

CHAULEV'S CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ALBANIANS AND SHQIPNIA (ALBANIA)

Todoroska Katerina. Chaulev's considerations on the Albanians and Shqipnia (Albania).

Peter Chaulev (Ohrid, 1880 – Milan, 1924), was one of the most important figures in the Macedonian liberation movement. We have followed his role through historical events and processes that have marked the most turbulent period in Macedonian history, namely the period of the national-liberation and revival movements. As an activist of IMRO we met him as a teacher in the villages surrounding Orhis, where, from 1899, he also appeared as an organizer of the revolutionary committees in the region of Ohrid, Prespa and Florina. At the time of the Ilinden Uprising, he appeared as a voivode (governor) in the Ohrid area. During the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, he again returned to his hometown of Ohrid, where he was arrested and jailed by the newly constituted authorities. However, he was released under the pressure of the residents.

His revolutionary activity is significant also in relation to the cooperation with Albanian national activists, especially during the period of the Balkan wars. The result of this cooperation was also the so called Ohrid-Debar Uprising in September of 1913. Although, in the beginning of the Uprising, the Macedonian and Albanian chetas had significant successes, however, the supremacy of the Serbian army engaged in suppressing it, had inflicted a major defeat on the rebels.

After the suppression of the Uprising, Peter Chaulev took refuge at the territory of the Albanian state as to avoid the wrath of the Serbian authorities stationed in the border areas. Chaulev's stay in Tirana and other Albanian cities enabled him to easily observe the day-to-day life of the population, their customs, but also the state of political turmoil in the country. He wrote and published his observations in the book titled Skipnia (Albania), in Constantinople in 1924.

Key words: Peter Chaulev, IMRO, Macedonia.

The revolutionary path of Ohrid revolutionary Peter Chaulev is intertwined with the ordeals and ideological currents in the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO). He was born in Ohrid in 1880, and educated in Ohrid and Bitola. As a student of Bitola high school, at the age of 17, he took an oath for inclusion in the Macedonian Liberation Movement. After finishing high school, he started to work as a teacher in the villages surrounding Ohrid, and there, starting from 1899, he also appeared to be an organizer of the revolutionary committees in Ohrid, Prespa and Florina areas. At the time of the Ilinden Uprising he was the voivode in the Ohrid region. During the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, again, he returned to his hometown of Ohrid, where he was arrested and imprisoned by the newly constituted authority. However, under the pressure of the local residents he was released¹.

In the following years, he continued his active participation in the Organization, and in 1911 became a member of the Central Committee of IMRO, along with Todor Aleksandrov² and Hristo Chernopeev³. During the First Balkan War in 1912, coming under the flag of the Balkan allies for the liberation of Macedonia from the Ottoman yoke, he took part in the liberation of Ohrid, Demir Hisar area, Debarca and Kichevo with his chetas. Refusing to accept the presence of Serbian authority, in June 1913, along with a number of like-minded, he took part in the Tikvesh uprising. Although the Serb military and administrative authorities were expelled temporarily from the Tikvesh region, and Negotino and Kavadarci liberated, together with other chetas of IMRO, but still this rebellion was put down with massive bloodshed.

In such a situation, Aleksandrov "... renewed the talks with the representatives of Albanian revolutionaries. From 12 to 17 August 1913, a delegation of the Central Committee of IMRO held talks with the Albanian revolutionary committee of Sefadin Pustina, in Elbasan. At this occasion, a general uprising against Serbia was agreed upon. It was alleged that the uprising should have been

¹ Македонски историски речник, ИНИ, Скопје 2000, p. 495.

² Todor Aleksandrov (Novo Selo, Stip area, 4 March 1881 – placement, after p. Sugarevo, Melnik area, 31 August 1924), member of the Central Committee of IMRO and head of the autonomous IMRO.

³ Hristo Chernopeev, revolutionary, voivode, a volunteer from Bulgaria in the Liberation Movement. He participated in the Miss Stone Affair, as well as in the Ilinden Uprising.

led by IMRO. Therefore, the Albanian Committee empowered Milan Matov and Pavel Hristov⁴ to also lead the Albanian cetas in the Debar, Kichevo and Gostivar area”⁵.

Dissatisfied with the falling of the Vardar part of Macedonia under Serbian rule, in its southwestern part, the IMRO cetas commenced campaigns against the establishment of the new rule. The goal was to raise rebellion in the Bitola, Ohrid and Debar regions. Choosing this part of Macedonia was not at all coincidental. Namely, after the Declaration of Albanian independence, “... an interim, very unstable demarcation line was defined between the newly created Albanian state and the western Macedonian areas, occupied by the Serbian army. It was from the Gora area, in the North, to the Gramos mountains in the South, and was passing right through the Macedonian areas of Tetovo, Debar, Struga and Ohrid, the parts of which, west of the demarcation line, remained under Albanian rule, and the Eastern parts under Serbian occupation”⁶.

The immediate reason for this rebellion was the requisition of the goods, by devastation, then burnings and mass killings that the Serbian soldiers and Chetniks from the so-called “National defense” committed in the vicinity of Dolni Debar. Shortly after the start of the actions, rebel cetas expelled the Serbian authorities from Debar, Ohrid, Struga, Resen and Kichevo. In order to increase the number of the rebel people Chaulev sent letters calling on the population of the villages Vrbeni, Slivovo, Godivlje and Listinje to join the rebel forces⁷. In a very short time, the Macedonian and Albanian rebel cetas, led by Peter Chaulev, Milan Matov, expelled the Serbian authorities from Debar, Ohrid, Struga, Resen and Kichevo and established their own revolutionary rule. In his memories Chaulev referred to those days by writing: “Debar chortled. The Macedonian flag was fluttering in every window”⁸.

The uprising was put down fiercely and with massive bloodshed by the Serbian army and the Chetnik groups headed by Vasilije Trbic.

Peter Chaulev, fleeing from the Serb forces, went to Tirana, Albania, which was judged as unacceptable by the Serbian authorities. Therefore, a request for intervention was made to Esad Pasha for their expulsion. According to the data contained in a telegram from Serbian representative Baludzic sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Corfu, on October 7, 1913, it stated that “Esad expelled Bulgarian voivodes: Matev, Chaulev, Sanakov who have come to Tirana running away from the Serbian army to Vlore”⁹.

In the report of the chief of staff which Colonel M. Smiljanic sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, the section mentioning the Albanian leaders, also mentions “MILAN MATEV”¹⁰. Bulgarian Chetnik. Haiduc. Without great ability.

PETER CHAULEV. “Bulgarian Chetnik. Without military capabilities, fearful, fled before the battle (near Ohrid or Struga)”¹¹.

The fact that it was an extremely mass rebellion, but also put down with massive bloodshed, allows a margin for manipulations that the need for liberation from Serbian rule and raising a new armed uprising remained within the Macedonian and Albanian population. As a result, the Serbian diplomatic representatives were disturbed by any information on something of that nature. Thus, the

⁴ Pavel Hristov (p. Capari, Bitola area, 1874 – Sofia, 1922), a teacher in Prilep, Kicevo, Kostur and Bitola, as well as an active activist of IMRO.

⁵ Историја на македонскиот народ, Т. 4, Македонија меѓу Балканските и Втората светска војна (1912–1941), д-р И. Катарциев, Скопје 2000, p. 72.

⁶ П. Стојанов, Албанскиот бунт 29 септември – 6 октомври 1913 год. (point of reference written for the Macedonian Historical Dictionary in the Documentation Unit of INI)

⁷ Државен Архив на Република Македонија (ДАРМ), mf. 475.

⁸ В. Георгиев, Охридското востание от 1913 година през погледа на неговия главнокомандващ Петър Чаулев, Известия на државните архиви. Главно управление, София 1996, бр. 72, p. 139. (The author of the article felt it necessary to explain that under the “the flag of IMRO” should be understood to be the Macedonian flag in a footnote)

⁹ ДАРМ, mf. 475.

¹⁰ It refers to Milan Matov, (Struga, 8 XI 1875 – Sofija, 21 V 1962) – teacher, participant in the Ilinden Uprising, duke, brother of Hristo Matov. He went to high school in Bitola. In 1900, he joined the Macedonian revolutionary movement, in the Struga area. He was a teacher in Struga (1904–1905) and school inspector (1909–1911). Since 1906, he headed the Bitola revolutionary district. In September 1913, he led the Ohrid uprising. After World War I he was active in the Ilinden Organization and in the Macedonian Scientific Institute, and made efforts for the Macedonians to stop killing each other. Македонската енциклопедија, Т. 2, Скопје 2009, p. 929.

¹¹ ДАРМ, mf. 475. Report dated November 5, 1913.

Serbian representative in Thessaloniki communicated that according to the news he received from Tirana “the representatives there say that the Austria-Hungarian consul promised to give them arms, ammunition and money in case of a new uprising, which they are ready for, should Serbia not cede Goren Debar.

On the contrary, Esad sees no danger of a new uprising because Debar is defeated. A friend of Sandanski¹² – Grgur, traveled together with some Bulgarians from Goren Debar, to Elbasan to go from there to Kavaje and Durres¹³.

A similar report was sent also on 19 November 1913 by “... a member of the Parliament from Corfu (who – K.T.) informs that is heard from Tirana as Goren Debar prepares a new uprising against Serbia, forcing everyone to take arms. It is said that 4,000 Bulgarians are going to arrive. The Bulgarian Consul promises to provide arms, ammunition and money. I informed Esad about all this, but he does not believe in such a possibility¹⁴.

Then, turbulent years followed again in Chaulev’s life, when it came to difference in his views compared with the views of the leadership of the IMRO. In his letter to the member of the Temporary Representative Office of the VMRO and his fellow townsman, Kiril Plichev, he wrote: “You forget that the VMRO should be in Macedonia, and not in Sofia”. Therefore, in September 1924, Peter Chaulev was expelled from the Central Committee of the IMRO, and on December 23, 1924¹⁵, he was murdered in Milan by Dimitar Stefanov¹⁶, who was sent there by Ivan Mihailov, the new leader of IMRO. After the murder of Chaulev, D. Vlahov wrote: “Chaulev was killed because he wanted to serve his people in an honest way. Chaulev was killed because he wanted the Macedonian revolutionary organization to continue its old traditions ...”¹⁷

During his rich revolutionary experience, Chaulev collaborated with revolutionaries who had the same goal as his, namely the liberation of the people from any kind of foreign power. This was the direction which his cooperation moved in with the Albanian activists, who he became very close with during the Ohrid uprising. Bearing in mind that the rebellion was put down in much bloodshed, Chaulev found shelter in Albania as to escape the wrath of the Serbian authorities. During his stay amongst the Albanians, as a revolutionary and an intellectual, he was interested in various aspects of life of the Albanians and their state. He drafted his remarks in a publication titled “Shqipëria (Albania)”¹⁸ printed in Constantinople in 1924, which is only 49 pages long and includes a lot of data, information and Chaulev’s personal observations.

The book begins with a short review of the origin of Albanians, and it is noted down that they see themselves as descendants of the Illyrians. And continues “...The word «Illyria» in Albanian means «freedom», but it is interesting to know that today’s Albanians do not say that they are Illyrians, just as they do not say that they are Albanians. If you ask an Albanian who he is, regardless of the tribe he comes from, either from the North or from the South, his answer to this question is: «Um jam skipetar» (I’m a Shkipetar)”¹⁹.

Moreover, Chaulev speaks also for the period immediately after the declaration of the First Balkan War when the Greeks and Serbs entered the Albanian territories considering it as an Ottoman province. Realizing such a situation the “famous Turkish statesman of Albanian origin and Berat representative in the Parliament of Constantinople, Ismail Kemal Bey, departed from

¹² Jane Sandanski (p. Vlahi, January 31, 1872 – Pirin Mountains, April 22, 1915) an activist of the IMRO, voivode, revolutionary. He was an organizer of the abduction of Miss Stone and he founded the National Federal Party during the Young Turk revolution.

¹³ ДАРМ, mf. 475. Telegram from the Serbian representative in Thessaloniki to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia dated November 3, 1913.

¹⁴ ДАРМ, mf. 475. Telegram from Dim. Grujevikj from Thessaloniki, received in the Political department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated November 19, 1913.

¹⁵ In the Македонски историски речник, ИНИ, Скопје 2000, 495 it was written that Chaulev was killed on December 23, 1925, and in the Македонската енциклопедија, МАНУ, Скопје 2009, Т. 2, 1616 that he was killed on December 23, 1924.

¹⁶ Dimitar Stefanov (p. Marchino, Kratovo area, August 16, 1899 – Skopje, October 1970) – IMRO. In 1922, he fled to Bulgaria, joined the IMRO, was in the cetas of Ivan Janev-Brlo, later in the security to Todor Aleksandov. In Milan, he killed P. Chaulev (1924), took part in the murder of A. Protogerov (1928). He lived in Kjustendil until 1941, and during World War II, he returned to Macedonia and died there.

¹⁷ Д. Влахов, Одбрани говори и статии 1924–1947, Скопје 1948, 111.

¹⁸ П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), Тип. Л. Бабокъ и С-въ Галата, ул. Камондо, 8. Цариградъ 1924.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

Constantinople, passed through Romania and Austria, came to Dures in the most critical time, convened a congress with the most prominent nationalist Albanians in the town of Ljushnja²⁰ and on November 18, 1912²¹, declared the independence of the Albanian state, with an interim government and he came to its fore²².

The next chapter Chaulev considered refers to the liberation of Albania, and it is followed by the title "Free Albania". At that, Chaulev's opinion that the freedom and independence of Albania was unexpected and unwanted by the people for the following reasons was shocking:

1. An Albanian was not used to doing his military service.
2. An Albanian was not used to paying taxes throughout the centuries.
3. An Albanian (as Mohammedans) was not able to reconcile with the position that he should serve a Christian Mbret (king).
4. Religious fanaticism of the Mohammedans Albanians (as a large majority) did not allow them to write using the 'Christian' alphabet, as they considered the Latin Alphabet to be.
5. Fanaticism of the Mohammedans Albanians did not allow them to recognize the recent Raja (Christians) as equal citizens.
6. An Albanian could not be reconciled with the new law that he should put away the gun he carried on his shoulder...²³

However, based on his own experience, Chaulev considered that the Albanian people would not be satisfied by observing the Constitution and laws because they felt them to be a way of their depersonalization, a try to change their ancient customs, religion, nature. And he adds: "the most freedom-loving nation in the Balkans is Albanian. An Albanian, speaking individually, is an anarchist by nature. He does not allow slavery on his people, but he also does not want to have anything that will humiliate his home. An Albanian house stands alone and away from other houses, even in one village, the houses are located at a distance of one 'tufek' (shot from a gun). An Albanian is the most peaceful citizen known to Europe. An Albanian is not a bandit. He is, by nature, neither a thief nor a murderer. Authority is everything for him. Authorities that have ruled and governed this state, often forced him to trouble to become a thief and a murderer. An Albanian as an honor-lover and left without any administration of justice, during the many centuries was forced to defend his freedom and family honor with arms and for that, today, he bears the stain that he is a murderer"²⁴.

In the turbulent internal and external conditions, according to Chaulev, in the period in which he was writing i.e. in the 1920s, the Albanian state could be preserved only by the League of Nations. His description under the title "Today's Albania" also goes in this direction, emphasizing the significant differences among the population, and he states: "... The Mohammedianclergyis independent. It declared its independence on March 14 1923, at the Congress, which was held on that day, in Tirana. The head of the Mohammedianreligion is chief Mufti with two assistants and three Councilors elected by the Congress ..."²⁵.

The Albanian Orthodox Church is autocephalous. It declared its independence on September 13, 1922²⁶, at the Church Council in the city of Berat...

Catholics are fully dependent on the Vatican. The Catholic Archbishop lives in Shkodra, and five other bishops – in various parts of Northern Albania²⁷.

²⁰ This information given by Chaulev is wrong because the town where Kemali arrived, and the independence of the Albanian state was declared, was Vlora.

²¹ This is also incorrect data as the Declaration of Independence of the Albanian State took place on on November 28, 1912. Due to such inaccuracies appearing in the book, it should be used with particular caution. Apart from that, the personal attitude of Chaulev towards the Albanian people and state is interesting for the reader.

²² П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), р. 6.

²³ П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), р. 7–8.

²⁴ Ibidem, р. 8–9.

²⁵ At the Congress he talks about, Vehbi Dibra was elected the Chief Mufti; Bejsel Lisova and Hafiz Ali as his assistants, and Hafiz-Adem-Behchi-Baba as advisers for the Bektashi religious sect, and Sheih-Ibrahim-Karburnara for Sunnis.

²⁶ As to the date of this act, with Qani Nesimi, *Ortodoksizmi te shqiptaret (historia e religjioneve)*, Tetovë 2005, 90 we read that "in Berat from September 10 to 19, 1922, the autocephality of the AOK was officially declared." For more information on the same topic, see: "70 vjet të Kishës Orthodox Autoqefale Shqiptare, Tiranë 19 Shtator 1922". At its first church gathering, Father Vasilij was chosen the head of the AOK.

²⁷ П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), р. 11–13.

In addition to the data on the religious life of the Albanians, in this text we also find statistics about the number of the Albanian population settled in different parts of the world. According to this statistics there are Albanians:

1.	In present-day Albania	831,877
2.	In Kosovo remaining under Serbia	560,000
3.	In Macedonia (under Serbs and Greeks)	173,000
4.	In Ancient Greece (escaped from the Turkish invasion) in Corinth and Athens and the present territories of Epirus and Chameria	350,000
5.	In Italy (Sicily, Calabria and Pulija)	250,000
6.	In Turkey (according to the "Populi" newspaper from May 5,1923.)	150,000
7.	In Russia (according to the opinion of the delegate K. Boshnak)	15,000
8.	In Romania	15,000
9.	In Dalmatia (the town of Zadar)	3,000
10.	In Egypt	5,000
11.	In America(I think this is exaggerated)	45,000
12.	In Bulgaria	5,000

In Total 2404,877 persons

"Note. It is considered that there are about several tens of thousands unregistered persons in the present borders of free Albania. They hide their existence, according to the ancient tradition, to avoid serving in the army and paying taxes"²⁸.

Based on his view of the situation, Chaulev categorized the Albanian population into three categories, that is, free Albanians within the borders of Albania, then Albanians captured after the war by the Serbs and Greeks, and finally, Albanians who left their birth places due to political developments.

The first category of Albanians includes free, independent and fighting people who are trying to keep their state and independence.

Speaking about the fate of the Albanian population who lived within the Kingdom of Serbia in the 1920s, Chaulev states that "... unfortunately, as the Macedonians who are not allowed to have a separate political party, the Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia are also not allowed to have freedom at elections, to have their own political clubs to present their elected representatives. For the Macedonian people, who are very democratic and educated by a revolutionary organization acting for 30 years, if a reasonable man appears, then, in order to insult him, the Serbs give him the name komitadji. They do the same with the Albanians, when they give them the name kachak"²⁹.

Regarding his opinion about the political engagement of the Albanians in the Serbian state, Chaulev notes "... In order for the Albanian people from Kosovo and Macedonia to be represented in the Serbian Parliament by appropriate representatives chosen by the state authority itself, such as Kemal Bey Kembaradzhi from Skopje, Abdurahman Bey from Tetovo, Kenan Bey from Bitola and others, the Tirana government have had a role by its extreme serbophilism"³⁰.

The third category includes Albanians living abroad, who moved away from Albanian territories in two periods, over many centuries to: Italy, Greece, Dalmatia, as well as Albanians who recently emigrated to: America, Bulgaria, Russia, Romania, Turkey and Egypt.

The Albanian state, immediately after the London Conference, became a constitutional monarchy headed by German Prince Wilhelm Vid, and after his departure from Albania, the state was governed by four regents, elected for 4 year terms. According to the religious representation of the population, two regents were Muslims, two Christians (one Orthodox, one Catholic). Supreme legislative power was the People's Assembly and the delegates were elected on the basis of the Ottoman electoral system (10,000 persons had one representative).

With regard to the administrative organization of the country, it was divided into 9 regions³¹, and the regions were divided into districts, and those districts into areas referred to as "mudurlaci".

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 16.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 17.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Shkodra, Durres, Elbasan, Kosovo, Debar, Berat, Valona, Gjirocastra and Korca.

In Albania there were 3,600 experienced and respectable gendarmes who were trained by foreign instructors, but the army had problems because senior officers were well trained, and the lower rankings had different instructors and practiced different techniques of training. As a result, there was no unity in the army, and the fact that people with higher rank approached political parties and were concerned more about their political engagement than the state works was also a problem.

The judiciary in the Albanian state was considered, by Chaulev, as one of the most organized state authorities, and the judges as “fighters for modern judiciary”³². There was a Civil Court in each district center, each regional center had a Regional Court, and the state had one Criminal Court.

The capital of Albania, Tirana³³, according to the latest Ottoman count, had 2,373 houses, 5,395 male and 5,383 female population, meaning a total of 10,778 persons, while in 1920s it grew to 15,000 people. Other major cities, in the same period, were: Durres, Elbasan Korca, Gjirokastra, Vlora, Berat and others.

The economic situation of the country was extremely difficult, and the existence of the population, until that time, was enabled by: “1) stock-breeding, 2) agriculture, 3) Macedonian and Epirus estates, the owners of which were many Albanian beys 4) official salaries of the Albanian intelligence, engaged in Turkish civil services”³⁴. “The fact that after the First World War, as elsewhere in the Balkans, the Albanian economy and commerce were in very poor condition, and the way out of this situation was crediting by stronger economies” is undeniable. This situation was also worrying for the League of Nations, where, in 1922, there was a debate about whether Albania can financially “live” independently. The statements of some delegates was that it was impossible, but the “Albanian delegate, assuring that it was not true, asked for a commission to be sent on the spot. A commission was sent. Over several months, the commission passed throughout Albania and received insight in its economic situation on the spot. The reports were favorable for Albania and they persuaded the League of Nations, that it has sufficient resources to be financially independent. Based on these reports, the League of Nations sent the Dutch financier, and also former, organizer of the Dutch colonies Mr. Z. Hunger to organize Albanian finances”³⁵.

On the other hand, the Albanian political leadership inclined, one moment towards the Kingdom of Serbia another towards Italy. At that time, the principle of “who gives more, gets more” was dominant. In this respect, the Italian capital came aggressively in Albania thanks to the loans and credits given to help the catastrophic Albanian economy. Hence, the Italian influence in all spheres of the Albanian society was strongly felt³⁶. Apart from, no less interest was expressed by Austria-Hungary and England. This rivalry, according to Chaulev, was a problem for the Albanian Government which “... didn’t stop to wonder which of the great liberation forces to satisfy. Everyone wanted its recovery as a separate state, everyone wanted to present itself as more friendly, but, above all, they all want the oil springs, Albanian forests, and its fields – the estates. In a word, everyone says that they love its independence, but they love concessions”³⁷.

Regarding education in Albania, we have followed its beginnings since the 19th century, but after the declaration of independence of the Albanian state in 1912, this became one of the primary issues for the new authorities. Thus, despite the desperate financial position of the Albanian state, 2,151,820 gold francs were allocated to the Ministry of Education and spent on public schools, Greek schools for the administration and other needs³⁸. A particular problem for the development of education with the Albanian people represented their divisions to numerous tribes, but, in general, they all were included into two main groups, Toscs (to the south of the Shkumba River) and Ghegs (to the north of the Shkumba River). “The two tribes differ sharply by nature, character and customs. They share a

³² П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), р. 20–21.

³³ The name Tirana was a coinage composed of two words, Tyre (yarn) and Han (inn). Namely, after the arrival of the Ottoman Turks on the Balkans, at the place where the city is located, there were numerous inns where, in some days, yarn fairs were held for the people coming from the all of Northern and Central Albania.

³⁴ П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), р. 26.

³⁵ Ibidem, р. 27.

³⁶ А. Јакуповски, Албанско-италијанските односи (1926–1939), (Master’s thesis defended at the Institute for History within the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje), р. 123.

³⁷ П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), р. 27.

³⁸ Ibidem, р. 31–32.

common language, but with two different dialects, so that as a basis of the common literary language was taken the Elbasan area speaking dialect, considered to be central”³⁹. In this way, the target was to create a habit among Albanians to use the same Latin alphabet, speak one language and develop as a contemporary nation. In achieving this goal, the influence of the political parties, which appeared in Albania for the first time after the death of Prenk Bib Doda⁴⁰ and Esad Pasha was great. Thus, the populist party led by Ahmed Zog and the nationalists party led by Gurakuqi⁴¹, Redzhep Shala, Fan Noli and others were considered to be the first formed parties. However, after the establishment of the grand People’s Assembly, five political parties were established:

“1) Populist Party led by Ahmed Zog;

2) Nationalists Party led by the aforementioned Gura Kuci and others, including majority of the intelligence and officer staff;

3) Feudal lords or conservatives party, headed by Shefqet Vrilasi, Iliaz Vrioni and others.

4) Social Democrat party led by dr. Seyfi⁴², Pandeli Vangeli⁴³, Eshtref Frashani⁴⁴ and others

5) The Greek Party, which has 6 deputies”⁴⁵.

The differences between the parties were significant because the populists, social democrats and some of the nationalists advocated for republican governance, and the feudal lords and the majority of nationalists were for the monarchy. In terms of the foreign policy of the state, the populists were for unreserved friendship with the Serbs, and the nationalists demanded radical social reforms and national foreign policy, while the feudal lords wanted only to maintain their properties. This political situation among the Albanians was an additional burden to the activity of the Kosovo committee led by Bajram Curri⁴⁶. His open hostilities with Ahmed Zog, were supported by numerous Albanian national public figures, so that two attempts were made to move Ahmed’s cabinet away from power. After the success of the takeover, the new cabinet was established on 17 June. “It is completely homogeneous and stems from the National-Liberals party. Orthodox Fanoli, who at the time was the interim Minister of Education, became President. Out of the seven ministers, three were from the Ghegs tribe: Redzep Shalja, Qazim Kjavzes and Luig Girakuqi. Three were Toscs: Suleiman Delvina, Qazim Kaculi, and Dr. Suleiman Vinau. In terms of the religion, the proportion was more or less satisfied. Four of them are Mohammedian, two Orthodox and one Catholic”⁴⁷.

The end of the book written by Chaulev on the Albanian people and the Albanian state expresses his concern in several directions, and among them, he mostly focuses on the elaboration of the

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 34.

⁴⁰ Prenk Bib Doda (1860 Orosh, Mirdita, Albania – 1919), Prince of Mirdita, one of the leaders of the Albanian resistance against Ottoman rule. In the period from May 28, 1914 to September 3, 1914 he was the 4th Foreign Minister of Albanian Government. In 1918, he took part at the Congress in Durrës and, there, he was elected Vice President of Duras Government. D. Heaton-Armstrong, *The Six Month Kingdom: Albania 1914*, London 2005, p. 13.

⁴¹ With Chaulev the wording is Gura Kuci. Otherwise this refers to Luigj Gurakuqi (February 19, 1879, Shkodra – March 2, 1925, Bari, Italy), famous Albanian national activist, writer and politician. He was awarded the medal “National Hero of Albania for his work “. A. Q. Sh. fond Luigj Gurakuqi doc. 34.

⁴² Dr. Sejfi Vllamasi (1883, Kolonja – 1975), a member of the parliament and prominent politician during the first half of the 20th century. He was a member of the People’s Party, took part in the revolution in 1924, and after the Revolution was crushed, he migrated to Western Europe. He was accused to be adherent to the policy of the Yugoslav government, and during the Nazi occupation of Albania, he returned to Albania and joined the puppet government. He had an extremely difficult life during the Communist rule of Albanian Labor Party, was imprisoned and forced to hard labor til the end of his life.

⁴³ Pandeli Evangjeli (1859, Korca – September 14, 1949, Korca), Albanian politician, who in 1914 became prefect of his hometown Korca, after which, he emigrated to Romania. Later, he returned to Albania and became the first Christian who was the prime minister of Albania twice. The first time, he was Prime Minister of the Albanian Government for the period from October 16, 1921 to December 6, 1921 (as seventh Prime Minister), and the second, from March 6, 1930 to October 16, 1935 (as eighth Prime Minister).

⁴⁴ Eshtref Frashri was an Albanian politician who took an active part during the Congress in Lushnje, in 1920, and was Chairman of the Albanian Assembly from 1922 to 1923.

⁴⁵ П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), p. 39.

⁴⁶ Bajram Curri (1862, Gjakova – March 29, 1925, Dragobija), Albanian patriot, politician and national activist for the Albanian rights. He took part in the work of the League in Pec in 1899, and became one of the founders of the Secret Committee for Liberation of Albania in 1906. Believing in the promises of the Young Turks, he became one of their main supporters, but later when the promises were not fulfilled, Curri initiated a lot of combat actions against the Young Turks, and in 1915 became a founder of the Committee for National Defense of Kosovo. Then, in 1920, at the Congress in Ljushnja, he was appointed minister without portfolio in the new Albanian cabinet, and in 1921 became a military minister in the government of Hasan Prishtina. He was known as a left-wing supporter, that is, Fan Noli’s forces, and openly fought against Ahmed Zog in the Albanian movement.

⁴⁷ П. Чаулевъ, Скипния (Албания), p. 47–48.

issue of Serbia's influence over certain Albanian figures. So, among others he notes: "Alit, Taf Cazi brother of Ahmed Zog, and many others, are not bothered, at all, for being Serbian colonels for a long time, with rights to rob and slaughterthrough Albania and Macedonia. If these people, completely insignificant persons, can be colonels, why, then, can Ahmed and his friends not be generals? Is it possible for the Albanian government to handle, so easily, with those Albanians in Serbian service?"⁴⁸

Chaulev Peter was killed in 1924, and at the same time when his book about Albania was published, for which it can be said that it is a prophets for the time it was written about, in particular if we take the developments, in the second half of the 1920s in the Albanian state into account. Nevertheless, the book is as interesting as it is provocative even today.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 49.