted. He tried to win a socio-political confrontation by using the cultural aspect of citizenship and its statute. The legal and cultural belonging to the nation-state was an essential element of the dominant model of citizenship and the boy highlighted its attachment to this aspect to escape the practice of citizenship that had more complex socio-political meanings. The correspondence in which this boy was the main subject hastened at the point to confront by threatening each other, the prefecture and the municipality. The prefecture asserted that it would start a legal procedure accusing the physician of the municipality of generating obstacles to Enti.⁸⁵⁵ This entered the category of political offences and required the maximum penalty. On its turn the physician accused the prefecture of obstruction to the profession of physician as such harm to the community.⁸⁵⁶

The insistence of the student on his health condition affronted the municipality and the prefecture giving to him the possibility of avoiding trainings in the meantime and to strengthen his position by leaving the municipality physician

⁸⁵³ Ibid., pp. 85-86.

⁸⁵⁴ The student called Jup Kastrati frequented the fifth grade at the Franciscan school. AQSH. F. Prefektura e Shkodrës, Nr.346, Y.1929, D.159, p.92. He must have been 14 or 15 years old at the time and is not the well-known professor in social sciences born in 1924, Jup Kastrati, he also from Shkodra. However, taking into account his name, he must be of a Muslim family. This was not an exception. There were several cases of Muslim families children studying in Jesuit and Franciscan schools in the city.

⁸⁵⁵ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1929, D. 159, p. 93.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 89-90.

obliged to back the student's position by defending the impartiality of its medical report. His confrontation with the Italian head instructor also had disrupted the image of the prefecture as the prefecture had to back the Italian instructor. Yet, the student, in this case was not blaming the head inspector due to his insistence on paramilitary training. The boys' complaint was focused on the words of the head inspector about Albanian students being liars and uneducated.

The student became an actor for all of the parts, the prefecture, the Enti's branch in the locality and the municipality, by using the dominant discourse of citizenship in the country. He had disrupted a practice of citizenship, but not only that. He had disrupted the image of a central authority representative, the Prefecture, by indirectly equalizing it with "the other," the state's discourse had contributed to create. Concomitantly, he had disrupted the model of the disciplined, well-mannered youth by "yelling" at the Italian head instructor and army physicians. It was he who at this point demonstrated his allegiances to the nation-state, while displaying the inconsistencies in which was immersed the state's/dominant citizenship practice.

Yet the example of the employees of the prefecture would make us return to the issue of social contradictions, this time by observing how an act of citizenship could be actualized through the reaction of a socio-cultural group to other such groups. On May 1930, five employees of the prefecture of Shkodra wrote to the general command of Enti. They asked to form a particular group with the paramilitary training sessions, as they were civil servants. They proposed to add to their group other employees of the municipality and prefecture in case their number was not enough to form a group. The employees explained this request in terms of the feelings of duty toward the country reflected, according to them, also by the position

they held as civil employees.⁸⁵⁷ This was a tactic they adopted to indirectly explain their non-participation in previous paramilitary training sessions, their absence at which had been transmitted to the capital by the Enti responsible in the locality.⁸⁵⁸ On the other hand, this was a strategy to avoid future training as they knew that a separate training would be impossible as the main aim of training sessions was to bring together different socio-cultural groups. The reaction of the Italian military in charge of paramilitary training, Ghilardi, to the act of these state employees was clarified by a letter sent to the prefect.

(...) I beg you to summon the senders of the letter and make them understand that the paramilitary meetings aim to bring together and unify different Albanian social groups. Tomorrow when the Fatherland calls on the youth, all without difference in class or position will be hand in hand to fulfill the duty to the Fatherland. This is the spirit that we want to implant immediately in our youth. Each Albanian boy should be brother and equal with other boys. We ask you to make them understand this and that their request is unacceptable.⁸⁵⁹

Obviously, these state employees who were between 18-19 years old knew this important aspect of the practice of citizenship that made them “invisible” and grouped them with many different categories within the larger group, the youth, meaning, for the regime, as already noted in Part 2 of this work, to be educated. Yet, they did not regard themselves as “to be educated,” but already with a socio-cultural (and political) position that made them “claimant” in power and “parts” in governance. Nevertheless, they probably wanted to be differentiated from the many poor and working boys from whom they pretended to have a higher socio-cultural (and, political status). So they were not only claimants in governance, but claimants of a differentiated practice of citizenship derived from their professional status (which

⁸⁵⁷ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës. Y. 1930, D. 163, p. 24.

⁸⁵⁸ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës. Y. 1930, D. 163, pp. 19, 42.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

they regarded as particular due to their work for the state). They were affirming to the authorities, but also to other social groups their difference and the intention to highlight it.

What I evaluate as an act of citizenship in this section did not capture the main events of the period. Probably, each of them in particular also was not regarded as a extreme concern by the authorities. However, what they did was transform bit by bit the practice of citizenship by disrupting it in many minor ways through ordinary actions and through using the means given by this citizenship. Neither of this acts stood for a rejection of this citizenship. They were parts of its making even in this authoritarian state where groups in control of the state institutions attempted to be indefinitely determining and totally in control of the practices of citizens and practice of citizenship.

Creating Spaces

In the introduction of *Espaces Publics Mosaïques Acteurs, Arènes et Rhétoriques des Débats Contemporains*, François and Neveu⁸⁶⁰ propose an enterprise of cartography of the public space⁸⁶¹ through a critical analysis of the Habermas conceptualization of public sphere. The authors maintain that in spite of its unitary and panoptical structure, the public sphere first proposed by Habermas, in its original conceptualization as well as taking into account the further elaborations created by

⁸⁶⁰ Bastien François and Èrik Neveu, “Pour une sociologie politique des espaces publics contemporains” in Bastien François et Èrik Neveu sous dir. *Espaces Publics Mosaïques Acteurs, Arènes et Rhétoriques des Débats Contemporains*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1999), pp.13-60. (*entreprise de cartographie de l’espace public*).

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., p. 22.

the author himself in terms of the fragmentation of public sphere, gives the possibility of putting forward a concept of public space.⁸⁶²

I am not quite persuaded by the authors' claim that the conceptualization of the public sphere of Habermas could respond fully to the critics on historicity and on being a bourgeoisie sphere more than a larger communicative or interactive sphere with or in relation with alternative spaces of mobilization and expression. Yet, I agree that this *pioneering work* introduced, to use again the expression of François and Neveu, a *Copernican revolution* in terms of thinking the *political modalities* and *models of communication and public expression*.⁸⁶³ Crucial for my work here is this idea of *political modalities of communication and public expression* through which is materialized *the articulation of the cultural and the political*⁸⁶⁴ combined with Neveu and François's understanding of the public space through a mosaic cartography.⁸⁶⁵ I am thinking of communication as public expression in terms of the exchanges ascribed to spaces enabling the *mediation of social and political relations and articulations of the cultural and the political*.

Historically and very concretely, what I refer to in this case are various associations formed with the initiative of citizens in interwar Albania. These cannot be considered within a concept of public sphere even fragmentized and enriched with the concept of lifeworld (*mondes vécus*),⁸⁶⁶ but within a mosaic of spaces in continual interaction, counteraction, and interchange, and from which emerged

⁸⁶² Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁸⁶³ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 48-51.

⁸⁶⁶ Habermas, "Théorie de l'agir communicationnel (Theory of communicative action)" in François and Neveu, 1999, p. 52.

actors. By creating a space, an association, these actors emerged as political subjects in opposition to the tendency of the groups in control of the state institutions to generate a culturally and politically homogenous public sphere in which the state institutions were at the center. Through Enti, but then particularly the Federation, the interwar Albanian state attempted to control these public spaces of socio-cultural expression and action.

Still ,in 1931, four years before the foundation of the Federation, Enti tried to control the associational life in localities and “sooth local antagonisms” by grouping all the associations in a locality in unique association. In a circular sent to all schools on 2 December 1931 the head of the Sportive Federation Izedin Beshiri wrote:

The existence of one or more associations in the center of a prefecture or commune, (...) develops the local antagonisms hampering the unification and progress of the youth (...). To avoid this and support the unison of our souls this federation has invited since long time now the head-instructor and other federal organs to work for the unification in a unique association of various elements existing in a locality. (...)positive steps had been taken in this field by unification of student, civil employees, merchants and workers in one association in Shkodra and Korça.⁸⁶⁷

It is at this point that I find explanatory aspects of the acts of citizenship in relation with the theorization of the mosaic of public space. On the one hand, the public spaces the cultural and artistic associations generated were multiple. On the other hand, the state attempted to homogenize such spaces. This could not materialize as the it was diversified continuously by the creation of associational spaces, which I regard as an act of citizenship.

On 11 June 1931, the students of two high-schools of Tirana (the state gymnasium and technical high-school) sent a letter to the Ministry of Education explaining that:

⁸⁶⁷ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1931, D. 71, p. 1.

The undersigned students of two schools of the capital, the gymnasium and the technical, have assembled and taken the initiative of the formation of an association of all the high-schools of Albania. The courage to form such an association springs from our common desire and determination. With this initiative we want to fulfill an important lack of our country taking into account the various cultural associations that foreign students formed in their countries, and in the Balkans, doing very useful jobs. We do not have to fall behind our friends, as we have the support of our beloved King, who, on every occasion, has demonstrated his eagerness to support and encourage the development of Albanian students. So, as we are in the Capital, we have taken the initiative of the foundation of the above-mentioned association and we remain hopeful for its accomplishment.⁸⁶⁸

In the following part of the letter, they detailed the aims of the association:

the unification of all Albanian students to foster the development of art, sport, the Albanian oath (*besën Shqiptare*), morality, traditional friendship; support the excellent state's youth organization Enti; fight illiteracy; encourage philanthropic undertakings; encourage the advancement of the Albanian language; support the collection of folklore; develop relations with foreign similar associations; and collaborate with Enti.⁸⁶⁹ The answer to the letter, signed by 14 students and ending by explaining the highest considerations and confidence to the King, the Ministry of Education, and Enti, was given by a brief hand written note at the same end of the letter: "Each school has its own sportive group through which can be fulfilled the aims they mention, so there is no need to form such an association; high-school students should be busy with their courses."⁸⁷⁰

The abrupt negative answer given to the students who had used the words of the official discourse to secure the continuity of a space created by them did not stop their enterprise. On 12 December 1931, the General Inspector of Physical Education,

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 28.

⁸⁶⁹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1931, D. 71, p. 28.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 29.

Gino Riccioni, wrote a long report to the Ministry of Education in Tirana explaining that high-school students were continually taking such initiatives and forming associations. According to him, this hampered the regular development of discipline in the schools.⁸⁷¹

Obviously, the general inspector advised the interdiction of these associations, communicated with a circular of Minister of Education on 21 December 1931 to all schools.⁸⁷² According to the circular, the students not only had formed such association that were not authorized by the Ministry of Education, but also had elected their own Directive Councils and had provoked many issues and may have caused additional problems in the future (*me ja pasë frikën se të tjera ngjarje mund të ngjajnë*).⁸⁷³ The circular continued, stressing that the students used these associations' activities to avoid physical education and also to encourage each other to write articles in journals.

The Minister insisted that this undisciplined attitude be stopped and said that it was absolutely forbidden for students to write in journals.⁸⁷⁴ Actually, writing in journals also was forbidden to civil employees and teachers, leaving only a small group of people in the country with the possibility to act in this space. Yet students would not only continue to create their own associative spaces in spite of the state authorities' opposition, but in these spaces they would create also press organs. Immediately after the rejection of their first demand for a general high-school student

⁸⁷¹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1931, D. 71, pp. 4-6.

⁸⁷² Ibid., p.16.

⁸⁷³ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁴ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1931, D. 71, p. 16.

association, the students of the gymnasium of Tirana forwarded another request to the Ministry of Education.

This time they would opt for one of them to present the demand in the name of the others. The student, named Fiqri Llagami, would announce to this ministry that they, the students of the state gymnasium of Tirana, had formed an association named the New Spirit (*Fryma e Re*) and wanted financial support to publish their brochure, which had literary content.⁸⁷⁵ The Minister of Education this time wrote to the directory of the state gymnasium in Tirana explaining that it was not the first time that the students of that institution had asked things from the Ministry of Education and particularly, a certain Fiqri Llagami, who had signed both of the letters.⁸⁷⁶ “Now,” said the minister, “they want us to sponsor their brochure (...). This ministry is not only going to reject this demand as their task is to study not deal with other things, but it is going to instruct your directorship to take under particular surveillance the members of this association.”⁸⁷⁷

The Ministry of Education could not stop the associations as the students even in their letters did not ask for authorization, but for support. Obviously, in many cases backed by teachers they continued to create their spaces. This insistence on having their own associations was a reminder that the mediation was not to be done in a single space, where the state intended to collect all students, all employees, or workers etc., undermining their own diverse spaces of action and expression. And, as the other above-mentioned spaces such as that of high-school students was also made of many singular interactive spaces. Although none of them were authorized by

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

states youth organization or the Ministry of Education, the students of the Gymnasium of Shkodra had their own association named *Besa Shqiptare* (The Albanian Oath) founded on 27 November 1928.⁸⁷⁸ As already mentioned, the students of the Franciscan school formed their own association.⁸⁷⁹ The students of the *New Madrasah Hasan Tahsini* (Medrese e Re Hasan Tahsini) in Shkodra acted to form their own association named “Talebe’s Association” (*Shoqnija e Talebeve*).⁸⁸⁰ Although these groups used the terminology of the official discourse to justify the existence and secure the continuity of their spaces, each of them had distinctive socio-cultural (and political) characteristics.

Yet, this kind of emergence as claimant of ones’ own space was a characteristic not only of groups or individuals of high schools, but of various socio-cultural groups. For example, the inhabitants of the village Kakodhiqi (*katundi Kakodhiq*), near Delvina in southeast Albania, with a letter signed by 30 persons, demanded the formation of a sports and artistic association in their village declaring that this association would have 70 members.⁸⁸¹ This demand also received a negative answer from the Federation, which continually opposed the creation of such micro spaces. Yet, evidence from the period shows that not only students associations, but also other artistic and sportive associations continued to exist in spite of the rejection of the Federation (previously opposition of Enti) or without even trying to take the consent of the authorities, local or central. The head of the

⁸⁷⁸ *Statuti i Shoqnisë Besa Shqiptare*, (Shkodër: Shtypshkronja “Ora e Shkodrës,” 1936).

⁸⁷⁹ See this part, section Religious Dynamics.

⁸⁸⁰ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1929, D. 309, pp. 1-4.

⁸⁸¹ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 315, p. 3.

association *Bashkimi Dibran* in Peshkopi (northeast Albania) wrote to the Federation on 8 September 1936 demanding information about a sportive association in Tirana named *Shoqniija Sportive Bashkimi Dibran Kastriot*, attaching the coupon this association had distributed against financial support.⁸⁸² The Federation in its answer confirmed that it did not recognize any other association, but the Sports Klub Tirana in Tirana.⁸⁸³

The situation was such that not only in Tirana, but also in other cities and some prefectures like that of Korça about which even before the foundation of Enti in 1928, a journal of the period noted that it was “getting filled with associations that soon would be valuable competitors of each other.”⁸⁸⁴ Associations were important parts of the public space mosaic in interwar Albania. They constituted the bulk from which emerged groups and individuals that did not necessarily oppose citizenship as status or all of its duties, but some aspects of its practice and particularly since 1930, the cultural homogenization and socio-political suppression. On the other hand, by creating and being active in these spaces these citizens demonstrated an insurgent citizenship. The concept of insurgent citizenship put forward by James Holston in *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*⁸⁸⁵ points out an alternative form of living citizenship through practices imposed by citizens. The insurgence I propose here was the insistence in preserving an already fragmented public space and the resistance to its transformation to a panoptical sphere of homogenous cultural expression where citizenship was lived through

⁸⁸² Ibid., p. 6.

⁸⁸³ Ibid., p. 7.

⁸⁸⁴ *Zëri i Korçës*, no. 224 (12 September 1927).

⁸⁸⁵ Holston.

dominant formulations.⁸⁸⁶ Nevertheless, it marked the emergence of actor(s) through the act of creating spaces that opposed the anonymity,⁸⁸⁷ generated by the citizenship as well as its dominant cultural model and the subordination of social and political to cultural.



⁸⁸⁶ dominant formulation used following Holston, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸⁸⁷ Holston speaks about anonymity of citizenship within the *conceptualization of differentiated citizenship*, see *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Concluding Remarks

In the work about citizenship in contemporary Brazil, Holston underlines the importance of the struggles of the city.⁸⁸⁸ In interwar Albania also, as we have seen throughout this work, the city was a privileged site of citizenship. This is because, as noted in the first part of this work contacts, negotiation, contradictions, frictions were more dense and dynamic in these areas defined by denser socio-cultural and political mediations. It was also because as Holston argues:

City streets combine new identities of territory, contract, and education with ascribed ones of race, religion, culture and gender. Their crowds catalyze these new combinations into the active ingredients of political movements that develop new sources of rights and agendas of citizenship concerning the very conditions of city life. This chemistry in turn transforms the meanings and practices of belonging. Thus cities provide the dense articulation of global and local forces in response to which people think and act themselves into politics, becoming new kind of citizens.”⁸⁸⁹

Yet, in our case it was also because the groups in control of state authorities chose to govern differently the city and the village. This may seem odd in a process of building a national citizenship, yet it constitutes one of its contradictions though not one of its limits. As observed all along this research the national citizenship was primarily a cultural model of cultural homogenization. This was a process of apoliticization and desocialization. While apoliticization was valid for all the territory of the country, desocialization was valid only for the city. The practices of Enti and the Federation extracted young individuals from their social spaces temporarily, to make them part of a larger cultural space in which social identifications, forms of actions and expression were of secondary importance. In this way the state institutions pursued the strategy of attenuating social diversity in

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

⁸⁸⁹ Holston, p. 23.

cities. Such attitude was shaped also by local dynamics, as local actors in cities opted being agents of the central authorities to enlarge their margin of operation and domination in the locality. Yet, this was not the case for the rural areas where the central authority tried to govern by confining social relations to the ongoing condition. This meant reducing the pace of social mobility and transformation and preserving the existing socio-economic conditions.

Enti, then the Federation operation in rural areas was limited by both the economic fragility of the village as well as of the state. Yet, there was no particular strategy or effort to penetrate (by activities) the rural areas. As mentioned, these institutions were auto-limiting by declaring as field of operation, the city and villages maximally at five kilometre distance from the city. The analysis of de Grazia about interwar Italy and OND confirms that the fascist government undertook important enterprises in rural areas. It included them in an economic functionality, serving the regime, penetrating these areas particularly by cultural means.⁸⁹⁰ Yet Italian officials of Enti did not mention the village as an important priority of the youth organization in Albania. There was an effort of the state to spread schools in villages. However, this was a way to confirming its presence, a tentative means to secure a certain effect in these localities and to enable the a-politicisation, but not to provoke important socio - (cultural) changes. Besnik Pula, while analyzing the governing of the northern highland in the interwar Albania, claims that different practices of state building, concretely negotiation with chieftains and clan leaders, were employed in this case. He brings forward the idea that this was not in contradiction with the mechanisms of modern state building.⁸⁹¹ In terms of nation-state building, I would

⁸⁹⁰ de Grazia, *The Culture of Consent*, particularly p. 100.

say that the state youth organization, applied from 1928, was part of the different governance of city and the village that contributed in the construction of city - village stereotypes, then antagonisms.

Thus, this kind of differentiated governance was not in contradiction with nation-state building, but radically different from the way the rural-urban interaction operated in various cases and more concretely in neighboring countries. Contrary of these cases, the central state institutions did not attempt a mobilization of rural areas, but opted for the impediment of their mobilization, while negotiating governance through existing customs, local leaders, and chieftains. Consequently, the interwar Albanian citizenship in terms of a vision reflected and practice induced through Enti, then the Federation was a city citizenship. It is in this regard that it was a differentiated citizenship, which in the relation rural urban operated as Holston puts it: "In this formulation, citizenship is a measure of difference and a means of distancing people from one another. It reminds people of what they are - even though, paradoxically, they are themselves citizens - and define citizens as others."⁸⁹²

In this regard, I did not put rural dynamics among the limits of citizenship, as such a differentiation was a choice of governing, of making the citizenship. On the other hand, I want to underline that within the ongoing reality neither cities nor rural areas should be understood within a duality. The citizenship practice contributed in the creation of such duality, yet cities and villages were not homogenous, but were emerged in diversities. Then, cities differed from each other as villages differed from each other. I do not imply only cultural, but also socio-political differences. In this

⁸⁹¹ Besnik Pula, "The informal Road to State Power: State Building in the Albanian Highlands 1919-1939," (September 2007). p. 38.

⁸⁹² Holston, p. 5.

regard the socio-cultural mosaic of Tirana was not the same as that of Shkodra. Shkodra was not the same as Korça and Elbasani and so on. However, there was communality between cities like Shkodra and Korça in terms of their dynamics. These developed cities had the potential to produce alternatives groups to power or/and challenge whatever central discourse by their important cultural and intellectual resources. The practice of citizenship contributed to repelling such potential, while actually transferring such sources and fostering dynamism in other less strenuous localities. The making of the national citizenship practice occurring in interwar Albania with higher pace since 1928 was ascribed to a total cultural, social, political respatialisation of the society and territory.

The limits of citizenship were embedded in this respatialisation, while its acts were reaction to it. In this regard, these reactions should not be considered necessarily as “progressive,” which from a contemporary point of view would mean struggle for equality, multiplicity, freedom, participation or various rights etc. They can be reactions to the changes in the hierarchy of loyalties as well as to transformations to the values and sources of morality. I would highlight as an important reaction that to the attempt to reduce the citizenship practice to display of loyalty to a man and entanglement of morality with political concerns. Obviously, the reaction I refer to was of everyday citizens, subjects not directly involved in the struggle for power. So, subjects that were not considered actors in the point of view of these groups or were attempted to be ripped of agency through practice of citizenship. However, in terms of opening the boundaries and representing the limitations of a particular national citizenship, I tried to bring forward within an mosaic moments, reflections, acts, actors embedded in the ordinary, the citizenship as an everyday experience of living. Obviously, these were mainly from the living

experience of youth, representing the main construction of this national citizenship, duly a crucial site of socio-economical, cultural and political struggles.



PART 6

QUESTIONING PRACTICES AND RESULTS

The aims of Enti and the Federation, although briefly defined as educating youth and managing the artistic and sportive life of the country, were much more complex and involved a large variety of practices. Such practices were envisaged to serve these aims. Yet, a closer examination of them demonstrated that the practices induced by these institutions could produce exactly the contrary of the desired results. This was the case for the attitude of high-school students who constituted the most active part of the youth of the period. This was also the case for national cohesion, the creation of which was declared as a major priority of the state youth organization. Before concluding this work, I considered it important examine closer and to a certain extent these important and major fields of operation that constituted at the same time a major field of failure of the state's youth organizations.

We could not move toward a conclusion, however without exploring particularly morality and loyalty that we saw entangled in many socio-cultural dynamics in which operated the states youth organizations. Actually, it is generally presumed that citizenship involves loyalty, but barely studied how, to what extent, what kind(s) of, or actually, what does it means in practical terms to be a loyal citizen. Putting forward such questioning in the context of interwar Albania, I came to note the close relation between loyalty and morality, to the extent that the later had discursive and practical meaning only if associated with the former. Yet, this inextricable relation could not be understood as such unless examined through the youth that stood at the center of the struggles (of various groups) to dominate the present and shape the future of the national society. So, below I try to resume what we found about morality and loyalty exploring interwar Albanian state youth institutions' in the discourse of which morality and loyalty were two basic and continuously used concepts.

CHAPTER 14: CONTRADICTIONARY RESULTS

Attitude of High-School Students

Although the field of operation of Enti, then the Federation was not restricted to high school, high-school students constituted the most active part of the youth in inter-war Albania. As showed in the second part of this work they lay at the core of the youth definition of Enti, then the Federation. Their cultural and political attitude was of utmost importance for the regime that projected onto them its good citizen. Yet, the efforts of the institutions to control political and cultural attitudes of the students did not give the desired results. Neither the students had internalized moral values put forward by the regime, nor high school resulted safe place to make citizens loyal to the regime and the King.

I will concretize these deductions by three main examples from the period: ideas circulating among the students, their attitude out of school, and the political activity of some high-school students. The censorship of books and press was one of the measures applied increasingly particularly from 1930 to control the political ideas circulating in the country. The dossier 26, which dates 1937 and is from the fond of Kavaja sub-prefecture includes correspondence about censored books and journals.⁸⁹³ It is obvious that throughout that year, but not only that, the government

⁸⁹³ AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1937, D. 26, pp. 1- 9. For a list with 36 titles of books to be withhold from circulation see also AQSH, F. 318, Prefektura e Korçës, Y. 1937, D. 66, pp. 1, 2. The books were of foreign authors translated into Albanian and some books of Albanian authors. In the same dossier p. 3, there is the official circular sent from the municipality of Korça to the prefecture of Korça. The major certifies that they did not found books of prohibited subjects in the municipality's library.

directed to prefectures many circulars with names of journals and books to be removed from circulation or banned from entering Albania.⁸⁹⁴

From the memoirs of a high-school student of the period it is obvious that these measures were not effective in their milieu. In his memories Lazër Radi,⁸⁹⁵ a student of the state lyceum of Shkodra, then Tirana and a boarding fellow at the dormitory Malet Tona⁸⁹⁶ says that students circulated banned books of Albanian and foreign literature.⁸⁹⁷ He remembers reading materials denoted by the state institutions as Bolshevik. He notes as most requested books from the students the Mother of Gorky and works of Millosh Gjergj Nikolla.⁸⁹⁸ Though, as noted in the conclusion of the previous part, state officials in education underlined in continuity that the unique aim of students was education, the high-school students had interests that went beyond their school courses. According to Radi, students followed closely intellectual debates. The debate “the young and the old” was followed by them prompting admiration for theorists of Neo-Albanianism and members of “the young.” Radi maintains that students debated these ideas among them and followed critics made by T. Zavalani. He remembers reading and being inspired by the

⁸⁹⁴ See Appendix A, note 72.

⁸⁹⁵ Lazër Radi (1916-1998) was a writer who endured persecution during communist regime. According to Elsie he was imprisoned, tortured and released in 1991 after 46 years of imprisonment and internment. See Robert Elsie, *Albanian Literature: a short history*, (London: I.B.Tauris, 2005), p.162-163. In spite of the long years of detriment the memoirs of Radi, differently from other authors enduring communist persecution, did not bear particular animosity to specific groups and communist figures. On the other hand, it should be underlined that Radi had leftist ideas during the period. As noted from Visar Zhiti, who made a brief introduction to the book, this memoir transmitted the effort to bring events, feelings and attitudes as they were understood by the author during that period. Radi, p. 3.

⁸⁹⁶ Radi, p. 7.

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 111.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 117.

biography of Mustafa Kemal. He writes that students followed closely the press of the period, the journal *Normalisti* of the pedagogical school of Elbasan, and many other press organs.⁸⁹⁹

The ideas circulating and affecting these students were not coming exclusively from books and press, but also through their teachers. The problems of the rule of Ahmet Zogu with teachers particularly since his return to power in 1925 have been treated to a certain extent in the second and forth part of this work. Yet, teachers did not only represent a group with dubious political loyalties for the regime, but they also were actors with important effects on the political attitude of students. In his memoir Radi reveals how the notes given to high-school students by their teachers had become sources of inspiration and ideas.⁹⁰⁰ Many of these teachers were ex-students returning from studies abroad and introducing into the country many of the ideas the authorities tried to control through censorship.

From the correspondences between actors in localities and Enti, then the Federation and the Ministry of Education, it is obvious that the out-of-school attitude and behavior of high-school students represented an important concern in terms of education of youth. Moreover, the correspondence demonstrates that the formation of Enti, then the Federation did not affect the attitudes considered *harmful for the morality of the youth*. The official journal published by the Ministry of Interior on 15 April 1928 says that since long time now the prefectures have been reporting that the school youth had extremely bad behavior that damaged their health and morality. The extremely bad behavior out of school and out of domicile (*sjellje shumë të këqija jashta shtëpisë e shkollës*) included smoking, frequenting coffeehouses where they

⁸⁹⁹ Radi, pp. 130-146.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 158, 165, 183-188.

engaged in gambling and “other immoralities.”⁹⁰¹ After the foundation of the Enti, to this “bad behavior harmful for the morality” was included also the listening of foreign music, dressing inadequately and frequenting cinemas in hours reserved for adults.⁹⁰²

After continual notifications about high-school students having such behavior, in 1937 the Ministry of Education sent to all the high schools in the country a circular concerning the conduct of their students. It was explained that everyday more the Ministry of Education had been noting that the high school students were giving a bad example of conduct by having unpleasant behavior, smoking in public and in presence of their teachers and frequenting public spaces in late hours.⁹⁰³ The Minister considered the situation extremely upsetting (*hidhun e dëshpërues për këtë ministri*), and to “stop this intolerable chaotic and terrible situation” (*nuk mundet me tolerue ma gjatë një situatë kaotike e të tmerrshme të këtillë*) the Ministry of Education had compiled a list of behaviors and activities forbidden to high-school students.⁹⁰⁴

A part from the “bad behaviors” noted above the list included: frequenting suspicious places (*vende të dyshimta*), being out of domicile after 9 o’clock in summer (April-September) and 8 o’clock in winter (October-March) without justifiable reason, not using the school uniform, frequenting dancing places, making friendship with students known for bad attitude, quarreling with friends, making

⁹⁰¹ Official Journal Nr. 39. See AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 208, pp. 7-8 (in dossier corresponding to pp. 3-4 in the official journal).

⁹⁰² AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1934, D. 258, p. 4.

⁹⁰³ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1937, D. 263, p. 2.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid.

noise or singing in public places, possessing arms, damaging public works such as paintings and painting walls and doors, going around with unbuttoned uniforms and coats, consuming alcohol, throwing stones by hand or sling.⁹⁰⁵

From this list on the one hand, we understand the aspired model of student behavior, or as described in the circular, youth that should have a strong discipline and be able to prepare a happy future for the family, nation and the state,⁹⁰⁶ put forward by the Ministry and representing the behavior of the good citizen. On the other, we detect the ongoing everyday behavior of high-school students. What characterizes the attitudes listed above as forbidden was the inclination to oppose and break through restrictions. On the one hand, it reveals their reaction against the tendency of restricting their spaces to school, home and activities of education. On the other hand, it shows their repugnance to the disciplined young boy image, the core of the citizenship model promoted by state youth organizations. Saeed Paivandi also reports the antagonistic attitude of young people particularly high-school students toward restrictions in the article titled “La religion d’état à l’école.”⁹⁰⁷ Paivandi demonstrates how schools became a repressive space in post-revolutionary Iran. He relates the antagonism of the students to this repression atmosphere in schools.⁹⁰⁸

In the interwar Albanian case school was not (necessarily) such a repressive space. The above-note circular blamed schools’ directions and particularly (*sidomos*)

⁹⁰⁵ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1937, D. 263, pp. 3-5.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁷ Saeed Paivandi, “La religion d’état à l’école. L’expérience de l’islamisation de l’école en Iran.” *Journal des Anthropologues*, 100-101 (2005), pp. 183-211, p. 203.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 204.

teachers for neglect of their duty by limiting it within the walls of the classes.

Teachers are accused of not being interested in the formation of the morality of the students and their behavior out-of-schools. According to the circular this attitude of the teachers gave way to the undisciplined attitude of the students.⁹⁰⁹ As obvious from the circular, the government was dissatisfied with schools and teachers that did not regard the out-of-school time as part of their educative duty.

In the interwar Albanian schools were not safe places of the regime reproduction or unquestionable transmitters of its values. At the contrary, in many case they were spaces where opposition flourished. As already noted, in many case teachers introduced to students new ideas not in accordance with the regime's political values that included elements related to behavior. The antagonism reflected by the students was not (necessarily) a reaction to school practices, but particularly to the regime's model of youth, which was primarily promoted by state youth organizations (Enti, then the Federation).

This was a reaction to being projected as the good citizen and to the content of this good citizenship. The ambition and the attempt to control the schools and particularly high school, was not characteristic to the state. Various other groups such as clerics, minorities and different political groups were interested in controlling high-school. Tensions over schools and students' behavior, but also in schools among students and among the staff (teachers, school directors, inspectors) continued throughout the period and were hastened from 1930. In spite various groups attempts to determine the values and behavior of high school students, this part of the youth revealed politically and culturally uncontrollable.

⁹⁰⁹ AQSH. F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1937, D. 263, p. 2.

However, it was the insistence on discipline of state youth organization that accentuated their reaction. At this point I will join Paivandi in his deduction that the high school was giving results contrary to its aims⁹¹⁰ (deducted by the central authorities). Yet, the causes of this in our case were more complex. The students' opposition was toward functions and visions imposed to youth. School became spaces of interaction of competing visions and in which rose the political opposition. In this regard, high school as space and high schools students as main actors of this space, adopted antagonistic behaviors to the model of good citizenship projected onto youth by Enti, then the Federation. Students had their own versions of experiencing citizenship, which evidently did not adhere to regimes morality and did not assure political loyalty. Obviously, there also were students adhering or willing to adhere to the values of the regime. Yet, this does not change the fact that in 1937, seven years after the existence of state youth organization for moral education of youth, the situation of the high-school students for the Ministry of Education was: "disappointing (*dëshpëruese*), terrible (*e tmerrshme*), chaotic (*kaotike*)."⁹¹¹

National Cohesion vs. Making The Local

As seen throughout this work promoting, enhancing, and fostering the national cohesion was one of the main and major declared aims of the state youth organizations, Enti, then the Federation. The organization of national sport championships, and particularly football was regarded within the important practices serving to such aim. State youth organization was engaged in reducing "local

⁹¹⁰ Paivandi, p. 203.

⁹¹¹ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1937, D. 263, p. 2.

antagonism,” through assembling various sports and artistic associations existing in a city in a unique association approved by the Federation. However, as we would see in the following examples these practices promoted by the state youth organization, in stead of creating national cohesion were reinforcing local identities, which this organization had declared as crucial obstacles to the *national unity*.

The conflict between the Sports Federation (organ of Enti) and the artistic and cultural associations in Shkodra and Korça exemplifies this situation. The conflict started between teams, yet, what the associations Vllaznija and team Skënderbeu of the city of Korça opposed were the decisions of the Sports Federation. A festive dinner was organized and sponsored by the merchants of Tirana in honour of Sport Klub Tirana,⁹¹² the winner of the first national championship of football (1930). One of the founders of the club⁹¹³ and one of the representatives of Neo-Albanianism, Stefan Shundi,⁹¹⁴ in his salutary speech criticized the team Skënderbeu of Korça for defamation of the Tirana team. He maintained that the players and directors of the Korça club were victims of malevolent individuals that considered the national football championship as a war to their locality. “Shameful,” was considered by him the non-presentation of Korça team in the match leaving the Sport Klub Tirana players waiting in the field and confronted with “the dirty language of Korça’s fans.”⁹¹⁵

⁹¹² For Stefan Shundi as on of the promoters of the nationalist intellectual current known as Neo-Albanianism (Neo-Shqiptarizma) in 30’s Albania see This work, Part 2. For examples from his articles see Stefan Shundi, “Lëvizja e Djalëris,” *Arbënia*, Fletore e Përditëshme Neo-Shqiptare, (12 August 1930), p. 1.

⁹¹³ Dizdari, *Historia e Kampionateve*, p. 143.

⁹¹⁴ See this thesis part 3.

⁹¹⁵ *Arbënia*, Fletore e perditëshme Neo-Shqiptare, (12 July 1930), p. 1.

The dispute between Tirana and Korça teams had started with the match of 22 June 1930 played in Tirana. Skënderbeu of Korça pretended that the referee by denying two penalties and a goal to Korça had favoured Sport Klub Tirana.⁹¹⁶ Immediately after the match the directors of Skënderbeu team presented their objections to the representatives of the Sports Federation, which proposed a playoff in their own city. According to the journal *Arbënia*, the main promoter of Neo-Albanianism,⁹¹⁷ which in this dispute favoured the Sport Klub Tirana, Skënderbeu of Korça accepted this proposal. The *Journal of Korça* that defended the position of Skënderbeu team claimed that the playoff could not be accepted as a remedy for the unjust result of the match in Tirana. While the journal *Arbënia* claimed that it was impossible to change a match result without a written opposition officially submitted to the Sports Federation, the *Journal of Korça* emphasized that the Federation had accepted the verbal opposition done immediately after the match. On the one hand, *Arbënia* regarded the boycott of the playoff by Skënderbeu of Korça as an offence to Sport Klub Tirana. On the other hand, the *Journal of Korça* regarded it as the continuation of favouritism to Tirana Klub that “would serve to nothing, but repeat the referee’s injustice to *Korça*.”⁹¹⁸

Both clubs, Sport Klub Tirana and Skënderbeu, in stead of being actors in this sports interaction induced by Enti to bring together citizens of different localities in order to moderate socio-cultural and political differences, emerged as actors with local identifications. Actually, the representative of Sport Klub Tirana, Shundi was speaking of national brotherhood, also promoted by Neo-Albanianism. However, it is

⁹¹⁶ *Arbënia*, no. 35 (8 July 1930), p. 4.

⁹¹⁷ See this work, Part 2.

⁹¹⁸ *Arbënia* (17 July 1930), pp. 1-4. *Gazeta e Korçës* (1-15 July, 1930).

clear that the Skënderbeu team members were not regarding this as promotion of brotherhood, but as favouring the capital and in this case its sportsmen in expense of developed cities and their sportsmen. The dispute between the Sport Klub Tirana and Skënderbeu of Korça would not lose its momentum through the years. In 1934 the journal *Besa* wrote that the football match between Sport Klub Tirana and Skënderbeu of Korça resembled to a violent match of rugby with a lot of punching and kicking.⁹¹⁹ In the article was underlined the importance of sport as a promoter of “national brotherhood” and explained regret for regional fans and teams that “came to matches with such animosities.”⁹²⁰

A few years later the tension between a team of Shkodra, Vllaznija, and Sport klub Tirana developed very similarly including analogous counter accusations. Toward the end of seventh National Football Championship (1937) a decisive match took place between the rivals for the title, Sport Klub Tirana and Vllaznija (of Shkodra). The match ended with the score 1-2 in favour of Vllaznija.⁹²¹ After the match the referee applied to the arbitral committee (KTASH) to change the result of the match maintaining that the penalty in favour of Vllaznija was given under the pressure of players and fans of Shkodra.⁹²² Such claim was met with bitterness in Shkodra’s sports association “Vllaznija.” In a telegram sent to the Federation, the head of Shkodra’s sports association, Cin Serreqi, emphasized that Vllaznija of Shkodra had won this match due to its efforts and ability. He continued: “In the name of 470 members of this association, as well as in my name and the name of all our

⁹¹⁹ *Besa* (5 July 1934), p. 1.

⁹²⁰ *Besa* (5 July 1934), p. 1.

⁹²¹ Dizdari, *Historia e Kampionateve*, p. 145

⁹²² *Ibid.*, p.146. For this conflict see pp.145-148.

fans, I appeal for the recognition of this result from the KTASH.⁹²³ We want you to know that the verdict of KTASH is crucial for the existence of this association and the development of sport and youth in Shkodra.”⁹²⁴

The Federation before giving a final decision about the result asked by secret order the prefect of Shkodra to give a detailed report of the events in the match Sport Club Tirana - Vllaznija of Shkodra.⁹²⁵ The report of the prefect backed the claims of Shkodra team. The prefect implied that a change of result would not be correct toward *Shkodra*.⁹²⁶ Due to Vllaznija of Shkodra eventual harsh reaction toward a possible change of result, the vice head of Federation, Aqif Përmeti, tried to reconcile the parts asking the team of Shkodra to come for negotiations in Tirana. According to a secret report of the inspector of education of Shkodra, Kol Margjini, the reunion of Aqif Përmeti with Vllaznija's footballers was “a total failure and there was no way for reconciliation.”⁹²⁷ After 4 month of debates about the match KTASH decided that the match were to be repeated in Shkodra on 23 January (1937). As it was announced the Vllaznija team did not present for the match.⁹²⁸

⁹²³ Albanian Technical Arbitral Committee, (Komiteti Teknik Arbitral Shqiptar - KTASH). See this work, Part 3.

⁹²⁴ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 352/2, pp. 96-97. Date on telegram, 31 October 1937. To: Federata Vllaznija Shqiptare. From: Cin Serreqi, Kryetari i Shoqnis Vllaznija.

⁹²⁵ In English “Reserved.” Some documents of the period hold such note pointing out a first degree of secrecy. It is not a secret or top-secret document. The access to it is restricted/ Generally these documents were transmitted by coded telegraph.

⁹²⁶ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 352/2, p. 204.

⁹²⁷ AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 352/2. p. 196. The coded message was sent from the Inspectorate of Education in Shkodra to Ministry of Education in Tirana. Nr. 21/2, Date: 23 November 1937.

⁹²⁸ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit. Y.1938, D. 271, p. 7. See Appendix A, note 73.

This time not only the team had boycotted the match, but Shkodra's sportive association's direction had sent its resignation to the Federation. The motivation put forward was "failure to defend the righteous position of the team, which was affronted with an unjust referee."⁹²⁹ The resignation telegram of 27 January 1938 regarded the whole situation as a violation of the association and "attack to the youth of Shkodra."⁹³⁰ In this logic *the youth of Shkodra* had assembled in a reaction to what they regarded as an aggression to their rights. This association, approved by the Federation in order to transmit and promote regime values and undermine diversity in localities, had emerged as an actor embracing local identification. It is obvious that in both cases and from all the parts the team of the locality was perceived as "the locality." Even, Oakley Hill, the British officer member of the KTASH and referee of many matches in interwar Albania, in his memoirs while referring to teams uses the localities name more than the name of the team.⁹³¹

⁹²⁹ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit. Y. 1938, D. 271, p. 16.

⁹³⁰ AQSH. F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit. Y. 1938, D. 271, p. 16. The association Vllaznia of Shkodra had been complaining even previously for favouritism underlining that everything was done in order to impede the victory of the team. The head of the association in 1936, Tush Kakarriqi, explained that such situation was demoralising the youth of the city, while leaving no enthusiasm in the championship. See AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1936, D. 329/1, p. 296/371. Letter sent on 30 April 1936, from the head of the Vllaznia association to the Sports Federation after the match Besa of Kavaja - Vllaznija of Shkodra. According to Kakarriqi there were many incidents during the match and the Sports Federation was delayed in inquiring on them.

⁹³¹ "In the course of the game there was a crowd of players in the Tirana goal area, and in the general scrimmage an arm in the Tirana colours was thrust out and it stopped a shot by a Shkodra player. I had no doubt about it and awarded a penalty. The entire Tirana team clustered around me, protesting and arguing. I stuck to my decision and explained it (...) Of course I made my report to the governing committee and the match was awarded to Shkodër. (...) My reputation at Shkodër, naturally enough, had gone up and the next time I refereed there the Shkodër team accepted a decision of penalty against them with only a little grumbling." Hill, p. 49, see also pp. 50-51.

The centralizing efforts of the government, obviously, had not succeeded in controlling the attitude of local associations toward decisions of the Federation.⁹³² State's institutions' efforts toward national unity and cohesion to the contrary had contributed in assembling diverse and contradictory groups in a locality around a local solidarity. Matches among schools or teams of Shkodra during the period reflected tensions between various cultural (religious, intellectual) groups and their associations in the city. The effort of the government to assemble all the clubs in one local association, as was the case of Vllaznija of Shkodra, the head of which was a catholic from Shkodra Cin Serreqi, and the vice/head a Muslim Faik Ulqinaku, had somehow succeed in gathering different local actors in one organisation shaped by the government,⁹³³ but not for the sake of the central government. The penetration of the state in local associational spaces, as well as its intervention with sports to transform it a practice of citizenship had gave way to the country of what this practice aimed.

⁹³² Centralization through football, see Remy Clignet and Maureen Stark, "Modernisation and Football in Cameroon," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 12, no. 3 (September 1974), pp. 409 - 421.

⁹³³ These claims were put forward by representatives of the associations as well as the press supporting them see AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1937, D. 352/2, pp. 96-97. Date on telegram, 31 October 1937. To: Federata Vllaznija Shqiptare. From: Cin Serrqi, Kryetari i Shoqnis Vllaznija. See also *Gazeta e Korçës* (1-17 June 1930). See Appendix B, photo 7.

“Michael Vaughn: Look, there is something you don't know about me. I don't like it when people question my loyalty. It makes me insane.

Sydney Bristow:

This isn't about loyalty. I never said anything about loyalty.”

Alias, Episode 2-17, A Dark Turn, 2003.

Loyalty: the Basic Requirement, Simple Term and Complex Reality

“All modern nation states, because of their dependence upon mass popular armies for their defence, taxation economic survival and mass suffrage for their legitimacy,” writes Leora Auslander, “need to instill a sense of belonging, of shared responsibility and loyalty in their citizens.” Because modern nation states “rely on voluntary compliance and participation,” they are compelled to take on this “pedagogic task.” This occurred through various avenues. The codification of official national rituals, the instituting of compulsory and universal primary education, and the introduction of conscription into a national army were three ways of the state to mass-produce modern national citizens.⁹³⁴

The above-quoted explanation of Jenkins is valid also for the interwar Albanian state, particularly from 1928. If we consider in comparison to each other the three basic elements of citizenship emphasized by Jenkins, the sense of belonging, responsibility and loyalty, I maintain that loyalty was the most important for the Albanian regime. My work with the Albanian case demonstrates that the loyalty of the citizen in a nation-state inferred different content and practices in different states and in different periods in the same state. In order to go beyond the general assumption that citizenship involves loyalty and highlight these distinctions,

⁹³⁴ Jennifer Jenkins, “The citizens at Home: *Wohnkultur* Before World War I,” in eds. Eley and Palmowski, *Citizenship and National Identity*, pp. 95-107, p. 97. See also Leora Auslander, “Citizenship Law, State Form and Everyday Aesthetics in Modern France and Germany, 1920-1940” in ed. Martin Daunt and Matthew Hilton, *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp.109-128.

I built my analysis upon a constant interrogation on the relationship between loyalty and citizenship, loyalty as a criterion of social inclusion and exclusion, its relation with belonging and identification, the confrontation of the discourse on loyalty with the practice it induced, citizenship and diverse loyalties, interactivity of various loyalties, as well as loyalty and gender. And, finally taking into account Marshall's idea that what is compulsory does not involve a keen sentiment of loyalty,⁹³⁵ through this work I also have been trying to interrogate the relation between duties of citizenship and loyalty.

In his book, *The Frontier of Loyalty*,⁹³⁶ Yossi Shain analyzes the relation between individuals and groups with the state in a system of nation-states through loyalty. His work demonstrates the change in the object of loyalty through different systems of rule, while claiming that the French revolution gave "the final blow to the ruler as the object of loyalty" replacing it with another object of loyalty, the nation. He notes that there were several and shifting political loyalties involved in the nation-state and it was the relation of national community with the state that raised the question of national loyalty, as native elites sought control over the whole national community. He maintains that these elites in competition to govern the country used the concept of national loyalty as legitimizing tool in the effort to position themselves as representative of the interest of this national community aspiring a fusion of the national and political loyalty.⁹³⁷

⁹³⁵ Marshall, p.78.

⁹³⁶ Yossi Shain, *The frontier of loyalty. Political exiles in the age of the nation-state*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).

⁹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 1-6.

I find explicative the analysis of Shain, particularly put in the context of nation-building process in a newly declared nation-state, as Albania was during the interwar period. Still the interrogation on loyalty needs to go beyond the term, thus toward an examination of its discursive and practical implications and content. State elites in interwar Albania did not only search congruence between shifting political loyalties and national loyalty,⁹³⁸ but also and particularly a political loyalty that superseded all the others. In this regard, in accordance also with the approach of Shain, this work shows that political loyalty includes all the socio-cultural attachments that directly or indirectly contribute in the construction of the structure of power in a society. The congruence of this superseding political loyalty with the national loyalty was not only crucial for groups in the struggle of power, but also for the ones in government in a process of making of the national community. Moreover, to make the individual of this community, the citizen whose loyalty to the ruling power superseded, his in a way, which requires further explanation also her, other loyalties.

Yet, what does it mean practically to be loyal, or not, to have multiple loyalties or shifting loyalties? This work shows that what I have been mentioning as practice of citizenship served to demonstrate and materialize loyalty. This practice loaded with socio-cultural and political symbolic promoted a model of citizen, the good (ideal) citizen. Shain defines “the manifestation of support for any claim to power within the national community as loyalty and the struggle over political power as the process of ‘loyalty building’”⁹³⁹ In addition, he maintains that by the educational system, a part of the media, organization of patriotic activities, and

⁹³⁸ A formulation used by Shain, see p. 6.

⁹³⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

national festivals the state developed the loyalty of its citizens and nationalism became a means of fostering loyalty. Thus, one of the major claims in demanding the loyalty of the members of this nation-state became the representation of the national interest.⁹⁴⁰ Taking into account the citizenship practice in interwar Albania it can be said that the analysis of Shain offers a sound basis to develop the link between loyalty and citizenship. Yet, I claim that this link is complex and not linear.

In a process of making a national citizenship loyalty to the state is entrapped in a larger process of shaping the cultural sphere and the social dynamics. In this regard practice of citizenship went far beyond the “manifestation of support” and represented a much more complex process. The analysis of loyalty through the discourse and practice of citizenship related to state youth organization shows us how even the loyalty promoted by the state included different objects competing for priority in terms of citizens’ attachments and support. I have in mind here the effort to foster the loyalty to the head of the state as superseding that to the state and/or the nation. Obviously, this can be considered as a part of the struggle of power between different groups.

Stronger loyalty to the object nation meant a reinforced position in the governing of the country of some intellectual groups already part of the ruling elite. Giving to the state a primary position among objects of loyalty would result in greater possibilities of the bureaucracy to shape the system. Primacy in loyalty given to the head of the state would make the first two groups dependent from him, while attachments to local groups and individuals made precarious the position of all of the above mentioned actors. My work with documents of the period demonstrates that loyalty is embedded in cultural codes and social relations. Similarly, the majority of

⁹⁴⁰ Shain., p. 19.

scholars while referring to loyalty make an analysis of cultural and/or political spheres.⁹⁴¹ From the point of view of this work the socio-cultural and political spheres are in a continual interaction, thus hardly separable from each other. This work's research on loyalty highlights their entanglement more than emphasizing their distinctiveness.

Turner and Işın claim that "The Republican French tradition assumed the suppression of differences between citizens, who were to share a common loyalty to the republic in which religious identities were excluded from the public domain."⁹⁴² The Albanian state's attitude toward religion seen through the lenses of the state youth organization activities represented a mixture of practices inspired from the attitude toward religion of three different examples Kemalist Turkey, the Republican French tradition and Fascist Italy. Thus, the Italian domination of the organization between 1928-1934, was not totally determinant in the attitude it adopted in its various domains of operation, in this case religion. The practice of the state youth organizations reveals an important cultural and political rivalry between the most influent religions in Albania and the state institutions.⁹⁴³ In order to deal with such rivalry the state youth organization was involved in three different, but related efforts: the exclusion of religion as mentioned for the French case,⁹⁴⁴ the attempt to

⁹⁴¹ See Appendix A, note 74.

⁹⁴² Engin F. Işın and Bryan S. Turner, "Investigating citizenship: an agenda for citizenship studies", in ed. Engin F. Işın, Peter Nyers, Bryan S. Turner, *Citizenship between past and future* (London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008), pp. 5-17, p. 6.

⁹⁴³ See Appendix A, note 75.

⁹⁴⁴ Honohan, p. 259. See also Appendix A, note 76.

replace it as explained for fascism in the Italian case⁹⁴⁵ and the endeavor to place it under state control as often maintained for the Kemalist Turkish case.⁹⁴⁶

Governing elites and groups in advantageous position to power, had in this case assemble in the endeavor to establish an attachment to the state that would supersede religious affiliations. The activities of the state youth organizations demonstrated that if not for all of the citizens, this was regarded crucial for the young citizens. The attitude of state authorities was not consistent throughout the period. For example, as far as it regards schools the state opted for 'conviviality' with religions, after 1937, although since early 1920s this relation, which included confrontations mainly in the case of religious schools and morality textbooks, remained tensioned and complex. In overall, as mentioned, the state youth organizations in terms of citizenship practice constituted a replacement to school, the socio-cultural and political control of which resulted very difficult.

In 1930 Enti included in its field of operation cultural and sports activities. This organization became the main authority of arts and sports in the country. It is in the cultural field that the state tried to built and promote cultural and political attachments, but not only that. Participation and engagement in sports and artistic activities organized by the public organization was a demonstration of good citizenship and also of loyalty. Due to this participation the citizen became active in the making of national spaces or nationalization of spaces. Seen from the lenses of the state youth organizations in citizenship experience, loyalty stood at the center of

⁹⁴⁵ Emilio Gentile, "Fascism as Political Religion," *Journal of Contemporary History* 25, no. 2/3 (May - June 1990), pp. 229-251. See also Appendix A, note 77.

⁹⁴⁶ See Appendix A, note 78.

complex socio-cultural and political dynamics and it represented a key element in the citizens' relation with the regime.

Citizenship was not about being loyal, but it included the necessity to show/demonstrate cultural and political attachments that were pushed to congruence by the state authorities. The socio-cultural and political heritage was traversed by competing attachments that the state authority tried to manage or replace.⁹⁴⁷ The state youth organizations employed often in their discourse the term loyalty referring to the attachment to the King. In additions these organizations offered the means to show the loyalty, tried to control all the spaces were previous and new attachments would find expression and would be developped, and attempted the creation of the cultural space of the loyal citizen

The Morality of the Citizenship and the Morals of the Citizen

There are some concepts that the researcher encounters much more than others while examining the interwar period Albanian youth organization. Morality is one of these concepts. I found it primarily in the definition of the state youth organizations role. According to the statute of Enti, as already noted, the role of this organization was the "fostering, promoting and developing of the moral, patriotic and physical education of the youth."⁹⁴⁸ In addition, morality became a major source of tension between religious and state authorities. Moreover, studying the correspondence related to the state youth organizations, I often found terms like "the

⁹⁴⁷ See Appendix A, note 79.

⁹⁴⁸ For some additional explicit examples of this discourse see AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 98 p. 1. Also related to training for moral and physical preparation see AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1929, D. 2, p. 3.

morality of the civil servants and teachers,” “good morality,” “moral conduct,” “moral and political conduct,” “press harmful to the morality and peace in the country.” Morality was one of the categories in the civil servants’ and teachers’ official evaluation form.⁹⁴⁹ Often application for a position in the civil service required certificates of ‘Moral Conduct’ obtained from municipalities.⁹⁵⁰

I did not only encounter the term morality in official correspondences, in the discourse of the leading figures of the youth organizations, textbooks and newspapers articles related to youth, but also in many letters of complaint the citizens directed to the institutions. In this kind of correspondence citizens explained concerns about opening of public houses or bars in their neighborhood. Morality in these cases, was mentioned particularly in relation to woman and articulated in forms such as “immoral woman,” “doubts on her morality” or “a women with good morality.”⁹⁵¹ Related to films that were shown in various cinemas, the letters included evaluations such as, “a show harmful for the morality of the young people.”⁹⁵²

⁹⁴⁹ For examples of this situation see AQSH, F. 318, Bashkia Korçë, Y. 1939, D. 2, p. 1. AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1923, D. 62, p. 4. AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1933, D. 52, pp.1, 2, 3. AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1937, D. 7, p. 2, 3. AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1937, D. 319, p. 6. AQSH, F. 266, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1937, D. 68, p. 3. AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1928, D. 244, p. 5.

⁹⁵⁰ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1930, D. 17, p. 27. For another example of Morality Certificate or Certificate for Good Conduction, see AQSH, F. 318, Prefektura e Korçës, Y. 1936, D. 25, p. 5.

⁹⁵¹ For some examples among many see, AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1934, D. 53, pp. 7,13,54. AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1937, D. 185, p. 1 -7. AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1928, D. 209, pp.7-8. AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1937, D. 69, p. 6.

⁹⁵² AQSH, F. 269, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1927, p. 1. About “immoral publications” AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1939, D. 31, p.13-14.

On 23 May 1923, the police commissary of Shkodra sent a report to the prefecture of this region in response to the circular of this prefecture asking “the list of the notables of the city with evaluations about their moral-political conduct.”⁹⁵³ The twenty pages long report included the names of these persons evaluated by the police as notables of the city and indicated their occupation, interest in politics, political inclinations and evaluations on their political morality (*moral politik*).⁹⁵⁴ The report comprised explanations like such as: he is a pharmacist, has political objectives, is in collaboration with the clerics (meaning the catholic clerics); has been engaged in politics in *Turkish period*, has good moral, now he is not engaged at all in politics; has always been interested in politics, has a good political moral; Previously had a good political moral, now has the political moral of the party of Musa Juka.⁹⁵⁵

The article of Fortna, titled “Islamic Morality in the Ottoman Empire” demonstrates that morality represented an important means of legitimacy for the central authority.⁹⁵⁶ Taking into account the Ottoman past of the Albanian society this approach to morality had an important effect in shaping the morality approach of state actors in interwar Albania. Nevertheless, state authorities and many intellectuals promoted citizenship morality as distinct from the religious one. The works of Jean Baubérot reflect the importance of morality for the state authorities that attempted to

⁹⁵³ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1923, D. 7, p. 1.

⁹⁵⁴ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1923, D. 7, pp. 1-21.

⁹⁵⁵ AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura Shkodër, Y. 1923, D. 7, pp. 2-22. In addition, the correspondence related to the formation of the association Amusement (*Argëtimi*) in Shkodra, the founders referred to the “catholic morality,” as a separate particular morality, while the authorities mentioned the “religious morality” as a distinct type of morality. See AQSH, F. 346, Prefektura e Shkodrës, Y. 1924, D. 161, pp. 1-9.

⁹⁵⁶ Benjamin C. Fortna, “Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman “Secular” Schools,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, no. 3 (August 2000), pp. 369-393, p. 375.

establish the secular moral (*morale laïque*) in the French society.⁹⁵⁷ The French example was source of inspiration for many Albanian intellectuals of the period. While, as seen morality was important for the fascist ideology⁹⁵⁸ and the fascist model affected the organization of youth in Albania.

Evidently, different attitudes versus morality were transferred to Albania by various vectors and affected the formulation of the interwar Albanian version of morality, while making morality an indispensable element of citizenship. In this respect, “the public morality” as several state actors named it or “morality of citizenship” as this work regards it, provided a conduct platform for the citizens, and a system of values to this citizenship. The state youth organizations represented an attempt to establish such morality as an indispensable component of the individual membership in this state. The interaction in which was involved the state youth organization reveals the existence of multiple moralities. The state authorities as well as the intellectual discourse were particularly concerned with the morality of citizenship, which had two main components, the moral conduct and the political morality. The elements structuring each of these components varied through the period. Yet, both concerned the individual as a member of the state shaping his and hers conduct and choices in public and private life.

The process of making of the citizenship included multiple encounters of multiple moralities. Multiple encounters in the sense of multiple levels of encounter. There were encounters in the level of state actors, authorities (religious-state), associations, groups, individuals and within the individual. Multiple moralities

⁹⁵⁷ Jean Baubérot, “Transfers culturels et identité nationale dans la laïcité française,” *Diogenes*, no. 218 (2007/2), pp.18-27. Baubérot, *La Morale Laïque*.

⁹⁵⁸ Gentile, “Fascism as Political Religion.”

referring to the heritage and transfers in morality and the shapes these moralities took in particular spaces in interwar Albania. Moreover the heritage, transfers and new transformations increased significantly the variety of morals and moralities. “Moral conduct is thus an ‘idiom’, i.e. a genre of speech wherein agents converse with, and thereby acknowledge, one another.”⁹⁵⁹ As Oakeshott explains further the moral language “is signified by terms like ‘right’, ‘wrong’, ‘proper’, ‘improper’, ‘obligation, etc.’”⁹⁶⁰ In this sense it stood at the very heart of the mechanism and discourse that defined the hero’s and traitors, insiders and outsiders. It represented a crucial part of the discourse of citizenship during the period. This discourse justified, legitimated, fostered or contradicted loyalties. Loyalty was made up of acts and actions, morality shaped these later ones. Evidently, interwar Albanian citizenship went beyond the morality-loyalty interaction, yet this relation affected this process in the short and long run.

⁹⁵⁹ Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick, *Cultural Theory The Key Thinkers*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p.178. The authors analyze the ideas on human conduct of Oakeshott referring to the author’s 3 essays on the subject. See Michael Oakeshott, *On Human Conduct*, (n.p: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁹⁶⁰ Oakeshott in Andrew and Sedgwick, *Cultural Theory*, p. 178.

CONCLUSION

Youth in the Albanian National Construction

The Albanian interwar state youth organizations Enti and the Federation can be considered as products of interwar years. They were similar to many interwar state youth organizations that were a means of instilling the image of the nation upon each young citizen's body, and of reflecting the strength of the state on many young citizens' (bodies) assembled together for ceremonies, physical trainings, paramilitary performances, marches etc. Nevertheless, these organizations served in mobilizing young citizens in service of regimes. Not only did a state institution in this way advance an enterprise in shaping the values that attached them to their communities and which motivated their actions, these organizations also co-opted their free time inscribing artistic and sportive activities into a larger field of patriotic activities.

One specific attribute of the first Albanian state youth organization, and more particularly Enti, is its foundation and development in close collaboration and with the assistance of the Italian fascist government. The Italian presence in each stage of Enti's operation was remarkable at the point the organization was considered as a means for Italian cultural penetration in Albania. Actually this work shows that Enti served the Albanian regime at least as much as it would have rendered service to an Italian cultural penetration. Moreover, it contributed in the nationalization of Albanian society. The Federation, founded by an Albanian administration increasingly insistent in controlling the state youth organization would continue to promote many value and practices already started by Enti.

Enti and the Federation, as similar organizations, also had an effect on citizens perceptions of the state, its institutions and their operation, their engagement

in political, cultural and social activities, their ideas about divisions of civic, political, cultural as well as private and public, etc. In other words, they had an effect on elements of political culture in the country and of the citizens, as political culture is inextricably related to citizenship.⁹⁶¹

The elements of political culture that interwar Albanian state youth organizations, particularly Enti integrated to national and individual political culture were closely related to fascism. This was due to its development's being shaped by Italian officials who were following the 'model' of the interwar Italian youth organizations, and more precisely Balilla. Enti introduced elements of *belligerent citizenship*,⁹⁶² cult of the unique charismatic leader, identification of the state with this leader, rituals and ceremonials that enhanced these symbolic and other symbolic related to the representation of the state and nation with young, healthy, strong disciplined bodies and as young, healthy, strong, organisms.⁹⁶³ The promoters of Neo-Albanianism supported many of these ideas. Yet, their effect on the political culture was much more limited compared to that of state youth organizations. On the other hand, interwar Albanian state youth organizations did not have the main characteristic of other central youth organizations existing in neighboring countries and including Balilla. They were not really mass organizations. In this regard, Enti and the Federation lacked a main ingredient of fascist organizations.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁶¹ As Déloye notes, national citizenship is a totality of new allegiances associated with political nationalism favoring the creation of national political culture. Déloye, p. 22.

⁹⁶² See Part 3, Conclusive Remarks.

⁹⁶³ Iordachi makes a comparative resume of scholarly definition of fascism, see Constantin Iordachi, "Comparative fascist studies. An Introduction" in *Comparative Fascist Studies. New Perspectives*, edited by Constantin Iordachi, London, New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 1-50, pp. 1-18.

⁹⁶⁴ Mass movements as defining element of fascism, Gentile and Payne in *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

Albanian state youth organizations, and particularly Enti, had the characteristics of fascist youth organizations such as involvement in practices of paramilitary mobilization, application in mass of physical education, organizations of ceremonials promoting national symbols and including a large number of citizens. Yet, the scale of operation in terms of distribution in territory and number of citizens included would be much smaller than other contemporary similar organizations. While during the period of the Federation the above-mentioned practices were evidently reduced, aspects like the cult of the leader, the identification of the state with its success and personification of institutions would remain the main elements of fascist political culture that would persist from this period to the following. Nevertheless, the post-war regime would rephrase and reframe physical education, ceremonials and rituals in ways that had many common characteristics with fascist regimes.⁹⁶⁵ However, although it requires further research, these practices seem importantly related to similar ones in other Eastern block countries more than constituting continuities with the interwar Albanian regime.

As many interwar youth organizations (and not only fascist ones) Enti, and later the Federation put forward projects for the organization of the national society (that in this case was done through youth). For Albania they represented the first example of a central institutional enterprise in this regard. As such the limits in the field of operation, including penetration of territory through activities and spread to larger masses of young people were also due to institutional problems. The framework of the institutions changed very frequently. In the case of Enti, collaboration among the main actors of the organization was affected by tensions of Italo-Albanian

⁹⁶⁵ Researches on fascism have demonstrated that these characteristics and practices were not peculiar to rightist regimes. See Iordachi, "*Comparative Fascist Studies: An Introduction*," pp. 1-9.

relations in other fields. So, firstly Enti, then the Federation failed to produce coherent policies and insist in their implementation. Moreover, there was a more global and common problem with the function of state institutions in the period.

What Gorgas notes for the Turkish case, “(...)was still a state in the making and lacked a consistent policy in the face of the multiple social and political challenges that emerged in the 1920’s and 1930’s,”⁹⁶⁶ applies also to the Albanian case. Furthermore, this inconsistency was closely related with the fragile conditions in which the regime was immersed, conditions that shaped the solutions it adopted, the way it intervened with citizens’ activities and imposed practices to protect its power daily and from ongoing threats. Consequently and concretely in the Albanian case, state youth institutions showed an incapacity to coordinate their priorities and manage their sources between physical education and sports. And, the same thing could be said for the balance between sports and arts. Many of these aspects were already, pointed out in the press of the period. The great majority of those who wrote in newspapers supported the engagement of the state with sports, but criticized practices in this regard.⁹⁶⁷

Nevertheless, authorities tended to confine criticism through censorship of the press. Obviously, critical stand adopted by the citizen was not part of the citizenship morality promoted by these institutions, notably youth organizations. The values they promoted were based on admiration for the King and appraisal of the

⁹⁶⁶ Gorgas, “The shared Political Production of ‘the East,’” p. 13.

⁹⁶⁷ This is different from the case of Romania, where as Popa explains there were some serious objections on the introduction and spread of physical education and even sports like football regarded as developing at the expense of traditional sports. However, Popa underlines that physical education and sports, particularly football had a crucial socio-political role in interwar Romania. See Bogdan Popa, «Sport et éducation physique dans la Roumanie d’entre-deux-guerres: oui ou non?», *Études balkaniques*, no. 11, (2004), pp. 197-212.

regime as absolute and unique source of all good values, the reflection of the common historical and present achievements as well as guarantee of the forthcoming future successes.

Enti, then the Federation, as similar organizations in other countries were, at the time, new institutions. Their field of operations and their aims extended beyond what had previously existed in many countries in the field of central youth organizations. However, as we have seen many of the trends these organizations enhanced, particularly those related with physical education and paramilitary performance of young citizens, had their historical roots in the 19th century. Even fascism, in the context of which are considered many of these organizations, is known as having its roots well before the interwar years.⁹⁶⁸ As far as it regards Albania, Enti, then the Federation was quite evidently set in continuities from preceding periods. In this regard I consider important to underline some main continuities in terms of dynamics and debates related to youth.

The first element to consider is what Georgeon in his work terms “generation phenomena.”⁹⁶⁹ As discussed in part 3, generation dynamics played an important role in identifications and articulation of claims to governance. It is already noted referring to the late 19th century dynamics of Albanian nationalism that ‘generation identity was an intervening element in the expression of Albanian national identity.’⁹⁷⁰ Obviously the generation phenomena persisted in having a pivotal effect

⁹⁶⁸ “The influence of fascism nevertheless extends well-beyond the inter-war period. On the one hand, its ideological roots go back to Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the intellectual atmosphere of the turn of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the legacy of fascism had a strong impact on post-1945 politics and has resurfaced with vigour,” Iordachi p. 1.

⁹⁶⁹ Georgeon. See Chapter 4.

⁹⁷⁰ Clayer, *Aux origines*, p. 41. Clayer pointed out to this aspect, while referring to the very beginning of the Albanian nationalism as she claims, a form of Albanianism, advanced

not only in expression of national identification, but also and henceforth, in national culture, politics and governance. As it becomes evident through Georgeon's work, generation phenomena laid at the heart of important transformative dynamics in the late Ottoman society. It is related to this generational entanglement that the adjective "young", the term "youth" gained a particular importance related to this generational pressure for change, capability to provoke changes, and shape the breeding grounds of transformations. Thus, the generation dynamics had had an impact in shaping the Albanian society well before interwar years, while continuing this effects in enhanced forms through these years.

Another important continuity was the development of nationalist ideas within narrow intellectual circles,⁹⁷¹ as was the case of Neo-Albanianism. Neo-Albanian intellectuals, (and here I refer to people who wrote in newspapers and engaged in Neo-Albanianist debates), had not engaged in a nationalist discourse to be spread to larger masses of population. Neo-Albanianism was an elitist discourse about a group of educated young people that would be the motor of change and nationalization of the society. It remained an intellectual approach that favored the creation of a nationalized and nationalizing middle strata intellectuals. The tradition of regarding scholarly work and all intellectual productions as contributions to nationalization and/or nationalist narratives is rooted in this period and then brought forward by the post-war regime.

by a handful of intellectuals that were not in the effort to spread these ideas beyond very narrow intellectual circles.

⁹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 153.

Obviously, as this work shows nationalization in the interwar years was in a very different phase than at the beginning of *albanianism*. Evidently, *albanianism*⁹⁷² and later forms of Albanian nationalism had penetrated state and larger groups of the society. Yet, Neo-Albanianism differed in many points from earlier versions of Albanian nationalism, basically because it developed in the conditions of an existing Albanian state. Moreover, it was closely related with the struggle for power in this nation-state. Yet, the point is that at their genesis many Albanian nationalist discourses, particularly dominant ones, as Neo-Albanianism since 1929, would remain intellectual productions oriented to intellectual consume. It is likely that this condition was concomitantly a result of the limit impact of the press, where these ideas found expression.

It previous periods the press was an important sphere of development of Albanian national ideas.⁹⁷³ In this regard, the importance of press as expression of nationalist ideas continued. However, in spite of remarkable amelioration toward the end of the 1930s illiteracy was rampant in the society. Consequently, newspapers remained a sphere of interaction and exchange of ideas of a very limited number of people. The vectors of larger nationalization have to be searched elsewhere. In the 30s the press was a sphere of nationalization of high schools students and those returning from studies abroad. They would in their turn become actors of nationalization in their milieu as well as claimants in governance. These vectors of nationalization operated similarly at the beginning of 20th century with students

⁹⁷² See Clayer, *Aux Origines*.

⁹⁷³ Ibid., p. 242.

returning from studies abroad and active then in political and associational life in their localities.⁹⁷⁴

The reference given to “Old Turkey” implying Ottoman Empire associated with Anatolia symbolizing “East” in a very resentful way, as opposed to admiration and appreciation to “West” and Europe was an important continuity from the Albanian nationalist discourse of late 19th century.⁹⁷⁵ As I have already noted, Neo-Albanian discourse insisted in this homogenizing dichotomy of East and West reproducing Orientalism. Yet, in their turn Neo-Albanians put apart the *New Turkey of Kemal*, for them a pivotal example of *nationalization and westernization of the society by this nationalist elite led by a unique charismatic leader*. This association with of the Ottoman Empire with East in a disesteeming way would persist as an important element of the dominant post-war nationalist discourse⁹⁷⁶ as well as of some versions of nationalist discourse in contemporary Albania.

There is an additional continuity, this time, between interwar years Neo-Albanianism and the post-war dominant nationalist discourse supported by scholarly work. It converges to a great extent with “the young’s” evaluation of “the old” that the communist historiography with reference to the Ottoman Empire would also denote as *beys*, *chieftains* etc. These latter were regarded as hampering the development of the Albanian nationalism and Albanian nation-state.⁹⁷⁷ Firstly, as it has been evidently demonstrated this generalizing attitude was not valid for the late

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 400.

⁹⁷⁵ For this element of the Albanian nationalist discourse in late 19th century see Clayer, *Aux Origines*, p. 456.

⁹⁷⁶ For the analysis of this aspect in the the earlier Albanian nationalist discourse see Artan Puto, pp. 25-26.

⁹⁷⁷ For this attitude of communist historiography see Ibid. pp. 18-21.

19th century Albanian nationalism, at the advancing of which, many *beys*, *chieftains* etc. had contributed.⁹⁷⁸ Yet, this generalization and categorization of “the old” was not really valid also for the interwar years. Many of those supporting “the young” and promoting neo-Albanianism had similar experience of empire similarly to the major part of the emblematic figures of “the old.”

Additionally, during the interwar years “the young” and “the old” had a commonality, which had a crucial impact in the social transformation of Albanian society. Both groups contributed in weakening socio-political mobilization in rural areas. “The young” through their elitist nationalist discourse and “the old” through advancing obstacles to reforms that would endanger their properties and economic profits obtained in rural areas. Undoubtedly, this was not a conscious convergence as “the young” were opposed to the power of “the old.” Yet, this delineates the limitations of the discourse on “the old,” as well as the limitations of categorizations such as “the young.”

An additional important continuity that affected the approach to youth of state institutions - and other socio-cultural and political actors - was the importance given to the family in socio-political structures. As Clayer notes, for Albanian and the late Ottoman society, and Déloye underlines for 19th century France, family was regarded crucial for the education of the individual, particularly concerning instilling moral values. This was originally a religious approach⁹⁷⁹ to education that I have also detected through the debates over morality textbook in early 20s Albania. We can see

⁹⁷⁸ Clayer, *Aux Origines*, p. 573.

⁹⁷⁹ See Déloye and Clayer, “États, nations et confessions,” 27 February 2012.

in later textbooks prepared by the Ministry of Education the idea that “family makes citizens and the state individuals.”⁹⁸⁰

Although the interwar Albanian state since mid 20s had opposed a religious morality and insisted in advancing secular, then political values of citizenship, it had retained family as the main nucleus of education, in terms of value education (*edukata kombëtare*) of the citizens. Obviously, the values that were to be transmitted through education were not the same. Yet, instead of replacing family in terms of its role in the education of the young individual, more particularly the child, the interwar Albanian regime had opted for integrating the family into its system of education. Thus, the role of the family would be somehow altered, with the consolidation of schools system and change in content of values transmitted to the individual. However, it would not be transformed radically, preserving the main functionality coming from previous social structures.

This amalgamation of new and old functions on the way to deeper transformations existed because neither the penetration of the regime in the society, nor the social transformation of the society had reached the required state for the materialization of a genuine evolution in family-state relations. A similar amalgam of continuities and change can be detected in terms of loyalty. It is particularly through Enti that we detect how loyalty, as an interpersonal dynamic, is integrated in state's institutional framework. In the practices incited by Enti, each young citizens, students (*boys and girls*), swore loyalty to the King. This was a loyalty that passed through the nation, and the nation-state to the King. The King was legitimized as a subject of loyalty as he was presented, through state youth organizations, as the representative of the best characteristics of the nation and the individual to due the

⁹⁸⁰ See Chapter 3.

abilities and achievements of whom Albania had survived as a nation-state and was prospering.

This was a different kind of loyalty from those already existing in the society and representing important social dynamics affecting the relations between individuals and groups. The introduction firstly through Enti of this loyalty as a crucial element of the relation of individuals with state institutions was related to the importance loyalty⁹⁸¹ already served in Albanian society. Obviously, this different or altered form of loyalty, was supported through moral values promoted by these state institutions that proclaimed the relation of the individual with state actors and institutions as the fundamental relation of the individual (as member of the national society). In this regard, in the society existed as an amalgam of loyalties undergoing transformation. And, the deeper transformations, installations of these trends introduced by the state youth organization during the interwar period would occur during the post-war regime.

In interwar Albanian state youth organizations and particularly in Enti, is rooted the organic relation between youth, education and culture that would persist in the post-war years and contemporarily with the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Education in Albania. Evidently, Albanian interwar youth organizations were at the intersection of continuities, continuities that they then contributed in transforming,

⁹⁸¹ Let it be in terms of loyalty to an individual, for example the sultan, a dynamic of loyalty which was important during the Ottoman period, loyalty to chieftains that persisted since before the Ottoman advancement into the region, loyalty to *beys* and other forms of loyalty existing in the society. For loyalty during the Ottoman Period see Isa Blumi, "Teaching Loyalty in the Ottoman Balcans. Educational Reform in the Vilayets of Manastir and Yanya, 1878-1912." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East XXI*, no. 1-2 (2001), pp. 15-23. See also Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayer, Robert Pichler, eds., *Conflicting loyalties in the Balkans. The Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire, and Nation-Building*, London: Tauris, 2011.

while also serving as breeding grounds for trends that would persist in various forms into subsequent decades and even into present-day Albania.

National Citizenship as Being Political

This historical case study on interwar Albanian state youth organizations proposes two main revisions to the relation between citizenship and being political. Obviously these revisions are bounded by context.⁹⁸² Yet, one of the aspects that this study underlines in terms of citizenship is its circumscription by historicity and specificity. This, of course, does not limit its ability to provide common ground for research, debate and comparisons. In terms of the conceptualization of citizenship as being political the study of Enti and the Federation reveals national citizenship as a ruling strategy⁹⁸³ that transmitted different values to different groups of citizens, imposing roles and functions to groups.

These were mainly socio-cultural roles, intended to have and having primarily and mainly political results. Secondly, (and in relations to this first deduction) this study suggests a re-consideration of the city as site of both contestation and compliance. It claims that the city cannot be regarded as the unique place of becoming or being political. Thus, contestations to power, advancement of alternative ways of experiencing membership in a community in opposition to or questioning the dominant citizenship values are not bounded to the city. Finally, in terms of a larger specter of citizenship studies this work presents national citizenship as the point of intersection of nationalization and governmentality, two strictly

⁹⁸² Catherine Neveu had already underlined that citizenship is about context in “Rescuing citizenship from its theories.”

⁹⁸³ Citizenship as ruling strategy see Michael Mann, “Ruling Class Strategies and Citizenship” in *Citizenship Today*, edited by Bulmer and Rees, pp. 125-144.

related dynamics that cannot be either reducible to each other, or replace one another.

As already noted, the interwar Albanian state institutions had a selective attitude toward citizens. Rural citizens were treated differently as far as it regarded citizen mobilization and education of citizenship values. This was also reflected in different words used for citizenship (see chapter 1). In order to ascribe citizenship to territory taking into account that the majority of population was in rural areas, as mentioned, the terms used for citizenship in official documents were mainly; *nënshtetas* or *shtetas*. The use of a general term that appealed to these territories was important for groups in power and many government members whose properties and networks supporting their power were rooted in rural areas.⁹⁸⁴

Yet, the interwar Albanian state institutions promoted a project of citizenship about the city, more precisely city youth.⁹⁸⁵ This was to be the, socio-cultural and political elite that should shape the values and control the rest of the population. To this conditions fitted the word *qytetar* (citizen), which on the one hand pointed out to the member of the nation-state living in the city and engaged in the multiple political struggles particular to this site. On the other hand, it represented the *western, civilized individual*, otherwise ideal citizen of this state. In this perspective it forged a contrast with the words related to the rural, *katundar*, *fshatar* (peasant, village dweller) or *malësor* (highlander) that did not have such values. Evidently, they could not have whatever these values were as the state educational framework, including the state

⁹⁸⁴ See Appendix A, note 80.

⁹⁸⁵ As far as it concerns the use of English language, it would seem more correct to employ the term *urban youth* instead of *city youth*. However, I opted for using the word city related to meaning in terms of citizenship as being political. This is related, but not reducible to urbanization or urban areas. In this regard urbanization in Albania would require another analysis part of a different work.

youth organizations were not spread and well settled in rural areas. Moreover, as this work claims, particularly state youth organization, transmitting the values of the ideal citizenship was not in the effort to penetrate these areas. Consequently, in interwar Albania, legal citizenship was *shtetas* (or *nënshtetas*). Yet in terms of being political it was *qytetar* and *shtetas/nënshtetas* and *shtetas/nënshtetas* versus *qytetar*. Citizenship was *qytetari* and *shtetësi/nënshtetësi* at the same time, and in opposition to each other.

The struggle of power and domination in the country that opened way to such configurations of citizenship were intermingled with the construction of an imagination and perception of East and West. In this regard, the body of the citizen had a paramount importance. Not only in Albania, but also in other regions for example in Bosnia,⁹⁸⁶ but also Turkey, the debates on the body were not restricted to physical education, physical performance, hygiene, but also focused on outer wear, like fez, veil, or other additional aspects of what was perceived as eastern manners of comportment (in contradiction to the western ones). These were additional images built upon the city life and enhancing this incompatibility of the good citizen of the regime with village dwellers. This does not mean that the cities were homogenous culturally, socially or politically. Yet, they constituted the main ground for construction and reproduction of such (western citizen) images (as the presence of state institutions in these areas was greater and therefore there was more collaboration with state institutions).

This brings as to the second revision and this one concerns how the city constituted a breeding ground of production and promotion of national citizenship in

⁹⁸⁶ Xavier Bougarel, "Farewell to the ottoman legacy? Islamic Reformism and Revivalism in Inter-War Bosnia-Herzegovina" in *Islam in Interwar Europe*, pp. 313- 343.

Albania. According to Işın, at the core of the definition of citizenship as being political⁹⁸⁷ lays the inseparability of city and citizenship.⁹⁸⁸ City is regarded as the space where citizenship is created and becomes possible.⁹⁸⁹ From this perspective, the city is the place where a subject becomes an actor; where an individual (or /and group) acquires, asks for, fights for, and is imbued with political meaning. This political meaning has its socio-economic and cultural aspects that mark the emergence of a citizen. And, as an arena of dense activity, multiple struggles and continual interaction it is in the city that a subject becomes political, meaning visible, demanded consent, endangering *vis à vis* the authority. As Işın claims, “Becoming political is that moment when naturalness of the dominant virtues is called into question and their arbitrariness revealed.”⁹⁹⁰

Yet, Déloyé’s study reveals that national citizenship is also deeply political phenomenon as it affects the political conduct.⁹⁹¹ Pointing out to an overestimation of the economic dynamics under the development of nationalism in Gellner’s approach, he posits national citizenship as offering crucial political solutions for the nation-state. He characterizes these dynamics as homogenizing the culture of the citizens of the nation, delimiting the space of national and civic identity and developing a consciousness that defines that guarantees a separation among nationals and foreigners. In addition, he underlines citizenship as circumscribing the political

⁹⁸⁷ Engin Işın, “Becoming Political,” p. 277.

⁹⁸⁸ See Işın, “City, Democracy and Citizenship”.

⁹⁸⁹ Secor refers to this crucial position of the city vis à vis citizenship see Anna Secor, “There Is an Istanbul That Belongs to Me: Citizenship, Space, and Identity in the City,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94, no. 2 (June 2004), pp. 352-368, particularly p. 353.

⁹⁹⁰ Işın, “Becoming Political,” p. 275.

⁹⁹¹ Déloyé, p. 26.

territory on which the state exercises its authority⁹⁹² and I would add, ascribing identities to new perceptions of territory and space. In this regard, being political is a moment of reversing and also redefining from a dominant perspective, because the process of making of national citizenship includes enormous transformations that can briefly be defined, but all the same dangerously oversimplified, if I would try to frame it using a term of Déloye, as “nationalization of the spirit associated with that of the space.”⁹⁹³ Although, it becomes the dominant version of citizenship, at this moment of construction, it represents a being and becoming political converging at the point of *striving to question the (previous) order of things*.⁹⁹⁴

This study suggests that the city emerges as a space of subversion, but also of compliance. Apart from categories commonly underlined as strangers, aliens, immigrants, citizenship produces “internal aliens,” subjects that have the legal status of citizenship, but are projected different roles, transmitted different values in terms of national citizenship. National citizenship, before constructing foreign others, created “internal foreigners”, otherwise internally excluded subjects. In interwar Albania these were firstly and primarily the majority of rural habitants, and then those “Other” who were opposed to various aspects of this citizenship, from minorities to young boys of different social backgrounds. Furthermore, citizenship as reflected through youth organizations did not include a particular discourse on “aliens and/or foreigners.” It underlined particularly internal enemies and then external ones. Internal enemies were those who opposed the regime, all those proposing different projects of citizenship, and those critical of the values transmitted by youth

⁹⁹² Ibid., p. 23, p. 24.

⁹⁹³ Déloye, p. 24.

⁹⁹⁴ Işın, “Becoming Political,” p. 277.

organizations and their practices. So, defining citizenship as being political does not result in narrowing this definition, as Işın mentions in “Becoming Political.”⁹⁹⁵ Instead, it enables seeing larger dynamics in terms of national citizenship and revisit the perception of a national citizenship that is primarily excluding for the “aliens,” “strangers,” “outsiders,” otherwise those not having citizenship status or full access to various legal and social rights of citizenship.

In the light of this, I want to highlight the prominence of the approach of Catherine Neveu on horizontal aspects of citizenship.⁹⁹⁶ This internal selectivity of citizenship shaped not only individuals’ relations with the state institutions, but also relations between individuals and larger social groups. Thus, the values and practice promoted by youth organizations would enhance the depreciative attitude toward each other and acceptance in respectively dominated spaces of citizens as *qytetar* and citizen as *shtetas/nënshtetas* in its version of *katundar*, *fshatar* (peasant), *malësor* (highlander). This constitutes a result closely related to what this works particularly highlights in terms of national citizenship in the intersection of nationalization and governmentality dynamics.

This differentiation represented, at the same time, a strategy of governing. Furthermore, the state’s enterprise in youth represented a totality of governmentality practices with the obvious aim to produce governable subjects, to legitimize its power, and to secure the continuation of such power. Nevertheless this production of governable young subjects was immersed in a discourse about the duties toward the nation, loyalty to nation, and the morality of the citizenship. These were aspects that

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 276.

⁹⁹⁶ Catherine Neveu, “Rescuing citizenship from its theories.”

supported, covered, provided viability to governmentality,⁹⁹⁷ a dynamic driving Entity, then Federation's activities (otherwise the practice of citizenship). As such governmentality and citizenship operated in a symbiotic relationship. In fact, as Déloye notes referring to Foucault that governing is structuring the field of action of the future citizens through a process in which power become inscribed in the body and conduct of the citizen.⁹⁹⁸ At this point youth emerges as a crucial subject of governmentality, as young citizens and their bodies were at the same time distinctive subjects of governing practices, means of governing the society and building national images.

Finally this case study highlights acts of citizenship as crucial aspects of being and becoming political, as this approach brings into consideration the actor and enabling the examination of the plurality and diversity of his/her actions. "To put it another way, it is more easy to react than to act," said Andreas Corelly to David Martin, the hero of Zafon's *The Angel's Game*.⁹⁹⁹ The literary wisdom reveals in a few words the particularity of acts *vis à vis* reaction, and also opposition or resistance.¹⁰⁰⁰ They are in genesis insurgent and representative of alternative visions of citizenship. Though alternative visions of citizenship should not be regarded confined to these acts. Yet, act's theorization major contribution is the possibility it gives to define additional and alternative actors, and in so-doing enabling the detection of agencies embedded in the everydayness and in the plurality of actors'

⁹⁹⁷ See Appendix A, note 81.

⁹⁹⁸ Déloye, p. 26.

⁹⁹⁹ Carlos Ruiz Zafon, *The Angels Game*. trans. by Lucia Graves, London: Phoenix, 2009.

¹⁰⁰⁰ For the concept of resistance see Jocelyn A. Hollander, Rachel L. Einwohner "Conceptualizing Resistance," *Sociological Forum* 19, no. 4 (December 2004), pp. 553-554.

actions. Taking into account the operation of Enti, then the Federation limited in the largest cities of interwar Albania, and in a few cases in smaller ones, this work though it does not assert concrete examples of acts of citizenship beyond these areas, could do an analysis of their operation in city spaces that suggests a main consequence of confining the (being/becoming) political (otherwise citizenship beyond status) to the city. This is the underestimation of the potential of rural habitants to emerge as actors.

By adding to this approach the perspective of the city as a space of both compliance and contestation of power, it becomes possible to consider ‘escape from the city’ and ‘opposition to the city’ as means of becoming and being political. Such revision will enhanced understanding of the mobilization of rural inhabitants that would provide ground for advancing of alternative views of citizenship. Although originating mainly in the cities, the political movements during the second world war and those leading to post-war leftist regime would not have advanced without rural support and if the interwar regime had not stigmatized through strategies of (national) citizenship mainly those living in rural areas.

By relating organically youth, culture, education and placing these in a patriotic platform, the state youth organization advanced a project of a politicized society in a country where political activity and political parties were forbidden. It was the political content of citizenship that was supposed to preserve some socio-cultural relations and to transform others. Morality was an important element of this content as it was a crucial means in inciting profound changes in perceptions and (political) attitude.¹⁰⁰¹ Therefore, state institutions attempted a control on morality education

¹⁰⁰¹ Déloye, p. 26.

transforming its content by introducing political values, firstly national, then related to the survival of the regime. State youth organizations were means to spread these values, but also to introduce loyalty as an institutional dynamic.



APPENDIX A

1. “1. The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom-liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice.’ The institutions most associated with the establishment of these rights are the civil and criminal courts of justice.’ ‘2. By the political element I mean the right to participate in an exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of such a body.’(...) ‘By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions most closely connected to it are the educational system and the social services.’” Thomas H. Marshall in Anthony M. Rees, “Marshall and the progress of citizenship,” *Citizenship Today. The contemporary relevance of T.H. Marshall*, eds. Marti Bulmer and Anthony M. Rees (London: UCL Press), 1996, pp.1-24, p. 5. For Rees the institutions directly concerned with political rights are the parliament and local elective bodies. Then he explains that Dahrendorf adds to this aspect of citizenship, *freedom of association* and *freedom of speech*. See Rees, “Marshall and the progress of citizenship,” p.5.

2. The basic references in this regard are Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, October 1979). See also Gyan Prakash, “Orientalism Now,” *History and Theory* 34, no. 3 (October 1995), pp. 199-212. About the (internal) reproduction of *orientalism*, see Ussama Makdisi, “Ottoman Orientalism,” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002), pp. 768-796. Particularly in relation to Balkans, see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Vesna Goldsworthy, “Invention and In(ter)vention: The rhetoric of Balkanization,” in *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*, eds Dušan I. Bjelic and Obrad Savic (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002). Mary Neuburger, *The Orient Within. Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of the Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2004).

3. Anne Buttimer, “Social Space in Interdisciplinary Perspective,” *Geographical Review* 59, no. 3 (July 1969), pp. 417-426. H. R. Trevor-Roper, “Fernand Braudel, the Annales, and the Mediterranean,” *The Journal of Modern History* 44, no. 4 (December 1972), pp. 468-479. Francois Furet, “Beyond the Annales,” *The Journal of Modern History* 55, no. 3 (September 1983), pp. 389-410. Lynn Hunt, “French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the Annales Paradigm,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 2 (April 1986), pp. 209-224. Immanuel Wallerstein, “Beyond Annales?” in *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-century Paradigms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 218-226. Allan Megill, “Coherence and Incoherence in Historical Studies: From the “Annales” School to the New Cultural History,” *New Literary History* 35, no.2 (Spring 2004), pp. 207-231. For the use of time and space as ‘time-space’ see, Gary Bridge, “Bourdieu, Rational Action and the Time-Space Strategy of Gentrification,” *New Literary History* 35, no. 2 (Spring, 2004), pp. 207-231. The developments in historiography of the twentieth century as well as the contribution of Annales are analyzed concisely in Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1997).

4. Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, second edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Eric Hobsbawm and Terence J. Roger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1983). Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983). Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe : A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York : Columbia University Press, 2000). Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-building Process in Europe," in *Mapping the Nation*, ed Gopal Balakrishnan (New York and London: Verso, 1996), pp. 78-97. Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales. Europe XVIII-XIX siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001). Gerard Noiriel, *Etat, Nation et Immigration. Vers un histoire du pouvoir*, (Paris: Belin, 2001). Nathalie Clayer, *Aux origines du nationalisme albanais. La naissance d'une nation majoritairement musulmane en Europe* (Paris: Éditions Karthala, Paris 2007).

5. See Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner, "Introduction," in *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, edited by Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley and Sherry B. Ortner, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 3-45. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, ed. *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Nicholas B. Dirks, "Is Vice Versa? Historical Anthropologies and Anthropological Histories," in *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences*, edited by Terence J. McDonald, (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University, 1999), pp. 17-52. Patrick Hutton, "The History of Mentalities: New Map of Cultural History," *History and Theory* 3, no. 20 (1981), pp. 237-259. Nathalie Davis, "The Possibilities of the Past," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12(2), (1981), pp. 267-75.

6. For early republican Turkish case Lüküslü highlights a tension between mobilisation of women and masculinity; "Il convient souligner que cette politique met délibérément l'accent sur la jeunesse masculine. L'idéologie républicaine a en effet «reproduit», a ça façon, le système patriarcal ; en effet, si les femmes sont bien entrées dans l'espace public, elles le doivent à l'abandon de leur «féminité», leur rôle principal se résumant à celui d'être « mères » de leurs enfants et «compagnes » de leurs maris. (...) C'est pourquoi selon Ayse Kadioglu, les femmes turques sont toujours coincées entre les valeurs traditionnelles (à la turque) et les valeurs modernes." Demet Lüküslü, "La jeunesse turque actuelle: la fin du «mythe de la jeunesse»," (Ph.D. diss., Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2005), p. 39. Even though the idea of Lüküslü is quite interesting as it refers to a public sphere shaped by masculinity, we will see that in the Albanian case the tension in this aspect was what Gori refers as the tension inherent in the fascist approach to women. It may be interesting to note that the explanation of Lüküslü is closer to a Soviet style mobilization of women in the society. In effect Akın, in Yigit Akın, *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar. Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*. (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), p 99, explained that in terms of physical education practices Kemalist regime was inspired by Bolsheviks. This is quite interesting in terms of circulations of ideas and trends taking into account that after the Second World War Turkey would be part of the Western alliance and Albania a follower of the Stalinist model.

7. About body in fascist ideology, its relation with Enlightenment and the analysis of the evolution of this ideology to the interwar fascism see David D. Roberts, "How Not to Think about Fascism and Ideology, Intellectual Antecedents and Historical Meaning," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 2 (April 2000),

pp. 185-211. For an interesting interwar analysis of interwar fascism see Carmen Haider, "The Meaning and Significance of Fascism," *Political Science Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (December 1933), pp. 556-564. For a different perspective on the establishment of the analogy between human body and the nation see Emily Martin, "Toward an Anthropology of Immunology: The Body as Nation State," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 4, New Series, no. 4 (December 1990), pp. 410-426. To further the perspective on the use of body by ideologies and the practices, Martin's article should be read together with that of Synnott, see Anthony Synnott, "Tomb, Temple, Machine and Self: The Social Construction of the Body," *The British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 1 (March 1992), pp. 79-110.

8. "In 1926 the party added to the Kinderfreunde the Rote Falken movement, modeled partly on the boy scouts, but also on the Soviet Pioneer movement and encompassing children of both sexes from ages 12-16. Founded by Anton Tesarek in 1925, the Rote Falken emphasized independence from the home, activity and adventure. It also strongly resembled the Wandervogel and other unpolitical youth movements of the interwar years, and its growth was impressive, boasting a rise from 5,100 members in the spring of 1927 to over 15,117 by 1932. The party's major organization for youth between 16 and 21, the Verein Jugendlicher Arbeiter was begun as an apprentice organization for self-education in the 1890s but became Social Democratic in 1903, admitting women for the first time in 1914. Renamed the Verband Sozialistischer Arbeiter Jugend after 1919, it comprised over 37,868 members in 1923, of whom 14,220 were located in Vienna. Thus as a whole the party's youth organizations comprised a considerable portion of the party membership. It was estimated, in fact, that sixty percent of the Viennese Social Democrats were under forty years of age." Rabinach "Politics and Pedagogy," p.340.

9. "Institutionalism took on still another aspect which further reinforced the importance of the youth organizations and educational structure. If institutionalism was the party's true strategy it also created a growing problem of bureaucratization and oligarchy, already documented by writers like Weber and Michels. The educational structure was therefore called upon to provide an effective antidote to the 'iron law of oligarchy'. (...) At the same time, however, the working class could assume its responsibilities in the coming society if it were prepared in the technical and ethical skills provided by the educational process. In this way institutionalism and education were closely linked. They represented the subjective or active side of a Social Democracy, which grafted a theory of pedagogical activism on to its evolutionism and increasing historical pessimism. It is no accident that the party's left wing was so closely associated with the youth movement it embodied the dynamism of Austro-Marxist theory and practice. For this reason Max Adler could say that 'the greatest burden of future democracy does not lie in politics, but in pedagogy'," *ibid.* pp.3-4.

10. "The 'purist' approach thus makes it much easier to maintain that (not always innocent) impression that fascism was essentially an extraneous, skindeep phenomenon in the Balkans and East Central Europe and to contend that it was in essence a peculiarly Italian and Germanic malady which was 'imported' into or even 'imposed' as a result of increasing Italian and German domination of these region. Thus one of the standard texts on fascism maintains that 'the right-wing dictatorships of interwar Europe lacked many of the essential ingredients of fascist regimes'. ... Such wholesale discounting of the self-avowedly movements and regimes which emerged in the Balkans and east Central Europe during the late 1930's and early 1940's is misleading and unsound. Rather, the methods, institutions and illiberal

nationalist ethos of governments throughout the interwar Balkans and East Central Europe were steadily degenerating into distinctive 'eastern' forms of fascism... This process of degeneration was driven not only by circumstantial factors, such as the 1930s Depression, widespread economic misery and the rise of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, but also the inherent flaws in the new order erected in the Balkans and East Central Europe after the First World War." Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe. Crisis and Change*. (London: Routledge, 2007), p.374.

11. For changes in border that took place during the period, more specifically the issue of the island of Saint Naum an albanian journalits made an invatigative work including research on rare documents, see Monika Shoshori Stafa, *Monarkia kundër Republikës. Si u la Shën Naumi* (Tiranë: Naimi, 2011). Socio-historical analysis on developments in border areas particularly in south Albania is done by Clayer see Nathalie Clayer, "L'albanisation de la zone frontière albano-grecque et ses aléas dans l'entre-deux-guerres," *Südost-Forschungen* 68, (2009), p. 328-348. See also Nathalie Clayer, "Frontière politique, frontière ethnique et État-nation. L'exemple de la région-frontière albano-grecque dans l'entre-deux-guerres," in *Meje v jugovzhodni Evropi : Kultura in politika od XVIII. Do XXI. Stoletja* (Borders in Southeastern Europe: Culture and Politics between the 18th and 21th Century), ed Dušan Nećak, *Historia* 7 (Ljubljana, 2004), p. 159-176. On the Albanian-Greek frontier see also Gilles de Rapper et Pierre Sintés, "Composer avec le risque: La frontière sud de l'Albanie entre politique des états et solidarités locales," *Révue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest* 37, no. 4 (2006), pp. 243-271.

12. "Zogolli (who, as a token of his dedication to Westernization changed his name to Zogu, dropping the Turkish "olli" or "son of") had learned a great deal in these first two years of participation in Albanian national politics." Fischer, *King Zog*, p. 39.

13. Vehbi Hoti, *Luigj Gurakuqi për Shkollën Shqipe dhe Arsimin Kombëtar: monografi*, ed. Tomor Osmani (Tiranë: Camaj-Pipa, 2002). Piro Tako, *Luigj Gurakuqi. Jeta dhe vepra* (Tiranë: n.p. 1980). Zenun Gjocaj, *Luigj Gurakuqi dhe Konceptet e tij Gjuhësore e Stilistike* (Prishtinë: n.p. 2001). Behar Shtylla, *Fan Noli siç e kam njohur: Kujtime*, ed. Kujtim Ymeri (Tiranë: Dituria, 1997). Idriz Ajeti ed. *Fan S. Noli: në 100 vjetorin e lindjes: 1882-1982* (Prishtinë: Instituti Albanologjik, 1984). Nasho Jorgaqi, *Jeta e Fan S. Nolit* (Tiranë: Ombra GVG, 2006).

14. "Noli remained for nearly a decade a bitter opponent of Zog after being driven from power in 1924, but underwent a quiet rapprochement with him in 1930's. Konica although, well-known to be critical of Zog, gave him his official support and was appointed minister plenipotentiary in Washington. Dako became a leading apologist for Zog, as his 1937 publication shows. Kostandin Çekrezi supported Zog in the 1920's but was imprisoned by him in 1932, later fleeing to America, where he led an anti-Zogist movement; his relations with Noli deteriorated at the point where the later described him as 'an irresponsible, unprincipled, unscrupulous juggler.'" Noel Malcolm, "Myths of Albanian National Identity Some key elements, as expressed in the works of Albanian writers in America in the Early twentieth century," in eds. Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, *Albanian Identities Myth and History*, pp.70-87, p. 71.

15. *In Shqipëria më 1927* (Albania in 1927), Selenica gives figures of population in various city and prefectures of the country. I used the number of inhabitants of the cities and that of inhabitants of each prefecture to calculate the percentages of urban population; Vlora 5.942/43.734 (≈14%), Tirana (only one sub/prefecture in these period) 16.513/34.783 (≈50%), Shkodra 23.114/114.308

(≈20%), Korça 25,598/131.150 (≈20%), Berat 8505/100.000 (≈9,09%), Durrës 10,408/82,402 (≈14%), Elbasan 10.408/82.402 (≈14%), Gjirokastra 9,570/127,000 (≈9,9%). Obviously these are very rough calculations that do not take into account some minor cities in prefectures as well as the differences in living conditions between cities.

16. It would be interesting to follow the history of the period through memoirs. See for example Zoi Xoxa. *Kujtimet e nje gazetari* (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 55, 2007). Genc Agolli, *Rexhep Dizdari* (monografi) (Shkodër: Shtypshkronja Rozafat 1, 2009). Rose Wilder Lane, *Majat e Shalës* 1, trans. Avni Spahiu (Tiranë: Argeta LMG, 2004). Indro Montanelli, *Albania una e mille* (Torino, Milano, Padova: G. B. Paravia &C, 1939). Joséphine Dedet, *Géraldine, Reine des Albanais* (Paris: Criterion, 1997). Justin Godart, *Ditarët shqiptarë. Mars 1921-Dhjetor 1951*, trans. Asti Papa (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese Dituria, 2005). Uran Butka përg. *Kthimi i Mit'had Frashërit* (Tiranë: Phoenix, 1997). Faik Konica, *Vepra 3* (Tiranë: Botimet Dudaj, 2001). Faik Konica, *Vepra 4* (Tiranë: Botimet Dudaj, 2001). Through the work I also make use of various memoirs. However always in relation to specific issues and backed by archival sources.

17. Avni Rustemi was born the same year as Ahmet Zogu. After high school education in the Albanian pedagogical school Elbasan (*Normalja e Elbasanit*) and a high-school in Italy he continued studies for pedagogy in the University of Rome. Rustemi taught in various localities in southern Albania and formed two important teachers' organizations; the Federation *Atdheu* (Fatherland) in April 1921 and after its closure the association *Bashkimi* (Unity) in October 1922.

18. The association *Bashkimi* activities can be found dispersed in various collections in the Albanian archives. For instance AQSH, Fondi i Shoqërive, No. 447, Y. 1922, *Shoqëria Bashkimi Dega Shkodër*. AQSH, Fondi Organizatat e Shoqëritë pas 1912, No. 442 (Nr. citimi 842); D. 86, V. 1922-1924.

19. For numbers, figures and analysis in terms of Ottoman heritage in terms of schools, see Ali Çakır ed. *International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World Proceedings* (Istanbul: The Research Center for Islamic History Art and Culture, 2001). For education and schools during the first World War and its immediate aftermath see Ilir Kanini, *Arësimi në Shqipëri në Vitet e Luftës së Parë Botërore 1916-1918*, (Tiranë: Neraida, 2000).

20. See Alessandro Roselli, *Italy and Albania: Financial Relations in the Fascist Period* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2006). Massimo Borgogni, *Tra continuità e incertezza. Italia e Albania (1914-1939) La strategia politico-militare dell'Italia in Albania fino all'Operazione "Oltre Mare Tirana"* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2007). Arben Cici, *Marrëdhëniet Shqiptaro-Italiane në Vitet 1920-1934* (Tiranë: Afërdita, 2002). Ramiz Fiçorri, *Ndërhyrja Italiane në Shqipëri (1925-1939)* (Tiranë: Koçi, 2005). Françesko Jakomoni, *Politika e Italisë në Shqipëri*, trans. Kostaq Xoxa, (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 55, 2005). Mario Montanari, *Le truppe Italiane in Albania (anni 1914-20 e 1939)* Roma: Stato maggiore dell'esercito, Ufficio Storico, 1978).

21. Republika Shqiptare, Ministria e Punëve të Brëndëshme, Seksioni I Shtypi, Tiranë, 8.II.1925, Drejtoris Fletores *Brezi i Ri* Shkodër : "Fletorja Turke "TANIN" në N. 822, D, 25-I-925 ka botuar nje kryeartikull me neshkrimin e shkrimyarit turk të mirenjohur z. Hysejn Xhakdit, i cili me qene se i pershtatet, sjelljevet e brutalitetit qe treguan nje pjese e djalerise, shqiptare, duke tronditur themelat e shtetit e duke u bere vegjel e verber e disa avanturierëve, per t'me e zgjim po e perkthejme fjale per fjale, me shprese se djaleria e gabuar ne rrugen e saj do te

pendohet e do te shpetoje nga mendimi plot rrezik.” Lutemi që ta shpallni, Zyra e Shtypit.”

22. The number announcing the ending of the publication in sign of protest included the following note: With the return of Ahmet Zogu from Yugoslavia with the help of the Serbs, the redaction committee of *Hylli i Dritës* decided the suspension of its publication. Me kthimin e Ahmet Zogut nga Jugosllavia, me ndihmën e serbëve, Redaksia e *Hylli të Dritës* vendosi pezullimin e botimit.” *Hylli i Dritës*, No. 12 (Dhetuer, V/1924) in Willy Kamsi përg., “*Hylli i Dritës*” 1913-1944 *Bibliografi kronologjike* (Shkodër: Botime Françeskane, 2008), p.44.

23. Detailed research remains to be done on these complex events. There was also an attempted murder attack on Zog in Viena at the end of January 1931. See, Puto, *Shqipëria Politike*, pp.489-494. For the movement of Fier see Puto, *Shqipëria politike*, pp. 535-538. For details on the revolt and the city during the period see also Ilirian Sjika, “Kryengritja e Fierit 1935,” Accessed March 2012, Available [online] at < <http://www.t669.net/kryengritja.html>> The protest of February 1936 in Korça was highly debated in the press of the period. Mainstream journals tried to present it as a peaceful manifestation of some craftsmen of the city. See “Së fundmi drita shkëlqen mbi manifestimet e Korçës,” *Arbënia*, Viti II, No. 197 (28 February 1936). Actually, the demonstration was a more complex episode. The communist historiography has regarded it as the first communist protest in the country, emphasizing the participation of workers and students. See Selim Islami, *Historia e Shqipërise, 1912-1944*, Volumi 3 (Tiranë: Mihal Duri, 1984). See also Enver Hoxha, *Vite të Rinisë* (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese “8 Nëntori,” 1988). The uprising in north Albania known led by Gjon Marka Gjoni and particularly Muharrem Bajraktari at beginning of January 1935. For various popular reactions from strikes to such movements see Fischer, *Mbreti Zog*, pp.252-258.

24. Circular of the director of the student residence in Shkodër directed to all the schools of the city. Dated 2 April 1928. Excerpt: “Simbas shkreses se Ministris s’arsimit Nr.II 20/18 d.9.v.928, ketu ngjitet kemi nderen te ju sjellim nji kopje te rregullores mbi organizimin e edukates fizike morale e patriotike te djelmënise shqiptare.” AQSH, F. Prefektura Shkodër, Nr. 346, Y. 1928, D. 236, p. 7.

25. “Për brezin e ri, në të cilin janë pshtetë shpresët e familjeve t’ona e të kombit, mâ i vogli shkujdesim kishte me kënd një delikt pse neper fmi rraca e jonë perpajnohet, neper të atdheu perjetsohet. (...) S’jemi na të parët qi ndeshim në këto pengime. Para nesh bota i shoshiti këto probleme e me prova paraqiti zgjidhjet e drejta. Soutizmi, Wander- vögel, Sokolt-etj, s’janë tjetër veç kanale mme drejtue rinin në qellim të mramë.”

26. For instance see, A.J. “Nevoja e arsimit për vajza” (The necessity to educate girls), *Agimi*, E përkoheshme letrare - politike, Organi i shoqnis Vllaznija, drejton Karl Gurakuqi, Vjeti i II- Nr.1 (Shkodër, Maj 1920), f. 3-4. The author explained in the article that he was inspired by the book “l’Education de jeunes filles” of Fénelon. A debate about the role of woman in the society took place in the pages of the journal *Agimi* between Mati Logoreci known for his activity for the Albanian national education and Hoxha Kadri a known specialist of religious law. See Hoxha Kadri, “Prap Feminizm” (Again Feminizm), *Agimi*, Vjeti i II, Nr.11, (March 1921), pp. 154-159. Hoxha Kadri wrote that he would agree with persons like Logoreci and T. Toçi that he regards feminists only in matters of polygamy and divorce. He claimed to be in favor of the education of woman, yet not as it was experienced in Europe.

27. Hysni Myzyri, "Zhvillimi i Arsimit në fund të shek. XIX dhe në fillim të shek. XX (1882-1908)," in *Historia e Arsimit dhe e Mendimit Pedagogjik Shqiptar* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja "Nene Tereza," 2003), pp. 121-171, particularly pp.140-144. See also Hajrullah Koliqi, *Historia e Arsimit dhe Mendimit Pedagogjik Shqiptar* (Prishtinë: Shtëpia Botuese Libri Shkollor, 2002), p.288-301. See also Instituti i Studimeve Pedagogjike, *Historia e Arsimit I* (Tiranë: n.p. 2002). Siri Shaplllo, *Nga Historiku i Zhvillimit të Arsimit në Shqipëri* (Tiranë: Instituti i Studimeve Pedagogjike, 1975).

28. Alike, was the poem *Baladë qytetse*. The young author Millosh Gjergj Nikolla described through her body and wearing the desperate situation of a lonely woman in the streets of the city (Shkodra). It should be also mentioned that in spite of his short live due to his death in 1938, when he was only 27 years old, the poetic production of Millosh Gjergj Nikolla (Migjeni) is very rich. It bears a particularity in terms of gender approach as Migjeni employs erotic elements in several poems. See *Kanga Skandaloze, Baladë Qytetse, Dy buzët, Lutje* in Migjeni, *Poezi* (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese "Naim Frasheri", 1980). For his prose, a poetic insurrection against social conditions of the period, see Migjeni, *Vepra* (Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese "Naim Frasheri", 1988). A broader socio-historical analysis of literature would be quite revelatory particularly in terms of underground circulations of ideas during the period.

29. "Introduction", *Ligjja Organike Arsimit*, (1934), p.82. "The secondary education aims the education, training and strengthening the commitment and discipline in work of the new generation (*brezi i ri*) of Albania: to wake their conscience of duties toward themselves, their parents and the Fatherland planting in them the strong belief in the life of Albanian people, in its unity and progress." "Ligjja Organike e Arsimit," *Fletore zyrtare* (28 September 1934), art. 257. Teki Selenica, who had various official positions during the period in his book, *Shqipëria më 1927*, published when he was director of the press section in the Ministry of Interior, wrote that the values of the country should be reflected in books as only in this way the new generation (*brezi i ri*) would know about them. Teki Selenica, *Shqipëria më 1927* (Tiranë: Shtypshkronja 'Tirana', 1928), p.VI.

30. For continuity and change in education politics and struggle over education from the late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic see Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Modernization from Empire to Republic and Education in the Process of Nationalism," in ed. Kemal H. Karpat *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), pp. 47-132. I regard the article of Alkan particularly important in order to follow the education politics of the Ottoman state since Tanzimat Reforms. It constitutes a basic source in order to follow the differences in the employment of these politics in various regions as well as the differentiations generated during the process of nationalization of different societies. For the idea of 'nationalisation of the society' and an socio-historical analysis of such process see Noiriël, *Etat, Nation et Immigration*, pp.187-216. See also Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Modernleşme ve Eğitim," *Türkiye Araştırma ve Literatür Dergisi* 6, no. 12 (2008), pp. 9-84. M. Hidayet Vahapoglu, *Osmanlıdan günümüze azınlık ve yabancı okullar* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1997). For an analysis of state's discourse on education and culture during the unique party era in Turkey see Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları, Cilt 3. Kemalist Tek-Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Oku*, (Istanbul: Deniz Yayınları, 2008).

31. About intellectual networks and development of Albanian nationalism at the end of nineteenth, beginning of twentieth see Nathalie Clayer, *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar. Lindja e një kombi me shumicë myslimane në Evropë*, (Tiranë: Botime Përpjekja, 2009), pp.554-574. See also Nathalie Clayer, "The Albanian students of the Mekteb-i Mülkiye. Social networks and trends of thought", in ed. Elisabeth Özdalga, *Late Ottoman Society. The Intellectual Legacy* (London-New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 289-339. See also Artan Puto, "The Idea of Nation During the Albanian National Movement (1878-1912)," (Ph.D., Diss., European University Institute, 2010).

32. Obviously such attitude was not peculiar to Albania. School was regarded as a means of nationalization in different periods and particularly during the early years of nation building in various countries. For Turkey see Yesim Bayar, "The Dynamic Nature of the Educational Policies and Turkish National Building: Where does religion fit in?" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 29, no. 3 2009, pp. 360-370, particularly p. 361-362. Nevertheless education has been regarded as a means of shaping the citizens according to the values and requirements of regimes. For the case of Abdulhamit era and early Republican Turkey see Füsün Üstel, *Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde, II. Mesrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008).

33. "...shkolla ka nevojë për mësuesë t'afër e me moral; pse fëmija në shkollë nuk mëson vetëm me shkrue e me këndue e ma ba katër veprat themelore, por mëson dhe moralin d.m.th. i edukohet zemra e nxënës si m'u prurë në shoqëri. Qi msimi i moral asht i domosdoshëm, nuk ka njeri që e mohon; e këjo asht kaq e vërtetë, sa të gjithë përparimi i ardhshëm mbshtete në të, pse një shkollë, pa msim moral, në vend që me prurë përparim, bjen dam e shpjerzim. ... Mësuesi shqiptar duhet të kqyrin ndër të gjitha mandet me u qitë përpara fëmijëve mësime morali në mënyrë që këta kur të rriten të dijnë me da të mirën prej së keqës e me njoftë të vërtetën prej të shtrembrës." L. "Mësimi Moral," *Shkolla e Re*, p. 66. Alike, in another article "The Schools of the State" at the same magazine, the author said that a state could not exist if it did not take action to shape the culture and behaviors of its citizens/nënshtetas. This was regarded as the only way to survive as nation-state, preserve peace and generate progress. "Shkolla e Shtetit," *Shkolla e re*, *Organ i Mësuesvet*, Drejton Gasper Mikeli, Vjeti I, (March 1921), pp. 86-88.

34. "The Normal School of Paris. To accomplish his purpose, Lakanal proposed to assemble at Paris, under the direction of eminent masters, such as Lagrange, Berthollet, and Daubenton, a considerable number of young men, called from all quarters of the Republic, and designated by their talents as by their state of citizenship. The masters of this great normal school were to give their pupils u lessons on the art of teaching morals." Gabriel Compayre, W. H. Payne, *History of Pedagogy*, (A.M, Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1898), Accessed, 26 March 2011, Available [online] at <http://www.archive.org/stream/historypedagogy02compgoog/historypedagogy02compgoog_djvu.txt> About developments in this context in École Normale at the end of nineteenth century see Baubérot, *La Morale Laïque Contre L'Ordre Moral*, pp. 27-47. For Rousseau and education see also Pierre Billouet, "Rousseau peut-il comprendre Émile?" *Le Télémaque* 1, no. 23 (2003), p. 133-148.

35. Evidently, the priority given to human mind and social regulations inspired from nature originated in Enlightenment. So, this disagreement of a churchman with Kant was almost unavoidable. For a perspective on Enlightenment and Kant ideas related also to morality see Carlo Invernizzi Accetti,

“Kant et Sade: Les Lumières Sont-Elles Totalitaires?” *Raisons politiques* 1, no. 33, (2009), p. 149-169. See also Katerina Deligiorgi, *Kant and the Culture of Enlightenment* (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2005). For a review of this book see Raymonde Monnier, “Kant and the Culture of Enlightenment,” *Annales Historiques de la Révolution française*, Avril-Juin 2007, p.348.

36. Marlaskaj claimed that this attack to morality in school program was an attack to the previous Christian based morality of the Austro-Hungarian approach. Consequently, he regarded the Ministry’s attitude as involving anti-catholic and pro-Muslim intentions. Marlaskaj, p.38, p.39, p.5, p.14, p.15. Accuses done to the Ministry of Education for acting against the church and the catholic clergy would continue see: P. Gjergj Fishta, “Arsim apo luftë kundra Katoliqizmit në Shqypni? (Education or war against Catholicism in Albania) *Hylli i Dritës*, no.4 (4 April 1923) pp. 145-153. Fishta o.f.m. “Kisha katolike ka trajtue kulturen oksidentale. (1.Shakllabanët afterë të Shqypnis, 2.Historia e përdhosë prej njerëzve të pazotë, 3.Dishmi Kundërshtarëvet)” (The Catholic Church has been operating with the occidental culture. 1. The non-religious buffoons of Albania. 2.History undignified by incompetent people, 3. Statement of the opponents), *ibid*.

37. As far as I could follow from correspondence and press of the period the name of the city was used as Gjinokastër. This is mentioned also in the article of Clayer see Nathalie Clayer, “L’albanisation des toponymes dans l’Albanie de l’entre-deux-guerres ou les méandres d’une lente construction étatique,” in eds. Gilles de Rapper et Pierre Sintès, *Nommer et classer dans les Balkans*, (Athènes: Ecole française d’Athènes, 2009), p. 237-255, p. 3. However, contemporarily the name of the city in official use is Gjirokastra.

38. The issue of religion teachers was more particular and also related to the regulations about the religion course. A correspondence of the Secret Office in the Ministry of Interior with Prefecture is very interesting. The Minister asked for secret investigation on the political behavior, national and particularly feelings toward the regime of the teacher of orthodox religion course. See AQSH F. Nënprefektura Kavajë, No.266, Y.8 November 1937, p.5.

39. These translations of the period can be consulted in the Albanian National Library in Tirana. See Alexandre Dumas (fils), *Zonja me Kamelliet*. përk. Tajar Zavalani (Tiranë: Kristo Luarasi, 1935). Maksim Gorki, *Nënë*, (Roma në dy pjesë), përkth. Tajar Zavalani (Tiranë: n.p. 1935). Anton P. Cehov, *Njeriu me këllëf*. përkth. Tajar Zavalani (Tiranë: Biblioteka Argus, 1934).

40. Emile Durkheim died in 1917. Publications: *Education and Sociology* (1922), *Sociology and Philosophy* (1924), *Moral Education* (1925), *Socialism* (1928). See Kenneth Thompson, *Emile Durkheim* (London: Routledge, 2002). For a general perspective on the Frankfurt school see Ben Agger, “Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 17 (1991), pp. 105-131. See also Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), p. 12, 68. “Émile Durkheim et Max Weber vont surtout explorer une dimension de la modernité que Marx n’a pas vraiment étudiée, car elle ne correspondait pas à une réalité de son temps : le rôle joué par l’État dans le développement de liaisons à distance entre les citoyens. Ce problème n’a pris toute son importance que dans les dernières décennies du XIXe siècle, lorsque les classes populaires ont été intégrées au sein de l’État-nation. C’est à partir de ce moment que le terme « société » a acquis son sens actuel,

pour designer l'ensemble des individus dépendant d'un même État national." Gérard Noiriel, *Introduction à la Socio-Histoire* (Paris: La Découverte, 2006), p.15-19, p.15.

41. "Këtu në Shqipëri sot ka Zogizëm, domethënë ideali që ndjek Djalëria Neo-Shqiptare e cila inspirohet prej programit të Mbretit Zog : krijimi i një Shqipërie të sunduar me dije e mentalitet oksidental, armiku i genjeshtreve dhe t'opportunitetev, t'influencuar e te frymezuar prej flakes s'idealizmit për liri, perparim e naltësim të Kombit. (...) Ne perpiqemi t'i bashkojme fuqite e ra dhe energjitë (...) rreth idealit që na ka caktue Zogizmi(...) Hiqni dorë se bëheni qesharak, duke i thene një neoshqiptari se është vegla e Faikut, kur Dielli thote se është shitur te z. Koço Kotta. Hiqni dorë së fundmi se asnjë fuqi - sidomos e rreme si ajo e juaja - s'mund te ndaloje, duke i dalur rivale, përhapjen e ngadhnimimin e Zogizmit, kete burim te ndritshem te Neo-Shqiptarizmes (...)." Çika, "Ideali Neo-shqiptar dhe Zogizmi " p. 5.

42. "Një revistë del që të mbroje një ide dhe një kuptim. (...) Nga kjo pikpamje reviste nder ne është *Hylli i Dritës* dhe *Leka*, që dalin në Shkodër. Këto revista kane ideologjinë e tyre dhe e mbrojnë me zell për t'u lavdëruar. Jane revista të vërteta. Tjetër është puna në se ideologjitë e ketyre revistave, ideologji dogmatike e kishës, nuk na entusiasmon se e quajme anakronistike dhe te pa-zonjën që të ndihmojë në ndrimin mendor dhe ne latësimin e jetës s'onë shoqërore të prapambeturë dhe prishur shpirtërisht." Merxhani, "Rreth problemit që ka krijuar Minerva," p. 3.

43. The report on the development of the education system during 1932-1933 and 1933-1934 prepared by the Ministry of Education is consultable at the Albanian National Archive. The report explains in detail the reasons for forbidding the private schools. This decision was formalised by the meeting of 10-11 April 1933 of the Albanian parliament, which decided to change the articles 206 and 207 of the constitution of the Kingdom. The report said that the existence of many religious schools resulted to be against the Albanian national priorities and many other private schools did not fulfill the conditions of education in the Albanian Kingdom. The conditions are explained to be three: the source of their income should be secured and in accordance with the aim of the national school; the teaching staff should not adhere to any idea or inclination forbidden in the Statute of the Kingdom and in contradiction with the principles of education of the new generation; helping the state to establish schools in regions the state had not still founded its own schools. The report emphasized that Albania did not have an official religion, so there was no need for particular religious school. Each religious community was permitted to have schools for bringing up the religious staff. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1934, D. 4, pp. 1-2.

44. "Sia pure non trattandosi di una Missione all'estero nel vero senso della parola, non bisogna comunque dimenticare la lunga presenza e l'opera del colonnello Crispino Agostinucci in Albania, dopo il ritiro delle truppe italiane. Egli ebbe il compito di organizzare l'Ente Nazionale Gioventù Albanese, del quale divenne l'Ispettore Centrale di Educazione Fisica come «dottor» Agostinucci, preparando inoltre la "pre-militare". In quel periodo era Addetto Militare a Tirana il generale Alberto Pariani e con lui Agostinucci si occupò anche della Gendarmeria albanese, tenendo i contatti con le Scuole Carabinieri in Italia e selezionando di fatto gli albanesi da inviare per istruzione negli Istituti italiani di formazione militare. Nonostante vestisse in borghese e ufficialmente non fosse un appartenente all'Arma dei Carabinieri, tutti sapevano della sua vera identità e a lui si rivolgevano per quanto riguardava la riorganizzazione della Gendarmeria, che continuava ad essere

all'attenzione del Governo di Tirana. Nel 1928 egli discusse ancora una volta al Parlamento albanese un progetto di legge riguardante la riorganizzazione di quel Corpo, su proposta di un deputato di Argirocastro, Kassem Bey Dragonitsa: si prevedeva di affidarne l'organizzazione ad ufficiali dei Carabinieri italiani, che avrebbero costituito una Scuola di Gendarmeria per istruire gli allievi, anche provenienti dai ranghi dell'Esercito. Si prevedeva altresì, presso ogni Sottoprefettura, un nucleo di circa 50 gendarmi da affidare, sempre per l'organizzazione del servizio, a marescialli dei Carabinieri, oppure ad ufficiali. Il colonnello Crispino Agostinucci fu molto attivo come organizzatore e come «ufficiale di collegamento» informale e ufficioso tra le autorità albanesi e i Carabinieri. Dalle sue carte, che sono conservate al Museo Storico dell'Arma, si può ricostruire un interessante spicchio delle relazioni italo-albanesi del periodo fra le due guerre, e meglio comprendere le vicende di Tirana, sia prima che dopo i due conflitti mondiali.” Accessed 1 December 2009, Available, [online] at
http://www.carabinieri.it/Internet/Arma/Oggi/Missioni/1855%20%201935/1913%20-%201920/02_1918%20-%201923.htm

45. “disciplining the mind and the body” was an international cliché during the period. In the first part of this work I try to analyze the general context as well as ideological origins and implications of this condition. Yeşim Bayar denotes the 1930s in Turkey as “a decade when heavy stress was laid on disciplining the minds of the citizenry.” See Yeşim Bayar, “The Dynamic Nature of the Educational Policies and Turkish National Building: Where does religion fit in?” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 29, no. 3 (2009), pp. 360-370, p. 361.

46. For a socio-cultural history of *the body* from fifteenth to eighteenth century with a particular regard on France see Alain Corbin et al., ed. *Histoire de Corps 1. De la Renaissance aux Lumières*. Volume dirigé par Georges Vigarello (Paris: Seuil, 2005). Alike for *body* in eighteenth to the beginning of twentieth century, see Alain Corbin et al., ed. *Histoire de Corps 2. De la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*. Volume dirigé par Alain Corbin (Paris: Seuil, 2005). For socio-historical analysis of trends in physical education and sports in twentieth century with a particular regard to France see Alain Corbin et al., ed. *Histoire de Corps 3. Les Mutations du regard. Le xxe siècle*. Volume dirigé par Jean-Jacque Courtine (Paris: Seuil, 2006), pp.164-184, 343-366.

47. The documentations of Enti do not indicate a specific number or include further detailed information on the regional associations or the commissioners. I did not find material even in specific prefecture funds. They were mainly mentioned in correspondences with the Sportive Federation in occasion of regional championships. For such an example see AQSH. F.444, Enti Kombetar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 38, p. 1. Evidently, many of these associations were not operating for the greater part of the year. Others were not operating at all. Regional commissioners were almost not mentioned in any of the activities of Enti. So their function beyond nominal existence is questionable. Yet, from the statute of Enti and other related documentation we know that regional associations were (to be) founded in prefecture centers. This makes ten of them in total.

48. AQSH, F.195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y.1934, D.507, p. 5-13. Enti was founded and operated at the base of the decree approved by the King on 6 June 1930. However, the official journal publishing the transformation of Enti in a department of the Ministry of Education declared the dissolution of the organization founded by the law of 29 March 1932. AQSH. F. Gazetë Zyrtare, Y.1934, D.16, p.1. On 29

March 1932 was reapproved by the King the same law approved on 6 June 1930 and already implemented. AQSH, F. Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, No. 444, Y. 1932, D.32, pp. 1-9. The difference this time was that the law was also approved by the parliament and the King ordered its attachments to the Codes of the Kingdom. Consequently, the parliament approved a law, which was already implemented, since 2 years.

49. The journal *Rilindja e Arbnisë* published a news about *the youth of Tirana* declared upset for the appointment of Ratti in Shkodra. According to the journal *Tirana's youth* explained its highest sympathy for Ratti who had contributed very much in the sports life of the capital. See AQSH, F. 195, Ministria e Arsimit, Y. 1930, D. 289, p. 1. See *Rilindja e Arbnisë*, n. 20 (20 September 1930).

50. "Sia pure non trattandosi di una Missione all'estero nel vero senso della parola, non bisogna comunque dimenticare la lunga presenza e l'opera del colonnello Crispino Agostinucci in Albania, dopo il ritiro delle truppe italiane. Egli ebbe il compito di organizzare l'Ente Nazionale Gioventù Albanese, del quale divenne l'Ispettore Centrale di Educazione Fisica come «dottor» Agostinucci, preparando inoltre la "pre-militare". In quel periodo era Addetto Militare a Tirana il generale Alberto Pariani e con lui Agostinucci si occupò anche della Gendarmeria albanese, tenendo i contatti con le Scuole Carabinieri in Italia e selezionando di fatto gli albanesi da inviare per istruzione negli Istituti italiani di formazione militare."

Accesed, 1 December 2009, Available [online] at
<http://www.carabinieri.it/Internet/Arma/Oggi/Missioni/1855%20%201935/1913%20-%201920/02_1918%20-%201923.htm>

51. "Giovani d'Albania. Nel Momento in cui lascio il vostro paese dopo più di tre anni trascorsi con voi, (...) il mio saluto (...) che e anche consapevole riconoscimento delle belle virtù che, come figlio della nazione tradizionalmente amica ed alleata della vostra, ebbi la viva soddisfazione di apprezzare in voi in tante circostanze nelle varie attività della Milizia Premilitare e dell'Ente Nazionale, della cui direzione Generale ebbi l'onore di far parte del suo inizio sin oggi, per la fiducia che si degno dimostrarmi l'amato e lungimirante Vostro Sovrano, il quale volle fosse creata per voi questa nuova organizzazione. (...) non potrà mancare alla patria vostra quel fulgido avvenire che dal giovane e sapiente vostro Re fu posto nelle vostre mani, quando dicesse all'ente il suo primo fatidico messaggio a voi destinato!" AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, D. 22, Y. 1931, p. 7.

52. "Lo Stato nell'interesse della collettività nazionale e al fine di sviluppare e conservare le qualità fisiche, intellettuali e morali dei cittadini, dovrebbe imporre a tutti i giovani maschi o femmine l'obbligo di praticare l'educazione fisio-psichica." Zapponi, p. 588.

53. For an inspiring analysis on elites and institutional developments see Robert S. Robins, *Political Institutionalization and the Integration of Elites* (Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications, 1976). A socio-political questioning on the definition of elite, see William Genieys, "Nouveaux Regards sur les élites du Politique," *Revue française de science politique* 56, no.1 (2006), pp. 121-147. The historicity of elite or/and elites see Lucien Faggion, "Du lien politique au lien social: les élites", *Rives méditerranéennes*, no. 32-33 (2009), pp. 7-21. For an analysis of elites evolution from the end of the Ottoman Empire to the Albanian nation-state see Nathalie Clayer, *Aux origines du Nationalisme Albanais*, pp. 359-366. For analysis of elite formation in interwar Albania see Nathalie Clayer, "Education and the integration of the province of Gjirokastrë in Inter-War Albania."

54. “Në kjoftë se dëshira e Nalt Madhnisë s’uej asht me pas nënmykqyrje direkte, mund të bahet si Drejtori e Përgjithëshme’ me modifikimet e nevojeshme në organizimin e brëndshëm sikundër kishte qënë jo, po, ndryshe do të ishte mirë të bëhej si seksion i veçantë i Ministrisë së Arsimit. Në te dy rastet edhe këtu, në qoftë se e kërkonte nevoja politike, mund të pranohej vetëm një këshilltar pa nëpunës të tjerë, italianë.” Gogaj, p. 104. “ (...) Jashtë Ministrisë së Arsimit nën emrin e shenjtë ‘Djelmënia Shqiptare’ dhe nën mbrojtjen e vetë Mbretit, ishte krijuar një organ i fuqishëm për edukimin, moral e artistik të djalërisë shqiptare joshkollore nën drejtimin efektiv të italianëve.” p. 102. See Iljaz Gogaj, *Mirash Ivanaj Personalitet i Shquar i Universitetit Shqiptar* (Tiranë: Botime Erik, 2004), particularly pp. 100-105.

55. Municipalities and communes (rural administration) provided to the organization %7 of their annual revenues. AQSH. F. 444, Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 32, p. 6. Article 5 in the statute of Enti. At its first approval this percentage was 4%. The statute was subdue to change in this matter. The new amount and the distribution of this contribution was explained in details in the amendment added to the statute. According to the latter the contribution of municipalities and communes was increased to 7%. The communes would pay the contribution only in case of a decree issued by the council of minister. Otherwise they were not obliged to contribute financially. 3% of this local contribution went to support and spread of physical education. 2% went to the Artistic Committee for the development of art and the other 2% went to the Sport Federation. Ibid., p. 8. According to these regulations municipalities had also the responsibility to provide uniforms for students in poor economic conditions. Enti accepted private and foreign gifts and other material contributions. The organization and all the related institutions were exempt from postal, telegraphic, telephonic, transport, and custom taxes.

56. It would be interesting to note that both of them studied in religious elementary schools in Shkodra. Karl Gurakuqi had its elementary education in the Franciscan college, while Mati Logoreci in the Saverian Jesuit school. Yet, as in many other cases this did not represent an indicator of their attitude toward religion as it was implied in some correspondences with the Ministry of Interior Affairs about the attitude of individuals that had studied in such schools and were employed as teachers. Robert Elsie has a crucial contribution in the analysis of Albanian literature revealing a dynamic panorama of the Albanian letters in the 1930s. Mati Logoreci and also other important personalities of the interwar period Albania engaged in writting are mentioned in these works see Robert Elsie, *Histori e Letërsisë Shqiptare*, Botim i dytë. trans. Abdylrahim Myftia (Pejë: Dukagjini, 2001). For Logoreci see particularly pp. 214-216.

57. Vaso Pasha (1825-1892), as known due to his functions in the Ottoman administration or Pashko Vasa, his native name. Having hold important positions in the Ottoman administration, most notably governor of Mont-Libanon, Pashko Vasa was one of the most well-know activists of the Albanian nationalism at the second half of nineteenth century. For Pashko Vasa and his role in the promotion and development of Albanian nationalism see also Clayer, *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar*, pp. 36, 65, 201, 224-228, 234-235, etc.

58. In January 1935 he became head of the Albanian Arbitral Technical Council (KTASH- Këshilli Teknik i Arbitral Shqiptar). “Passing out of Sandhurts in 1916 Oakley-Hill served with the Indian Army in Mesopotamia (Iraq) until the end of the war. His firs assignement in Albania came when he was recruited in 1929 by General Sir Jocelyn Percy, then Inspector general of the Gendermarie during the

reign of Zog. (...) The Force was part military and part police, with a British General at its head and subdivided into areas, each under the command of British - usually ex-army - Officers. Oakley-Hill became one of these officers and was first stationed in the district of Elbasan.” Oakley Hill, *An Englishman in Albania. Memoirs of a British Officer 1929-1955*. London: The Centre for Albanian Studies, 2002 p.vii. As it is confirmed also from the memoirs of Oakley Hill this participation of British army members was not casual, but a measure of the King in the attempt to contain the Italian dominance. “They (the Albanians) already had a large number of Italian officers organizing the Army, Italian firms controlling their few electric power stations, running their bank, and supplying technicians of various kinds. This was the price Zog had to pay to Mussolini for essential financial aid which he received. The Italian embassy well staffed, and General Pariani, Chief of the army Department, had a massive headquarters. However, I found that as soon as I could talk to people a little in their own language they accepted me as friend. There was also the useful asset that the British then still had a fine reputation around the world... moreover they had no axe to grind, and might have looked on as a kind of insurance against too much Italian interference. (...) Zog had chosen to have British officers, and he certainly was not prepared to let his police force be run by the Fascisti.” Hill, p.15. For notes about his experience as referee see Hill, p. 38.

59. AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djalimnia Shqiptare, D. 172, Y. 1934, p. 2: “The National Entity The Albanian Youth Sports Federation NR/1. Year II, Nr. 32 D. 3 March 1934, fifth National Football Championship: “In regard to the circular Nr.88, date 15 January 1934, we announce that on 1 April of this year starts the fifth National Football Championship, one tour and returning matches. The participating teams are: Sport Association Skenderbeu (*Shoqata Skënderbeu*), Sports Association of Shkodra Bashkimi, Sport Association *Teuta*, Sport Klub *Kavaja*, Sport Association *Vlora*.” For details about matches and organization of the championship, see Dizdari, *Vitet 30’të*, pp. 65-70.

60. ““Tani due me ju porositë tre sende qi janë parime qe deshironj t’ju rekomandoj. E para: të ndjekni zhvillimin e plotë të dashtnisë për Artdhe; E dyta: zhvillimin me zemër të kulluet e pa asnjë djallëzi të vllaznimit e bashkimit kombëtar. E treta: Disiplinë. Duhet të dini se pa disiplinë nuk mërrihet në asnjë sukses. Po s’pati disiplinë në mes, çdo gjë humbet vleftën e vet. Djalëria po s’dha shëmbëllen e disiplinës, përpjekjet që bën janë nul. Kini për udheheqës këto tre këshilla e duke iu mbështetur këtyre parimeve, ecni përpara, ju që jeni shpresa e të arthmes. E arthmja e kombit asht sigurue e pra e juej asht e sigurtë. Shpresoj se do të vazhdojë edhe pas këndej qi kini fitue dhe të uroj të përparoni edhe ma.” King Zogu in Dizdari, *Vitet 30’të*, p. 28.

61. “Another good institution was the Royal Tennis Club at Tirana. This had a club house just off the Boulevard 1 Mussolini, with a bar and a large room for dancing, and two hard earth courts. The groundsman, barman and general care taker was a very pleasant White Russian, known as Nikolai; he also played quite a useful game of tennis. We had a good many player members, including Americans, Italians, a very good German, Stahl, a good French player, Marchand who was a schoolmaster at Tirana Gymnase, and of course a few Albanians. I discovered a schoolboy, Nalbani, playing tennis on the Carnavon Library court and was impressed by his obvious talent. (...) We used to have annual open tournaments (...) There were usually many people watching the tennis, so one could spend many cheerful international evening at the Club.” Hill, pp. 52-53, see also p. 46.

62. Although it remained very limited in terms of socio-cultural groups engaged in such activities and geographical distribution as it was developed only in the main cities, tennis was developed also by private initiatives that operated through transnational networks and aspired international engagement. There was an active Tennis Club in Korça directed in 1934 by Selim Mborja. AQSH, F. 318, Bashkia Korçë, D. 71, Y. 1934, p. 1. Tennis championships were distinguished by a higher participation of female players. The number of female and male players was almost equal. The players came mainly from Korça, Vlora and Tirana. See AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, D. 149, Y. 1932, pp. 1-4. Sali Nallbani was an Albanian tennis player of the period that engaged in international activities. See Orhan Sakiqi, "Kampioni i parë shqiptar në botë," Accessed, 11 January 2012, Available [online] at

<http://www.albphilly.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=53&Itemid=51> Documents demonstrate the difficulties that had the sportsmen engaged in wrestling and their individual efforts to participate in international activities. See, AQSH, F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, D. 184, No Year, p. 1. The document reveals the match between the Albanian medium weight national champion Petro Sturgji and the Greek athlete Marinaqis (as noted in the dossier). For some brief notes on the history of Albanian wrestling see "Historia e Mundjes Shkodrane," Accessed, 11 January 2012, Available [online] at <http://www.shkodrasport.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=106:historia-e-mundjes-shkodrane&catid=44:histori&Itemid=107>

63. AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1931, D. 24, p.1. "Nalt Madhni, Naltesia e Saj Mbretnore Princesha Ruhie, Kryetarja e Arteve te bukura, qe lumnisht shpirtnon aktivitetin e komitetit Artistik, per vleresimin e pasunis s'one Artistike dhe zhvillimin e saj ne pershtatje me frymen e re përparimi, të Shqipnis së rilindun, ka vendosun me zbatue Ekspoziten e I. e Artizanit Kombëtar, për muejin Qershuer. Ekspozita në fjalë tue dokumentue ndjenjat estetike te shqiptarit, ka me vue edhe nji herë në dritë, se sa i math asht kujdesja e Shtetit, për klasen e Artizanit, të cilës, ngjarjet historike i kane ngarkue që të jetë me prodhimet e veta, treguesi i shpirtit kombëtar ndër shekuj."

64. On 25 March 1932 a person sent to the artistic committee a letter asking financial support for the folk songs he collected "after long and hard work" in the region of Shkodra. The dossier does not include the answer to this request. However, it is evident that such activities were supported, otherwise, this citizen would not have written the letter asking financial recompense for this work. AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmënia Shqiptare, Y. 1932, D. 138, pp. 1-2. Moreover, there were examples of such support in the cases of Franciscan priests of Shkodra that had collected folkloric poems (songs) in a volume called *the Brilliant of the Nation* (*Visaret e Kombit*). See At Bernardin Palaj, At Donart Kurti ed. *Visaret e Kombit*, (Shkodër: Botime Françeskane, 2007).

65. "En s'insérant dans le national, le "folklore" se déprenait de son contenu populaire pour engendrer une identification nationale relativement faible, que venait compenser une idéologie nationaliste et qui, s'attachant à valoriser l'ethnicité, donnait à l'histoire nationale un caractère mythique. Peu à peu, les mythes nationaux occupèrent une place centrale parmi les éléments constitutifs du procès d'identification. Et lorsque cette mythologie supplanta le vide idéologique créé par le changement social, sa fonction s'attacha à maintenir le national hors du social." Z.Tordai (1985) in Verebelyi, p. 2.

66. “1928, Tchécoslovaquie, Prague : Premier Congrès International des Arts Populaires : Hubert Pernot signe les 8 articles de décisions et résolutions du Congrès en matière de chants et mélodies populaires dont: Recommandation d’enregistrement phonographique des chants et mélodies populaires par les différents gouvernements. Décision de créer une Société internationale de musique populaire placée sous les auspices de la Société des Nations et plus précisément de l’Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle. Société chargée notamment d’établir un bilan international des publications d’ouvrages et d’enregistrements sur les musiques populaires (voir en 1934 et en 1944). 1929: Première assemblée générale de la "Société du folklore français" (projet de Marcel Sembat, repris par André Varagnac, M. Mauss, L. Lévy-Bruhl...). (La Société stimulera des émulations régionales. Elle sera domiciliée au Musée national des Arts et traditions populaires à partir de 1937). 1931: Tchécoslovaquie, Prague: Publication des travaux du *Premier Congrès International des Arts Populaires* de Prague de 1928. 1937: Création d’un Département des Arts et Traditions Populaires au sein des Musées nationaux, qui allait gérer le Musée national des Arts et Traditions Populaires (1ère structure officielle du genre en France, explicitement vouée à une "ethnographie folklorique" du terrain français). Exposition universelle de Paris: Premier Congrès international de Folklore, organisé par le Département et le Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires (sur l’enregistrement sonore et le domaine musical : communications de C. Brailoiu, de Ph. Stern, de R. Dévigne...).” For an analysis of these developments see Catherine Vallantin Velay, “ Le Congrès international de folklore de 1937,” *Annales*, no. 2 (March-April 1999), pp. 483-506, Accessed, 24 October 2011, Available [online] at <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/dossiers/html/dossiers/VoyagesEnFrance/themes/ChansonsCh.htm>>

67. For some brief info about the important dates concerning the foundation of the national museum in Albania, “Historia e Muzeumeve,” Accessed, 25 January 2012, Available [online] at <<http://www.zeriyt.com/historia-e-muzeumeve-arkeologjike-ne-shqiperi-t33352.0.html>> In terms of socio-historical analysis of the museum, see Seçil Yilmaz is particularly interesting see Seçil Yılmaz, *Visualization of Culture, History and Memory in Turkey: Museum Politics in the post-1980s*, (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2005), see particularly pp. 1-37.

68. The number of works of economical history focusing on interwar-Albania is limited. The works engaging in detailed scholarly historical and economical analysis focused on peasants, artisans, craftsmanship, trade relations, regional, national and international production relations, port cities and ports, land laboring and ownership, land policies, trade policies as well as use of natural sources and environment and many other subjects related or deriving from these are quite a few. The works analysing the country’s economic situation can be considered in three major groups. The first group include works dealing with the economy of Eastern Europe and the Balkans during the period: T. Ivan Berend, *Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe Before World War II* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1998). T. Ivan Berend, *An Economic History of Twentieth Century Europe: Economic Regimes from Laissez Faire to Globalization*, (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). T. Ivan Berend and Gyorgy Ranki, *Economic Development in the East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974). John Lampe, *Balkan Economic History: 1550-1950*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982. Leften Stavros Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1958).

Joseph Rothschild, *East and Central Europe between the Two World Wars*, (University of Washington Press: Seattle, 1988). Hugh Watson-Setton, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars 1918-1941*, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967). Paul Longworth, *The Making of Eastern Europe* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp. 65-81. Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 352-369. A very important work of economical history for a particular country in the region is that of Mark Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-War Economic Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). The second group includes analysis focused on the Albanian economy of the period: Sjöberg, *Rural Change and Development in Albania*. Alessandro Roselli, *Italy and Albania: Financial Relations in the Fascist Period* (London, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2006). Iliaz Fishta, *Ndërhryja e kapitalit të huaj dhe pasojat e saj skllavëruese për Shqipërinë (1931-1936)* (Tiranë: Dituria, 1986). Iliaz Fishta, Teodor Kareco, *Prona Private në Shqipëri 1924 - 1944* (Tiranë: Dituria, 1996). Teodor Kareco, *Skandal me librin "Historia e Popullit Shqiptar III"* (Tiranë: Klean, 2010.) Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, *Historia a popullit shqiptar*, Vëllimi 3 (Tiranë: Toena, 2007). Third group includes works with information and data produced during the interwar period by the governments: Selenica, *Shqipëria më 1927*. Botimet e Komisionit të Kremtimevet të 25 vjetorit të vet-qeverimit 1912-1937. *Shqipëria më 1937 Veprimi Shtetnor gjat njezet e pesë vjetëve të parë të vetqeverimit*. Ministria e Financave, *Raport mbi zhvillimin e organizimit financuer të Shtetit gjat periudhës njezet e pesë vjetve të vetqeverimit* (Tiranë: 1937).

69. In this respect it is meaningful this remark of Duygu Köksal: "Despite being a major actor in the promotion of Western art and in the motivation for representing the new life of the nation, the republican state does not seem to have been able to monopolize the field of artistic production. Instead, we can portray the cultural and intellectual scene of the 1930's and 1940's as a platform where social realist view points coexist with demands for a national art. This is perhaps evidence of the autonomy that art, with its quality of representing things, overlaps perfectly with the political sphere of the nation, as a represented entity itself. The Republic, which is the site for political representation of the majority, also becomes the site for pluralist artistic representation of the nation." Köksal, p. 221.

70. Actually, by various circulars this age was set as thirteen to nineteen years old. A letter of the Minister Xhafer Ypi dated 16 November 1928 demanded an extended training in schools for the boys younger than fifteen years old. AQSH, F. 132, Arqipeshkvia e Shkodrës, Y. 1928, D. 7, p. 13. This was approximately the age (thirteen to eighteen years old) of the Avanguardisti part of ONB (Zapponi, p.590). This shows the conformity with the Italian model, in which the other age groups, younger than Avanguardisti, were also subject to physical education although not at the same density and kind as them. As we saw in the Italian model the physical and paramilitary training was done by ONB mainly out of schools at least until 1935 when it was introduced in the high school program and given to the responsibility of a particular inspectorate. See Bertini.

71. On 4 January 1930 the Head of Enti Branch in Shkodra Giovanni Zanchi requested to the prefecture a list with names of boys born between 1910 - 1914. The correspondence continued with the Prefecture asking to the Enti branch in the city to prepare a list with name of boys that did not participate in the trainings. The list should include boys from city as well as villages. On the other hand, within the same correspondence the vice-commandant of the branch army (zav. Komandant i Togës së Qendrës) in the city asked the Prefecture detect the boys that were in the city and

did not follow the trainings in order to prevent continual complaints of Enti's responsible there. The dossier continued with correspondence within Zanchi, the prefecture and the families complaining for the obligation to participate in the training sessions. Zanchi insisted that no justification would be accepted a part the one provided by the military physicians. AQSH. F. 444, Enti Kombëtar Djelmnia Shqiptare, Y. 1930, D. 163, pp. 2, 3 and pp.10-75.

72. Among these was the edition for the 25. anniversary of independence of the journal *Leka* of Shkodra the press organ of the Jesuit Community of the city; *King Zog's Albania* of J.Swire (Joseph Swire, *King Zog's Albania*, (n.p: R.R Smith, 1930), in AQSH, F. 226, Nënprefektura Kavajë, Y. 1937, D.26, p. 4; date on document, 10 March 1937. The same author had also published previously about Albania see, Joseph Swire, *Albania and the Rise of a Kingdom*, (London: Unwin Brothers Limited, 1929). The book of Ronald Mathew's *Sons of the Eagle* was regarded as "harmful for the state interest" in the circular signed by the Minister of Interior Musa Juka on 7 August 1937. See same dossier p. 6. Other restricted books were *Shkenca dhe Feja* of Arthur M. Lewis. It was a translation of Arthur M. Lewis, *Struggle between science and Superstition*, (n.p: C.H.Kerr &Co, 1916). According to the circular the book was translated in Albanian as Science and religion, (see same dossier p. 9, date on document 8 November 1937.); The document dating 8 November 1937 restricted articles of Tolstoy after his excommunication and works of Marx, Engels and Lassalle see same dossier p. 9. The Greek journal "Ethnos" was among the prohibited journals, see same dossier p. 8, date on document 27 September 1937. The book *Rrëfime* (Confessions) of Jusuf Lazaj was evaluated "with tendencies openly in contradiction with the good morality" and withheld from circulation, see same dossier p. 5, date on document 15 June 1937.

73. Date and place on document Shkodra, 23 January 1938. In this document is included the report of the referee Alush Lleshnaku at the time instructor of physical education in the state gymnasium of Shkodra, position that the Sportive Federation regarded that would be welcomed by the Vllaznija team. He reported as follows: "On 14.30 I was on the sportive field and I called the teams. The Sport Klub Tirana was present with the following players who had regular membership cards: A. Karrapici (captain), Q.Zebishti (goalkeeper), F. Janky, L. Skuka, L. Jakova, M. Plluska, E. Hajnal, M. Petrela, R. Lllustra, Z. Lisi, M. Balla. The team of Vllaznia of Shkodra was not present. I waited in the field for 45 minutes, while the team of SK. Tirana played with one goal. There was no representative of the Vllaznija team. No measure was taken for renewing the field lines. I declared the end of the waiting time for Vllaznija after 45 minutes. SK. Tirana team left the field. I also left the field after 5 minutes."

74. See Iseult Honohan *Civic Republicanism* (New York, London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 6, 41, 73, 95, 108, 140, 142, 165, 214, 269, 270, 281, 296. A Nickolas Papas, *Plato and the Republic* (London: New York: Routledge, 1995), pp.107, 194, 197. Loyalty in Italian fascism, see Tracy H. Koon Believe, "Obey Fight: Political Socialization of Youth in Fascist Italy, 1922-1943 by de Grazia. Victoria de Grazia, Review", *The Journal of Modern History* 60, no.1 (March 1988), pp. 177-179, particularly p.178. For loyalty in American society see Monna Harrington, "Loyalty: Dual and Divided" in ed. Stephan Thernstrom, *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp.676-686. See, John Schaar, *Loyalty in America* (Berkeley: University of California at Berkeley Press, 1957). See also Jonna Perrillo, "Beyond "Progressive" Reform: Bodies, Discipline, and the Construction of the Professional

Teacher in Interwar America,” *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (Autumn, 2004), pp. 337-363, particularly pp. 339, 347, 360. For loyalty in terms of the Scouting movement see Proctor, “A separate path,” pp. 618, 620, 621. Loyalty and interwar Soviet Union see Peter A. Blitstein, “Cultural Diversity and the Interwar Conjunction: Soviet Nationality Policy and its Comparative Context,” *Slavic Review* 65, no. 2 (2006), pp. 273-293, particularly p. 279. I found important similar tendencies in interwar China. Robert Culp also focuses on morality and loyalty in relation to youth education, see Robert Culp, “Rethinking Governmentality: Training, Cultivation, and Cultural Citizenship in Nationalist China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 3 (August 2006), pp. 529-554, particularly pp. 529, 532, 543, 547. For a different use of the concept of loyalty, see Gary Robinson, “Families, generations and self: conflict, loyalty and recognition in an Australian Aboriginal society,” *Ethos* 25, no. 3 (1997), pp. 302-332. Loyalty and the Ottoman rule, see Makdisi, “Ottoman Orientalism,” pp. 782, 788, 793.

75. Extended scholarly research about religion in interwar Albania is done by Clayer. See Nathalie Clayer, “The Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement and the Reform of Albanian Islam in the Inter-War Period,” in eds. Véronique Bouillier and Catherine Servan-Schreiber, *From Arabia to Himalayas* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2004), pp. 211-228. Nathalie Clayer, “The Tijaniyya: Reformism and Islamic revival in Interwar Albania,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 4 (December 2009), pp. 483-493. Nathalie Clayer, “Construction de Mosquées en Albanie, 1920-1939” *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 151 (July-September 2010), pp. 91-105. See also Nathalie Clayer, *Religion et nation chez les Albanais: XIXe-XXe Siècles* (Istanbul: Les Editions Isis, 2002). See also the article of Babuna shedding a comparative light on the Bosnian and the Albania cases, Aydin Babuna, “The Bosnian Muslims and Albanians: Islam and Nationalism,” *Nationalities Papers* 2 (2004), pp. 287-321.

76. For an analysis of intellectual trends in interwar France see also Jane F. Fulcher, “The composer as intellectual: Ideological Inscriptions in French Interwar Neoclassicism,” *The Journal of Musicology* 17, no. 2 (Spring, 1999), pp. 197-230. Jeremy Hein, “The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity by Gérard Noiriel,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 102, no. 6 (May 1997), pp. 1751-1753. See also Gerard Noiriel, *À quoi sert l'identité nationale*, (Paris: Agone, 2007). Patrick Weil, *Qu'est-ce qu'un Français ? Histoire de la nationalité française depuis la Révolution*, (Paris: Grasset, 2002).

77. An interesting interwar analysis of fascism see Carmen Haider, “The Meaning and Significance of Fascism,” *Political Science Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (December 1933), pp. 556-564. David D. Roberts, “How Not to Think about Fascism and Ideology, Intellectual Antecedents and Historical Meaning,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 2 (April 2000), pp. 185-211. Paul Guichonnet, *Mussolini e il Fascismo*, trad. Luiza Solomoni (Milano: Xenia Tascabili, 1994). Aristotle Kallis, ed. *The Fascism Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003). Stanley G. Pane *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Wisconsin University Press, 1980). See also Tracy H. Koon, *Believe, Obey, Fight: Political Socialization of Youth in Fascist Italy, 1922-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

78. For the Turkish case see Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey – A Modern History*, (I.B. Tauris, 1997). Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (Oxford University Press, 2002). Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002). İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1983). Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, *Rethinking Modernity and*

National Identity in Turkey (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997). See also Gavin D. Brockett, "Revisiting the Turkish Revolution, 1923–1938: Secular Reform and Religious "Reaction,"" *History Compass* 4 no. 6 (2006), pp. 1060–1072.

79. For power relations and loyalties in interwar Albania see also Jason Tömes, "The throne of Zog," *History Today* 51, no. 9 (September 2001), pp. 45–52. See also Zacharoula Karangiannopoulou, *Party system cleavages in pre-Communist Albania* (Ph.D. Diss., Technischen Universität Darmstadt, 2004–2008), particularly, p. 108.

80. See Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Bir Köy Var Uzakta. Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem*. Istanbul: İletişim, 2006. See also Francisca Miranda Arenas, "Les Mouvements d'Action Catholique au Chili et l'Enracinement Social et Territorial du Parti Démocrate-Chrétien. Une Étude de Cas dans le Milieu Rural (1950–1970)," Ph.D. Diss., EHESS, 2012. The attitude of the Albanian state institutions and groups interacting in government networks toward the rural areas was quite specific and quite different from many other neighboring countries that had peasant parties during the period. Moreover, we do not detect at least a discourse on the village as it was the case for early republican Turkey. Moreover, the perception of a communist danger did not push various groups approaching each other due to this reason from 1937, to take action in rural areas as Arenas shows it was the case for 1950s Chili where the church engaged in a social mobilization in rural areas through educational institutions and associational life. These latest would be integrated to party networks and state institutional framework.

81. "... Foucault sees the state as "nothing more than the mobile effect of a regime of multiple governmentality [...]. It is necessary to address from an exterior point of view the question of the state, it is necessary to analyse the problem of the state by referring to the practices of government" (Foucault 1984, p. 21). When Foucault speaks of the "governmentalization of the state" (1991a, p. 103), he does not assume that government is a technique, that could be applied or used by state authorities or apparatuses; instead he comprehends the state itself as a tactics of government, as a dynamic form and historic stabilisation of societal power relations. Thus, governmentality is "at once internal and external to the state, since it is the tactics of government which make possible the continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state and what is not, the public versus the private, and so on; thus the state can only be understood in its survival and its limits on the basis of the general tactics of governmentality" (1991a, p. 103)." See Thomas Lemke, "Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique," Accessed, 10 December 2009, Available [online] at <[http://www.andosociology.net/resources/Foucault\\$2C+Governmentality\\$2C+and+Critique+IV-2.pdf](http://www.andosociology.net/resources/Foucault$2C+Governmentality$2C+and+Critique+IV-2.pdf)> p. 9.

APPENDIX B

1. Maps of present-day Albania :





L A J M E R I M

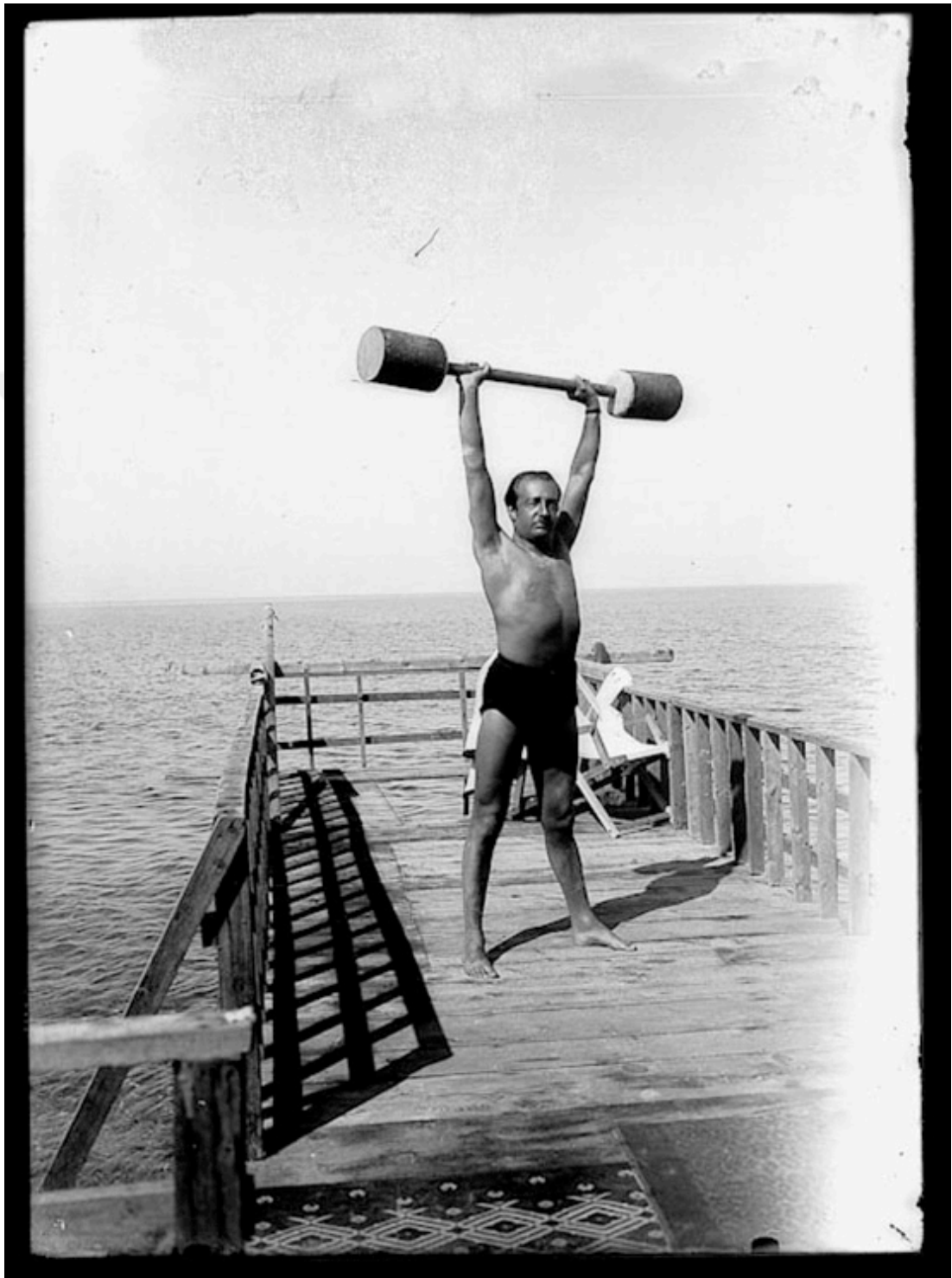
Bajmë me ڏitë popullin e Durrësif se, më 24 të k. m. ڏitën e Diel, or: më 16 m. ڏ., nxanëset e nxanësit e shkollave të qytetit t' onë në fushën sportive të këtushme, zhvillojnë manifestimin shkolluer të vitit 1935-36.

Janë të lutun të gjithë prindët e fëmijve të shkollave të qytetit, si edhe populli, q' i urdhënojnë në këtë ڏitë për me pamë ushtrimet gjimnastikore dhe gjithëfarë lojnash q' zhvillohen prej fëmijve të tyne, tue iu shtrve këtëne rregullave q' shënohen më poshtë:

1. Tribuna për mbrenda është rezervue vetën për 14 vende nderi, për autoritetet më të natë të vendit.
2. Vendi përpara tribunës është rezervue për oficera, nëpuna dhe pari.
3. Galeria A. dhe B. me vendet e tyne përpara, është rezervue për popullin e ftuem.
4. Pjesa tjetër për qark fushës është në dispozicion të popullit.
5. Të ftuemit e kanë të caktuem në biljetën e thirjes, vendin dhe sasin e karrikave në dispozicion. A kush nuk ka të drejtë më pretendue ma tepër vend se sa ju është caktue.
6. Dyert e fushës do të hapen në orën 15 dhe e hymja ka me marrë fund më 15.45.
7. Sheshi i fushës gjimnastikuër do të jetë krejt i lirë, lejohen vetëm fotografistat e thirrur.
8. E hymja gratis.
9. Të ftuemit janë të lutun me paraqitë letra ftesat në dyer e të hymnit, për ndryshe s' mund të kenë karrike.

[illegible]

4. Ahmet Zogu , 1925, photo by Kel Marubi. Included in the exposition, "L'âge dor de la photographie Albanaise. La dynastie Marubi et les rhapsodes des lumières 1845-1945," sous dir. Loïc Chauvin, Christian Raby, in La Maison d'Europe, Paris: 5 October 2011-8 January 2012.



5. Announces for the first and fifth national championship of athletics

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Per rekl

Çampionatat Kombëtare t'Athletikës së lehtë

ENTI KOMBETAR DJELMNIA SHQIPTARE



KAMPIONAT KOMBETAR
I ATHLETIKËS
TIRANE 1929.

Mbas urdhënit të N. M. Tij Mbretit, ndër ditët e para të Shtatorit, due me thanë me datën 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, t' atij muaji do të zhvillohen në Kryeqytet, në fushën e Shallvarëvet, kom-

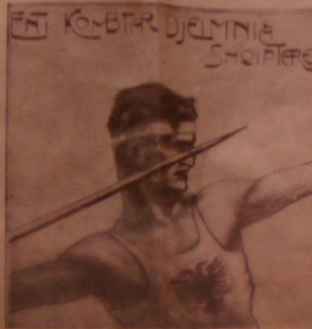
petisjonet e para për Çampionatat kombëtare t'Athletikës së lehtë. Qëllimi i këtyne asht t'i jepet një zhvillim më i gjatë propagandës sportive në vëndin t'onë.

MBRETNIA SHQIPTARE

I Pesti Kampionat Kombëtar i Atletikes së Lehtë

nën Patronazhin e Naltë të N. S. S. Mbretnore
Princeshes MYZEJEN

1-2-3-4 Shtatuer
1933



1-2-3-4 Shtatuer
1933

6. Membership Card in the Sports Federation

PJESA IV LOJATARIT
FEDERATA SPORTIVE
SHQIPTARE

KARTË PERSONALE

Nënshkruari Shimiti Beli

lindur në Gelhasan më 1914.

banues në Gelhasan

anëtar i shoqëris sportive Sport

Klub Gelhasani

kërkon të shkruhet në radhët e Federatës

seksion Natit

divizion Kombetare

Detyrohet t'u rrijë dispozitave të përmbajtura në statutin shoqëror dhe të observojë gjithë urdhërat e rregullores të nxjerra prej Federatës.

(Nënshkrimi) Beli

datë 26/ qersht/ 1933.

U-pa Kryetari i Shoqërisë

(Nënshkrimi) [Signature]

Kryetari i Komitetit të Qarkut

[Signature]



A.Q.SH. F. 447 V. 1932-1933 D. 113 fl. 6

APPENDIX C

- Fig. 1. Organization "The Albanian Youth" May-November 1928. Based on the Regulation for the Physical, Moral and Patriotic Education of the Albanian Youth. AQSH, F. Minsitria e Arsimit, Nr. 195, Y.1928, D.23, pp. 2-6.
- Fig. 2. The National Entity "the Albanian Youth," 14 November 1928-June 1930. Based on the decree-law for the foundation of "Enti Kombëtar Djelmenija Shqiptare", 14 November 1928. AQSH, F. Minsitria e Arsimit, Nr. 195, Y. 1928, D. 23, pp. 11-17.
- Fig. 3 The National Entity the Albanian Youth, 1930-1934.
Based at Decree -Law published in the Official Journal Nr. 35 bis Y. 6 June1930.
- Fig. 4. Institutional Position and Responsibilities of the Head-Instructor of Physical Education. Schema based on Instruction for head-Instructors, 4 July 1933. See AQSH, Fondi Ministria e Arsimit, Nr.195, Y. 1933, D. 94, pp. 36-40.
- Fig. 5. State's Organization of Youth, March 1934-August 1935.
Based at the Official Journal, Nr. 16, 24 March 1934.
- Fig. 6. Organization of Youth, The Federation, August 1935-April 1939.
Based on the Statute of the Federations of Sports and Artistic Associations "The Albanian Brotherhood " (Tirana: Press of the Ministry of Education, 1935).

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ERRATA SHEET

PAGE	LINE	READS	SHOULD READ	MISSING WORD	WORD -INESS
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3	footnote 3	neigorings	neighboring		
4	7	itslef	itself		
8	10	unparallel	unparalleled		
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