



## **ALBANIA AND GREECE: UNDERSTANDING AND EXPLAINING**

Alba Cela  
Albert Rakipi  
Andi Balla  
Bashkim Zeneli  
Bledar Feta  
Dorian Koçi  
Jordan Jorgji  
Konstantinos Giakoumis  
Ledion Krisafi  
Selami Xhepa



# **Albania and Greece: Understanding and explaining**

Alba Cela  
Albert Rakipi  
Andi Balla  
Bashkim Zeneli  
Bledar Feta  
Dorian Koçi  
Jordan Jorgji  
Konstantinos Giakoumis  
Ledion Krisafi  
Selami Xhepa

January 2018



ALBANIAN INSTITUTE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



Published by: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
Office Tirana  
Rr. Abdi Toptani  
Torre Drin, Kati i 3-të  
Kutia Postare 1418  
Tirane, ALBANIA

Authors: Alba Cela  
Albert Rakipi  
Andi Balla  
Bashkim Zeneli  
Bledar Feta  
Dorian Koçi  
Jordan Jorgji  
Konstantinos Giakoumis  
Ledion Krisafi  
Selami Xhepa

*The opinions, findings, conclusions and recommendations expressed in this publishing are of the respective authors and do not necessarily represent those of the Foundations.*

This publication cannot be used for commercial purposes without a prior written approval by both Foundations.

## Table of contents

<b>Albania-Greece relations in the context of Albania’s EU integration process: gap between reality and perception</b>	
<i>Alba Cela</i> .....	5
<b>Understanding Albanian-Greek relations: Deconstructing paradoxes and myths</b>	
<i>Albert Rakipi</i> .....	17
<b>Migration: Bridge or pitfall in Albania – Greece relations?</b>	
<i>Andi Balla</i> .....	35
<b>Why are the Albanian-Greek relations moving backwards?</b>	
<i>Bashkim Zeneli</i> .....	47
<b>Bilateral Governmental Communication: A Tool for Stronger Albanian-Greek Relations</b>	
<i>Bledar Feta</i> .....	71
<b>Unsolved political issues between Greece and Albania threaten the stability and liberal democracy in Balkans</b>	
<i>Dr. Dorian Koçi</i> .....	107
<b>Public opinion and Albanian-Greek relations</b>	
<i>Jordan Jorgji</i> .....	115

**Greek-Albanian Relations in Greek and Albanian Historiography of the 2000s**

*Konstantinos Giakoumis*..... 137

**The Greek foreign policy towards Kosovo and the region and the implications for the Albanian-Greek relations**

*Ledion Krisafi*..... 161

**The economics of Albanian-Greece cooperation**

*Selami Xhepa*..... 175

## Greek-Albanian Relations in Greek and Albanian Historiography of the 2000s

*Konstantinos Giakoumis<sup>1</sup>*

*... I am glad to report that our project proposal was finally accepted by the General Assembly of ... I presented the project on the first day and was badly attacked by the ... [a national] delegate... The Academy of [capital city of a Balkan state] does not accept the term “pre-modern” or any term different to the term “post-Byzantine,” although it is not willing to participate in the project. We had a discussion and I convinced the other delegates that the latter term is just an expression of a Balkan anachronistic nationalism, not a scholarly argument. The vote for the new projects was on the last day and ... [the very national delegate] used that period to oppose me and to find people on his/her side. I kept answering indirect questions and made a lot of clarifications. Finally, at the time of vote, the ad hoc Committee presented the project in a positive way, and even [the very national delegate] voted us, but surprisingly the ... delegate [of a western European state] voted against. So, the project was triumphally accepted and I was congratulated a lot by many colleagues from all over the world. The ... delegate [of a Balkan state] refused to support me in the last day, because the ... Academy [of the very Balkan state] is ...*

---

1. Assoc. Prof. Konstantinos Giakoumis, Ph.D., European University of Tirana

This anonymised report, whose extract is quoted above carefully edited with square brackets, could well have been an extract from the lobbying meetings at the side of negotiations ahead of the Treaty of Lausanne, had it not been for the terms “project,” “pre-modern” and “post-Byzantine” pointing to contemporary times. In reality, the text above was reported on the basis of a recent meeting of an international scientific event for the purpose of evaluating a number of research project proposals. As is implied, the outline negotiations involve a number of Balkan states, including Greece and Albania. This event is not the least isolated; to quote only one type of such events, many times international scientific events have fallen prey to Greek boycott on account of how the neighbouring state of FYR Macedonia is reported. Without entering into the essence of the name issue, the self-exclusion from events aimed at bringing together scientists who are potentially to drive the change of hostile public perception towards the Other is much telling. It is therefore understood that in some ways the past continues to haunt the Balkan present and its scientific circles, especially those employed at state institutions. In this context, the aim of this paper is to outline the evolution of the Greek and Albanian historiography in matters pertaining to Greek-Albanian relations in the course of the 2000s and how these are conditioned more by ideological proclivities than by the intensity and quality of contact of Albanian and Greek historians with each other or by the generation of historians.

Questions pertaining to the ideological orientation of Greek and Albanian historiography even after the 2000s remain highly controversial for a number of reasons. The scientific politics and ideologemes brought forward by both sides are more often than not based, originate or are attributed to early twentieth century inertial remnants (Tsitselikis & Christopoulos 2007, 9). In the course of the past century several generations of Albanians (including Albanian historians) were nationally nurtured with the image of the Greek as an enemy (Giakoumis and Kalemaj 2015 & 2017; Kalemaj and

Giakoumis 2015) while the same generations of Greeks were raised with the morale of the irredentist political notion of “Northern Epirus,” popularized in nationalist songs, like “ I have a little sister, truly a doll; her name is Northern Epiros and I love her...” (Tsitselikis & Christopoulos 2007, 17). Hence, dealing with the multifaceted aspects of Greek-Albanian relations has inevitably borne the ideological charge and arsenal that such perceptions of the ethnic Other has inherited.

In the past, matters related to the ideological orientation of Greek and Albanian historiography were deceptively upheld as self-evident truths in the service of political agendas which were set out in advance of research on historical material. Blatsiotis has demonstrated how the principal ideologeme of Greek policy that Albanians constitute no nation, but rather a volatile ethnic group has transformed in various periods of time (2003, 46-50), also imparting scholarly works of quite some merit (e.g. Malkidis 2007, 1-80). Conversely, Greek irredentist claims over Northern Epiros, entangled, as they were, in the period they were raised, acquired a quasi-inherent trait of the Greeks as the ethnic Other and was consequently projected by the Albanian popular and scientific historiography into the ancient past to uphold the national myth of permanent victimization (e.g. Ministria 1959, 6).

In pre-war Balkan scholarship, but also thereafter, historical problems and phenomena were separated from their wider, international context and were studied from the narrow sight of national ideology in an attempt to construct their alleged ‘national’ character. For example, the long 19<sup>th</sup> century’s passage from the *empire* as a political entity to the nation-state was viewed in a linear fashion, thereby failing to distinguish processes of hybridization in the process of constructing national identities, whereby empires imagined they could transform to nation-states (Ottomanism) and nation-states envisaged their future as empires (the Greek ‘Great Idea’ and the Serbian ‘Nacertaniye;’ Stamatopoulos 2018, Introduction). I have elsewhere demonstrated



how the instrumentalization of the Albanian language question in the process of constructing a national identity led to historical exaggerations and distortions with regards to the stance of the Orthodox Patriarchate towards Albanian language and its use in liturgical services (Giakoumis 2011). It is therefore evident that such ethno-centric constructs are profoundly both methodologically problematic and research-distorting.

Such biases in Greek and Albanian historiography could, in theory, provide partial answer to the question why education does not always lead to prejudices reduction in Albania, contrary to the conclusions of intergroup communication theory scholars. An increasing body of literature presents evidence that more education leads to less intergroup prejudices. However, as Peshkopia et al. has presented (2017), this conclusion, drawn on the basis of evidence from western countries applying multicultural education, does not apply to most Balkan countries which, alike Albania, set primary goal of their educational systems to instil a sense of national identity and belonging, in view that enduring notions of national identity are believed to form in the course of primary socialization years as also indicated by the US paradigm (cf. Giakoumis & Kalemaj 2017). In his survey, Peshkopia has found that, contrary to the expectation that more education leads to less intergroup biases, in the case of Albania, more education leads on the one hand to prejudice reduction towards homosexuals, but on the other hand to prejudice increase towards Greeks, i.e. a group targeted as the hostile Other by ethno-nationalist narratives (Peshkopia et al. 2017). While Peshkopia's research has not been conducted in Greece to draw useful conclusions, Papakosta's work (2009; 2013) certainly indicates similar prompts from the side of Greek historiography.

Not surprisingly, the subjects of historical research from both academic and non-academic milieus were dominated by subjects related to dominant national(ist) narratives, occasionally alternated with topics of political and diplomatic history. One also notes the

parallel development of a non-academic literature on the same matters (e.g. Dalianis 2000 & 2008; Isufi 2002; Karkasinas 2014; Litsios 2008; Mandi & Jovani 2013), not bound by rigorous scientific methods and interpretative apparatus. Such literature more often than not promotes nationalist agendas. Especially after the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, public history initiatives play an increasingly important role, on occasion leaving noteworthy traces (e.g. Tzimas 2010). The availability of archives has significantly facilitated research, although the declassification time of archives after 25 years, in the case of Albania, and 30 years in regard to Greece is only nominal as in reality fewer documents have been declassified and prepared for historical research to the official declassification time (cf. Skoulidas 2015). It should be noted, however, that the number of documentary evidence published or utilized from Albanian archives (Boçi 2008, 2009, 2010 & 2012; Dervishi 2009; Dushku 2012; Gurakuqi 2011; Meta 2009, 2010, 2012a, 2012b & 2013; Naska 1999; Puto 2011; Tritos 2003) is greater than the number of published Greek sources of the like (Baltsiotis 2009; Karakitsios 2010; Kollaros 2015; Koltsida 2008; Kondis 2004; Kouzas 2013; Manta 2004 & 2005; Margaritis 2005).

For the historical period from before Albania's independence until World War II dominant topics in the Albanian and Greek post-2000 historiography relate to matters of territory, minority rights, the establishment of the Autocephalous Church of Albania and the so-called "Cham" issue. The delimitation of the new state's borders was studied from a variety of perspectives. Most scholars include matters related to territory in wider studies pertaining to Greek-Albanian relations (e.g. Gurakuqi 2011; Dushku 2012; Meta 2013) and the subsequent claims of an unsolved "North-Epirotan" issue (Barkas 2016; Skoulidas 2015 & 2012; Baltsiotis & Skoulidas 2013; Triadafilopoulos 2010; Malkidis 2007; Baltsiotis 2003). Another preferred subject for the Greek historiography relates to the ethnic Greek minority in Albania and its rights, a topic that has been touched in political (e.g. Baltsiotis 2009; Barkas 2016; Anastasopoulou 2013;

Dalianis 2000 & 2008; Karakitsios 2010; Tsitselikis & Christopoulos 2003), geographical (Kallivretakis 1995), linguistic (e.g. Barkas 2016), cultural (e.g. Karkasinas 2014; Litsios 2008; Mandi&Jovani 2013; Pappa 2009) and educational (Barkas 2016; Giakoumis&Kalemaj 2017; Ismyrliadou 2013; Karakitsios 2010; Koltsida 2008; Kouzas 2013) perspectives. The matter of the Orthodox Church of Albania and its Autocephaly was dealt with in a lesser number of monographs [Glavinis 1996; Katopodis 2001; Giannakou 2009; Simaku 2011; Bido 2016]. Last but not least, a significant number of works have been devoted to Chameria and its inhabitants. This is a primarily legal matter related to the properties of the exiled Cham Muslims who were forced to flee out of Greece towards Albania after World War II, after the collaboration of certain individuals of this community with the Nazi occupation forces in Greece, but it also bears political ramifications. Such works were written from an Albanian (Naska 1999; Isufi 2002; Dervishi 2009; Meta 2009, 2010, 2012a; Puto 2011; Elsie & Bejtullah 2013), and a Greek (Tritos 2003; Manta 2004; Margaritis 2005; Ktistakis 2006; Papatheodorou 2007; Baltsiotis 2009) perspective on the matter.

Although one would have expected that, after many years of Greek-Albanian exchanges at all levels, Albania's integration to NATO and the EU, where Greece is already a member and Albania's supporter, a certain postnationalistic (Bennett 2001) or internationalistic trend would emerge, in fact, nationalist discourses and related stereotypes demonstrate an outstanding endurance. This is partly owed to the fact that very few scholars speak the language of the ethnic other. Michael Tritos' brief treatise on the Chams (2003), for instance, cites no Albanian bibliography, while the Albanian perspectives considered by Malkidis (2007) are solely in English, thereby imparting the author's ability to pass more informed judgements on the matters he raises. This is not an exclusivity of Greek historiography. Writing about minorities and the construction of national identity in Albania a year after his election as a member of the Albanian Academy of

Science (2012), Beqir Meta (2013) did not consider any newer Greek bibliography to Lazarou's 1986 book on the Vlachs of the Balkans and their language. His books on Chams (Meta 2010) and the Greek-Albanian tension from the outbreak of the World War II (1939) to the end of the Greek Civil War (1949) (Meta 2012a) includes no Greek scholarship after 1997, while even the Albanian works considered were published no later than 2000 and 2001 respectively. One could attribute this to personal hastiness, as his book on Greek-Albanian relations in 1949-1990 (Meta 2012b) has no bibliographical updates after 1997, had it not been for scholars of a younger generation who conducted part of their studies in Greece using a rather outdated bibliography, as is the case of Sonila Boçi's work on minorities in Albania from 1939-1949 (Boçi 2012), whose last consulted work in Greek bibliography was Manta's monograph (2004). It is surprising that Ktistakis' authoritarian, purely legal work on the properties of Chams and Albanians in Greece and the lift of the war status from a domestic and international legal standpoint (Febr. 2006) has been entirely neglected in Albanian bibliography, as far as I know.

The absence of an international perspective from the majority of historiographic works produced in Greece and Albania after the year 2000 is also an approach entangled in past, ethnocentric perceptions and narratives. Hence, while Ardit Bido's monograph (2016) is very well-informed in terms of Greek and Albanian bibliography, the author's monoscopic perspective of the relations of the Ecumenical Patriarchate with the Orthodox Church of Albania falls short of understanding how developments analysed and discussed in his work were conditioned by wider political power reconfigurations that shaped the frame in which the Ecumenical Patriarchate could move, such as developments with the Romanian and Bulgarian Churches, etc. (cf. Giakoumis 2011). Sonila Boçi's (2012) well-researched and overall balanced monograph on minorities in Albania between 1939 and 1949 reproduces uncritically an older thesis of Albanian historiography, stereotypically repeated by the older generation of

Albanian historians (e.g. Meta 2013, 51-8), that the Greek-speaking population in Southern Albania were metics settled during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to work the lands of the rich land owners (formerly called feudal lords) of Gjirokastra and Saranda, a thesis that has long been reviewed (cf. Giakoumis 2003). The dominance of ethnocentric, monoscopic and rather localistic interpretative apparatus is apparently not a trait of some Albanian historiographical works (cf. Xhufi 2009; Karagjozi-Kore 2014), but also of Greek historiography (e.g. Koltsida 2008; Koltsidas 2008; Pappa 2009; Karakitsios 2010; Xynadas 2012; Ismyrliadou 2013; Karkasinas 2014). It is interesting to note that such proclivities are very evident to select historiography produced by members of the Greek minority in Albania (Barkas 2016).

The studies of scholars substantially trained internationally offer insights of wider interest. The historiographical value of the work of Ilir Kalemaj (2014) is good evidence of how substantial exposure to international scholarly environments can provide original insights of interest beyond the narrow focus of a study. While Kalemaj's study did not focus exclusively on Greek-Albanian relations, his study of real versus imaginary territoriality of Albania also touches on Greek-Albanian relations. Kalemaj developed a two-by-two matrix, one of whose axis related to domestic political pressures regarding Albania's actual and should-be borders, while the other to international pressures vis-à-vis Albania's borders. His findings that high international pressure lowered claims of imagined territories and that low international pressure resulted in augmented domestic political claims over imagined borders can be applied in wider contexts. The works of Ridvan Peshkopia and his colleagues (Peshkopia & Voss 2016) can be classified in the same category of studies by internationally trained scholars dealing with matters related to the history of Greek-Albanian relations and how these affect current attitudes towards the other. Peshkopia & Voss' work on the role of ethnic divisions in the attitude of ethnic majorities or minorities toward the death penalty

(2016) draws conclusions of universal interest in such matters. Though about an entirely different period and setting, I think that Margaritis' stunning comparative study of both Jews and Chams as "undesired fellow-patriots" (2005) can also be classified to the interpretative apparatus of viewing multiple perspectives of a single matter for safer conclusions.

From Greek historiography, important and rather well-balanced contributions can be quoted from scholars whose studies and public interventions aim at smoothing the divisive forces of nationalism in the Balkans. Such type of historiography highlights matters related to minorities, holds theses often deemed as cosmopolitan, in juxtaposition to other 'nationally-minded' scholars. Leonidas Kallivretakis, for instance, has conducted the earliest historical geography and demography account of Albania's post-socialist period (1995), in which he looks at matters with the cold blood of a disengaged scientist. The political, pragmatic and, on occasion, self-interested, adaptations of ethnic identifications in post-socialist Albania have been studied by Lambros Baltsiotis (2003) through the prism of societies in transition. Baltsiotis (2003) traces a number of political arguments and ideologemes raised by both Greece and Albania in a historical fashion. In so doing, he outlines the processes by which calls for a joint 'Greek-Albanian nation' transformed to the construction of the political notion of Northern Epirus (Baltsiotis 2003, 45-53); the instrumentalization of language to uphold political claims over a single geographical region (Epirus) by the two states (*op. cit.* 54-61); issues of the historical delineation of the Greek minority (*op. cit.* 61-84); matters related to the complex identifications of Albanian and Vlach Orthodox Christians (*op. cit.* 84-110). Tsitselikis and Christopoulos' (2003) work on the historical "uncertainties" of the Greek minority in Albania viewed as "national truths" is also to be included in the same analytical categories. I would also single out the works of Elias Skoulidas (2001, 2012, 2015), whose balanced approach towards contested issues causing much political

controversies owes much to his competent knowledge of Albanian, a rather rare quality of Greek scholars writing on matters of both Greek and Albanian interest. It should be noted, however, that the lists of neither the works nor the authors discussed above are exhaustive, though they are representative.

In the course of 2000s a number of very interesting researches cast light on how the ethnic 'Other' is represented in primary and secondary school History education and textbooks in the Balkans and how this might have affected modern attitudes towards the ethnic 'Other.' The representation of the 'Other' was approached from a Balkan perspective in the course of the late 1990s in a background of rising tensions that eventually led to the bloody Kosovo conflict. The publication of a collective 1998 volume titled *The Image of the Other* (Collective 1998) in Sofia was only a start, in which the image of Albanians in Balkan textbooks was discussed, yet, no Albanian or other scholar presented the image of the 'Other' in Albanian history textbooks. In 1998 an international conference on the same matter gathered scholars from the Balkans (including Albania) and west Europe on this very topic (Xochelis & Toloudi 2001), whose proceedings comprised a first decisive step in the 2000s towards the study of the role of History textbooks in national identity constructions. The conclusion that negative constructions of the 'Other' need to be replaced in the frame of a united Europe led to a number of initiatives aiming at producing alternative History education materials in several Balkan languages (e.g. Murgescu & Berktay 2009; Kolev & Koulouri 2009).

In this context, it is hardly surprising that similar studies were conducted in the frame of Greek-Albanian relations. Although interest in this matter dates back in 1990s (e.g. Kofos 1993), new research was conducted and presented in the 1998 conference in Thessaloniki, which was later published in 2001. The volume dealt both with the image of the Albanians in Greek textbooks and the

image of Greeks in Albanian textbooks (Xochelis et al. 2001). The image of the Albanians in Greek textbooks was later researched with a different sample of textbooks by Konstantina Papakosta (2009 & 2013), whose findings corroborate the conclusions of Xochelis et al. (2001). In both samples of textbooks, the image of the ethnic ‘Other’ in Greek-Albanian relations is portrayed negatively.

In 2014 the author of this paper initiated a longitudinal project researching the image of the ‘Other’ in Albanian History school textbooks from before the establishment of the Albanian state to the country’s post-communist period (1886 to date). Research of the image of the ‘Greek’ in Albanian History school textbooks has currently advanced to the end of the communist regime (1990) and its outcomes have been published (Giakoumis & Kalemaj 2015 and 2018; Kalemaj & Giakoumis 2015). As has been demonstrated, the transformation of the image of the Greek in Albanian history school textbooks reflects the principal phases of bilateral relations, echoing histories of conflict, neighbourhood and partnership, whereas the image of the Greek is more negative upon the nation-building (1912-1921) and the complete self-isolation of Albania from the rest of the world after the Sino-Albanian split (1972-1978) than in other times; for, Albania’s nation-building project, similarly to the ones of other Balkan countries, was highly dependent on the demonization of the ethnic ‘Other’ (Giakoumis & Kalemaj 2015), while Albania’s seclusion from the rest of the world could be sustained only upon the systematic terrorization of the population on the pretences of foreign existentialist threat (Giakoumis & Kalemaj 2018). The portrayal of a negative image of the Greek is primarily owed to national curricular choices persistently focusing on territoriality and military operations with reference to the Greeks (Kalemaj & Giakoumis 2015). Such findings have been used to explain the failure of intergroup communication theory to explain why more education in the case of Albania does not lead to biases reduction in the case of Greeks, contrary to what it does in the case of homosexuals (Peshkopia et al.



2017; Peshkopia et al. July 16, 2017).

In a paper dealing with the evolution of historiography vis-à-vis Greek-Albanian relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century it would have been an omission not to mention some excellent works centering on Greek-Albanian relations before the establishment of either nation-state. Among these studies, one should single out the outstanding multi-year work of Vasilis Panagiotopoulos and his team (2007), which culminated with the publication in 2007 of the (almost) complete preserved archives of Ali Pasha of Tepelena, the Pasha of Ioannina (c. 1750-1822), a controversial but dominant personality of the late Ottoman Empire. His figure is of interest so much for late Ottoman history as it is for the emerging history of the Albanian people, as Albanian historiography has interpreted him and other late Ottoman pashas in Epirus and Albania as an early agent of national awakening. The close vicinity of Ali Pasha's pashalik to the Ionian islands, by then under European control (Venetian, French, Russian, English), and his ambition to rise to some sort of a local hegemon paved the way to Balkan and international scholarships writing a variety of information about his life and deeds, viewing him positively, negatively or variably. Although such accounts were based on some sporadic letters of his, a complete publication of original sources which could test what has been written about him was thus necessary. The publication of the almost 1500 documents of his (preserved) archive, systematically annotated and organized to provide all possible assistance to readers (indexes, glossary, extensive introduction) was missing. Their publication (2007) helps understand the operations of a primitive hegemonic system of power with its difficult-to-understand bureaucracy. Panagiotopoulos' introduction, in particular, is a monument of balanced historiographical discourse, which sets the tone of such works.

Having outlined the major developments in Greek and Albanian historiography on Greek-Albanian relations, in spite of few new and

innovative approach, one is stunned at the persistence of ethnocentrism and past stereotypes. In spite of the almost free movement, very few Greek or Albanian historians learn the language of the other even when they dare to write about bilateral relations, at the expense of the effective utilization of other's bibliography. In addition, with the exception of few international initiatives, such as the ones undertaken in the frame of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbooks research's project titled "History Textbooks and Teaching in Albanian Language Areas," Greek and Albanian historians are rarely involved in joint bilateral or multilateral historical projects, thereby obstructing ample time for contact and exchanges. Last but not least, even though it has never been easier to travel and acquire international perspectives on matters of interest to Greek-Albanian relations, there still is bare international dimension that would provide fresh insights to matters raised in older Greek and Albanian historiography. In some ways Greek and Albanian historiographies seem to remain entangled in their own past. The few innovative and balanced works mentioned above seem to be written either by mostly politically left-wing oriented scholars, such as Lambros Baltiotis, in Greek historiography; and by scholars with substantial international education and training with regards to the Albanian historiography. It is interesting to notice that my findings regarding the Greek historiography corroborate the findings of a Greek report that the biggest factor[s] determining "attitudes towards Albanians is (primarily) ideological self-identification" (Armakolas 2013, Chapter 5).

Writing to the author of this paper to complain for not being invited to a conference, a colleague exclaims: "Good luck to the conference on ...; I just read the programme at ... It seems that big strings were pulled and we [i.e. the colleague] were not invited. I assume that the ... participants [from a third Balkan country], fierce exponents of ... nationalism [of this third Balkan country], are more serious scientists. Where are all these distinguished scientists from ... who have dealt with ... and ...?" Considering that the point is not related to the

name of the colleague, the title of the conference or the origin of the third Balkan state and its historians participating in the conference, I omitted them for obvious reasons. In fact, although the conference was launched with an open call for proposals which was missed by the good colleague, the reason of non-invitation was owed solely on budgetary grounds. Yet, levelling a conspiracy theory appears to be almost inherent to the Balkan peninsula, where the value of human life has rarely outweighed the violent thrust of nationalism.

## Bibliography

Anastasopoulou, Garyfallia. 2013. Αλβανοί Ορθόδοξοι και Έλληνες της Αλβανίας και ο Ρόλος της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας της Αλβανίας. Athens: Vivliorama.

Armakolas, Ioannis. December 2013. *The Greek Public Opinion Towards Albania and the Albanians. Social Attitudes and Perceptions. Report.* Athens: ELIAMEP.

Baltsiotis, Lampros. 2003. “Η Ελληνική Μειονότητα της Αλβανίας: Μία Προσπάθεια Προσέγγισης σε μια Μεταβατική Κοινωνία.” In *Η Ελληνική Μειονότητα της Αλβανίας*, edited by Konstantinos Tsitselikis and Dimitrios Christopoulos, 45-125. Athens: Kritiki.

Baltsiotis, Lampros. 2009. *Οι Μουσουλμάνοι Τσάμηδες από την Είσοδό τους στο Ελληνικό Κράτος μέχρι την Έναρξη του Ελληνοϊταλικού Πολέμου (1913-1940). Η Ιστορία μιας Κοινότητας από το Millet στο Έθνος.* Ph.D. diss. Panteion University of Athens.

Baltsiotis, Lambros & Skoulidas Elias. 2013. “Aspects of Greek “Myths” Related to the Albanians During the Age of Nationalism.” In *Myths of the Other in the Balkans. Representations, Social Practices, Performances*, edited by

Fotini Tsihiridou and Nikitas Palantzas. Thessaloniki: Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike Greece 3.0.

Barkas, Panagiotis. 2016. *Ta Ταξίδια της Φηγού*. Athens: Elikranon.

Bennett, David. 2001. *Multicultural States: Rethinking Difference and Identity*. London & New York: Routledge.

Bido, Ardit. 2016. *Kisha Ortodokse Shqiptare. Një Histori Politike (1878-1937)*. Tirana: UET Press.

Boçi, Sonila. 2008. “Minoriteti Grek në Shqipëri midis Rezistencës Shqiptare dhe asaj Greke (1942-1944).” *Studime Historike* 3-4: 133-57.

Boçi, Sonila. 2009. “Marrëdhëniet e Ndërsjella të Minoritetit Grek me Qeverinë Komuniste Shqiptare (1944-1945).” *Studime Historike* 3-4: 83-102.

Boçi, Sonila. 2010. “Politika e Shtetit Komunist Shqiptar ndaj Minoriteteve në Shqipëri (1944-1948).” *Studime Historike* 1-2: 105-29.

Boçi, Sonila. 2012. *Minoritetet në Shqipëri midis Identitetit dhe Integritetit 1939-1949*. Tiranë: QSA-Instituti i Historisë.

Collective. 1998. *The Image of the Other. Analysis of the High-School Textbooks in History from the Balkan Countries*. Sofia: Balkan Colleges Foundation.

Dalianis, Menelaos B. 2000. *H Εθνική Αντίσταση της Ελληνικής Μειονότητας στην Αλβανία (1940-44)*. Athens: Iolkos.

Dalianis, Menelaos B. 2008. *Το Μεγάλο Άνοιγμα. Χρονικό των Ελληνο-Αλβανικών Σχέσεων στο Δεύτερο Ήμισυ του 20<sup>ο</sup> Αιώνα*. Αθηνών: Πολυτυπο.

- Dervishi, Kastriot, ed. 2009. *Masakra në Çamëri. Dëshmitë e të Mbijetuarve. Përmbledhje Dokumentesh Arkivore*. Tiranë: 55.
- Duka, Valentina. 2014. *Histori e Shqipërisë 1912-2000*. Tiranë: Botime Universitare Albas.
- Dushku, Ledia. 2012. *Kur Historia Ndau Dy Popuj Miq. Shqipëria dhe Greqia 1912-1914*. Tirana: QSA-Instituti i Historisë.
- Elsie, Robert, Bejtullah, Destani, eds. 2013. *The Cham Albanians of Greece: A Documentary History*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Endresen, Cecilie. 2014. "Status Report Albania 100 Years: Symbolic Nation-Building Completed?" In *Strategies of Symbolic Nation-Building in South-Eastern Europe*, edited by Pål Kolstø, 201-25. Farham and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Gerolymatos, André. 2002. *The Balkan Wars, Conquest, Revolution and Retribution from the Ottoman Era to Twentieth Century and Beyond*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giakoumis, Konstantinos. 2003. "The Question of the 'Relative Autochthony' of the Albanians in Epiros And the Albanian Immigration Movements of the Fourteenth Century: The case of the region of Dropull, Gjirokastër (Southern Albania)." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27: 171-84.
- Giakoumis, Konstantinos. 2011. "The Policy of the Orthodox Patriarchate Toward the Use of Albanian in Church Services." *Albanohellenica* 4: 137-71.
- Giakoumis, Konstantinos and Kalemaj, Ilir. May 4, 2015. "The Perception of the Greek in the Albanian National Identity-Building Process (1886-1938)." Available at SSRN <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2602565> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2602565>.

- Giakoumis, Konstantinos and Kalemaj, Ilir. 2018. "Fortifying the Nation: The Image of the Greeks in Albanian History Textbooks (1945-1990)." In *Myths and Mythical Spaces. Conditions and Challenges for History Textbooks in Albania and South-Eastern Europe*, edited by Claudia Lichnofski, Enriketa Pandelejmoni and Darko Stojanov. Göttingen: V&R Unipress.
- Giannakou, Maria. 2009. Ο Μητροπολίτης Αργυροκάστρου Παντελεήμων και το Βορειοηπειρωτικό Ζήτημα. Ph.D. diss. Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki.
- Glavinas, Apostolos. 1996. Το Αυτοκέφαλον της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας της Αλβανίας. Athens: Goulandri-Horn Foundation.
- Gurakuqi, Romeo. 2011. *Principata e Shqipërisë dhe Mbretëria e Greqisë, 1913-1914*. Tirana: UET Press.
- Guy, Nicola C. 2008. *Ethnic Nationalism, the Great Powers and the Question of Albanian Independence*. Ph.D. diss. Durham University.
- Ismyrliadou, Adelais. 2013. Αργυρόκαστρο. Ιστορία-Εκπαίδευση-Κοινωνία. 18<sup>ος</sup> – Αρχές 20<sup>ου</sup> Αιώνα. Thessaloniki: Philoptochos Adelphotis Andron Thessalonikis.
- Isufi, Hajredin. 2002. *Musa Demi dhe Qëndresa Çame (1800-1947)*. Tirana: Dudaj.
- Kalemaj, Ilir. 2014. *Contested Borders. Territorialization, National Identity and "Imagined Geographies" in Albania*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Kalemaj Ilir & Giakoumis Konstantinos. 2015. "The Image of Greek-Albanian Lingual and Cultural Relations in Albanian School History Textbooks (1886-1939). *Albanohellenica* 6. Available at

[http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/5c39e7\\_28fad6d42c6b4442be14c71a95c55656.pdf](http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/5c39e7_28fad6d42c6b4442be14c71a95c55656.pdf).

Kallivretakis, Leonidas. 1995. “Η Ελληνική Κοινότητα της Αλβανίας από την Σκοπιά της Ιστορικής Γεωγραφίας και Δημογραφίας.” In *Ο Ελληνισμός της Αλβανίας*, edited by Theodore Veremis, Theodore Kouloumbis and Elias Nikolakopoulos. Athens: Sideris.

Karagjozi-Kore, Mimoza. 2014. *Gjirokastra. Vështrim Historik, Gjuhësor, Etnologjik. Monografi*. Tirana: Dudaj.

Karakitsios, Eleutherios A. 2010. *Ο Ελληνισμός στην Μητροπολιτική Περιφέρεια Κορυτσάς*. Ph.D. diss. Aristotelean University of Thessaloniki.

Karkasinas, Nikodemos. 2014. *Δρόπολη. Κοιτίδα Ελληνισμού και Λίκνον Πολιτισμού. Ιστορική και Πολιτιστική Προσέγγιση*. Tirana: Neraida.

Katorpodis, Apostolos. 2001. *Ο Μητροπολίτης Δρυϊνουπόλεως Βασίλειος Παπααρχήστου στο Βορειοηπειρωτικό Αγώνα*. Ph.D. diss. Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki.

Kofos, Evangelos. 1993. “The Greek Minority School Textbooks During the Enver Hoxha Period.” *Balkan Studies* 34 (1): 85-104.

Koley, Valery, Koulouri, Christina, eds., 2009. *Workbook 3: The Balkan Wars*. Thessaloniki: CDRSEE.

Kollaros, Vasileios N. 2015. *Η μειονοτική πολιτική του Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου*. Ph.D. diss. Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences.

Koltsida, Athina. 2008. *Η Εκπαίδευση στη Βόρεια Ήπειρο κατά την Ύστερη Περίοδο της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας. Η Ίδρυση, η*

Οργάνωση και η Λειτουργία των Ελληνικών Σχολείων. Συμβολή στη Μελέτη της Νεοελληνικής Εκπαίδευσης. Ph.D. diss. Aristotelean University of Thessaloniki.

Koltsidas, Antonis M. 2008. *Greek Education in Monastir-Pelagonia. Organisation and Operation of Greek Schools, Cultural Life.*

Kontis, Vasileios, ed. 2004. Ελληνισμός της Βορείου Ηπείρου και Ελληνοαλβανικές Σχέσεις. Έγγραφο από το Ιστορικό Αρχείο του Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών, 2 vls. Athens: Hestia.

Kouzas, Ioannis M. 2013. Ελληνοαλβανικές Σχέσεις (1990-2010): Οι Διμερείς Σχέσεις υπό το Πρίσμα της Ελληνικής Μειονότητας στην Αλβανία και του Ζητήματος των Τσάμηδων. Ph.D. diss. Democritus University of Komotini.

Ktistakis, Giannis. Febr. 2006. “Περιουσίες Τσάμηδων και Αλβανών στην Ελλάδα. Άρση του εμπολέμου και διεθνής προστασία των δικαιωμάτων του ανθρώπου.” *Dike* 2: 171-204.

Litsios, Philippos. 2008. Το Χρονικό της Δρόπολης. Tirana: Neraida.

Malkidis, Theophanis. 2007. Οι Ελληνοαλβανικές Σχέσεις. Athens: Gordios.

Manta, Eleutheria. 2004. Οι Μουσουλμάνοι Τσάμηδες της Ηπείρου (1923-2000). Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies.

Manta, Eleutheria. 2005. Όψεις της Ιταλικής Επίδρασης στη Διαμόρφωση των Ελληνοαλβανικών Σχέσεων κατά την Περίοδο του Μεσοπολέμου. Ph.D. diss. Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki.

Mandi, Kristaq & Jovani, Filip. 2013. *Kronika e Dropullit*. Gjirokastra: Argjiro.



- Margaritis, Giorgos. 2005. *Ανεπιθύμητοι Συμπατριώτες. Στοιχεία για την Καταστροφή των Μειονοτήτων στην Ελλάδα: Εβραίοι, Τσάμηδες*. Athens: Vivliorama.
- Meta, Beqir. 2009. “Çamëria në Luftën e Dytë Botërore.” In *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, vol. 4 (Shqiptarët gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore dhe Pas Saj, 1939-1990), edited by Xhelal Gjeçovi, 150-7. Tirana: TOENA.
- Meta, Beqir. 2010. *Tragjedia Çame*. Tirana: Instituti i Studimeve për Çamërinë.
- Meta, Beqir. 2012a. *Tensioni Greko-Shqiptar 1939-1949*. Tirana: QSA-Instituti i Historisë.
- Meta, Beqir. 2012b. *Shqipëria dhe Greqia 1949-1990. Paqja e Vështirë*. Tirana: QSA-Instituti i Historisë.
- Meta, Beqir. 2013. *Minoritetet dhe Ndërtimi Kombëtar në Shqipëri 1912-1914*. Tirana: QSA-Instituti i Historisë.
- Milo, Paskal. 2009a. “Marrëdhëniet Ndërkombëtare 1945-1960.” In *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, vol. 4 (Shqiptarët gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore dhe Pas Saj, 1939-1990), edited by Xhelal Gjeçovi, 231-59. Tirana: TOENA.
- Milo, Paskal. 2009b. “Politika e Jashtme e Shqipërisë në Vitet 1979-1990.” In *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, vol. 4 (Shqiptarët gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore dhe Pas Saj, 1939-1990), edited by Xhelal Gjeçovi, 346-62. Tirana: TOENA.
- Ministria e Arësimit dhe Kulturës. 1959. *Histori e Shqipërisë për Klasën e VII të Shkollës Shtatëvjeçare*. Tirana: Botim i Ministrisë së Arësimit dhe Kulturës.
- Murgescu, Bogdan, Berktaş, Halil, eds. 2009. *Workbook 1: The Ottoman Empire*. Thessaloniki: CDRSEE.

- Naska, Kaliopi, ed. 1999. *Dokumente për Çamërinë, 1912-1939*. Tirana: Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Arkivave.
- Panagiotopoulos, Vasilis, Dimitropoulos, Dimitris and Michailaris, Apostolos, eds. 2007. *Αρχείο Αλή Πασά*, 4 vols. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation / Institute of Historical Research.
- Pappa, Eutychia A. 2009. *Η Επαρχία Δρυϊνουπόλεως Β.Ηπείρου κατά τη Νεώτερη Περίοδο (Τουρκοκρατία, 20<sup>ος</sup> Αιώνας)*. Ph.D. diss. Arisotelean University of Thessaloniki.
- Papakosta, Konstantina. 2009. “Ο Λόγος της σχολικής Ιστορίας για τους γειτονικούς λαούς: η περίπτωση των Αλβανών στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια νεότερης ιστορίας της υποχρεωτικής εκπαίδευσης κατά τη μεταπολίτευση.” Συνέδριο ΠΕΕ “Αναλυτικά Προγράμματα και Σχολικά Εγχειρίδια: Ελληνική Πραγματικότητα και Διεθνής Εμπειρία” (20-22/11/2009, Γιάννενα), *Conference Proceedings* 2: 578-89.
- Papakosta, Konstantina. 2013. “The Albanians in Greek textbooks of modern history in compulsory education: discursive representations.” *16th International Conference of the Balkan Society for Pedagogy and Education “The image of the “other”/ the Neighbour in the Educational Systems of the Balkan countries (1998-2013)”*, *Education and Pedagogy in Balkan Countries*, 134-48. Thessaloniki: University of Macedonia.
- Papatheodorou, Apostolos. 2007. *Οι Μουσουλμάνοι Τσάμηδες*. Athens: Pelasgos.
- Peshkopia, Ridvan, Deva, Arrita, Fazliu, Saranda, Hoxha, Lekë, Konjufca, Drin, Mehmeti, Shkëlqim, Musliu, Shkëlzen, Sheqiri, Gresa, Zeqiri, Blerina and Zjeçi, Antoneta. 2017. “Intergroup Contact Theory and the Colorful Role of Education in Intergroup Prejudice Reduction: The Case of the Albanians.” *Paper delivered at the DisCo Conference “Open Education as a Way to*

*a Knowledge Society*”, Prague.

Peshkopia, Ridvan, Voss, D. Stephen. 2016. “The Role of Ethnic Divisions in People’s Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty: The Case of the Albanians.” *Punishment and Society* 15 (5): 610-30.

Peshkopia, Ridvan, Voss, Stephen V. and Bytyqi, Kujtim. July 16, 2017. “Intergroup Contact Theory and Albanians’ Feeling Temperature Towards Greeks: Ethnicity, Fear, Class, and Exposure.” *Universum College Working Paper Series 006 / 2013*, at <https://universum-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Peshkopia-Voss-and-Bytyqi-006-2013.docx>.

Puto, Arbën. 2011. *Lufta Italo-Greke, Diktatorë e Kuislingë*. Tirana: Toena.

Schmitt, Oliver. 2012. *Shqiptarët. Një Histori midis Lindjes dhe Perëndimit*, translated by Ardian Klosi. Tirana: K&B.

Simaku, Gjergji (Fr. Daniel). 2011. Ο Θεοφάνης Μαυρομάτης (Φαν Νόλι). Επιπτώσεις των Εθνικιστικών Τάσεων στη Μετάλλαξη της Εθνικής Συνειδήσεως και Πίστεως. Ph.D. diss. Aristotelean University of Thessaloniki.

Skoulidas, Elias. 2001. Οι Σχέσεις Ελλήνων και Αλβανών κατά το 19<sup>ο</sup> Αιώνα: Πολιτικές Επιδιώξεις και Θεωρήσεις (1875-1897). Ph.D. diss. University of Ioannina.

Skoulidas, Elias. 2012. “Οι σχέσεις Ελλάδος και Αλβανίας.” In Nikolaos Mertzios, Manos Karagiannis, Spyridon Sfetas, Stratos Drordanas, Ioannis Zoukas and Elias Skouldias. *Βαλκάνια 1913-2011. Εκατό Χρόνια Θύελλες και Χίμαιρες*, edited by 203-23. Thessaloniki: Institute of Balkan Studies – Kyriakidis Bros.

Skoulidas, Elias. 2015. “Συνέχειες και ασυνέχειες στις ελληνοαλβανικές σχέσεις : η ελληνική πολιτική σε περιφερειακές

εντάσεις.” In *Continuities, Discontinuities, Ruptures in the Greek World (1204-2014): Economy, Society, History, Literature: 5<sup>th</sup> European Congress of Modern Greek Studies of the European Society of Modern Greek Studies: Proceedings*, edited by Konstantinos A. Dimadis, vol. 1, 575-92. Athens: European Society of Modern Greek Studies.

Sfetas, Spyridon. 2012. “Η αποκατάσταση των ελληνοαλβανικών διπλωματικών σχέσεων (1970-1971).” In *Ανοιχτοσύνη. Μελέτες προς τιμήν της Βασιλικής Παπούλια*, edited by Theodoros Korres, Panagiotis Doukellis, Spyridon Sfetas, Fotini I. Touloudi, 555-73. Θεσσαλονίκη: Vaniias.

Stamatopoulos, Dimitrios, 2018. “Introduction.” In *Balkan Empires: Imperial Imagined Communities in Southeastern Europe, 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> c.*, edited by Dimitrios Stamatopoulos. Budapest: CEU Press (forthcoming).

Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos. 2010. “Power politics and nationalist discourse in the struggle for ‘Northern Epirus’: 1919-1921.” *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online* 2 (2): 149-62.

Tritos, Michael. 2003. Τσάμηδες. Επίμαχο Πρόβλημα Ελλάδος και Ορθόδοξου Εκκλησίας Αλβανίας. Thessaloniki: Kyromanos.

Tsitselikis, Konstantinos, Christopoulos, Dimitrios, 2003. “Η Ελληνική Μειονότητα της Αλβανίας: Στιγμιότυπα Αβεβαιότητας ως Εθνικές Αλήθειες.” In *Η Ελληνική Μειονότητα της Αλβανίας*, edited by Konstantinos Tsitselikis and Dimitrios Christopoulos, 17-44. Athens: Kritiki.

Tzimas, Stavros. 2010. *Στον Αστερισμό του Εθνικισμού. Αλβανία και Ελλάδα στη Μετά-Χότζα Εποχή*. Athens-Thessaloniki: Epikentro.

Xhufi, Pëllumb. 2009. *Ikje nga Bizanti. Histori / Publicistikë*. Tiranë: Dituria.

Xochellis Panagiotis, Kapsalis Achileas, Andreou Andreas, Ismyrliadou Adela, Loukidou Despoina, Bonidis Cyriakos, Hatzisavvidis Sophronis. "The Image of the "Other" in School History Textbooks of the Balkan Countries." In *The Image of the "Other"/Neighbour in the School Textbooks of the Balkan Countries. Proceedings of the International Conference Thessaloniki, 16-18 October 1998*, edited by Panos D. Xoxhelis and Fotini Toloudi, 43-74. Athens: Typothito-George Dardanos.

Xochelis, Panos D., Toloudi, Fotini, eds. 2001. *The Image of the "Other"/Neighbour in the School Textbooks of the Balkan Countries. Proceedings of the International Conference Thessaloniki, 16-18 October 1998*. Athens: Typothito-George Dardanos.

Xynadas, Emmanuel G. 2012. Κοσμάς Ευμορφόπουλος Μητροπολίτης Δρυϊνουπόλεως-Βεροίας και Ναούσης-Πελαγονίας-Νικοπόλεως και Πρεβέζης (1860-1901). Εκκλησιαστική και Εθνική Δράση. Η Συμβολή του στην Εκπαιδευτική Δραστηριότητα και την Ψαλτική Τέχνη. Ph.D. diss. Aristotelean University of Thessaloniki.