

# IV ISTORIE, CULTURĂ ȘI CERCETARE HISTORY, CULTURE AND RESEARCH

Volumul IV „Istorie, Cultură și Cercetare” este rodul colaborării din ultimii ani cu specialiști din țară și străinătate, care au reușit să materializeze în acest volum teme importante din aria lor de preocupări științifice.

Din cele 25 de articole, 9 aparțin autorilor din străinătate (Serbia, Grecia, Macedonia, Republica Moldova) și 16 autorilor români. Diversitatea subiectelor tratate se subordonează perfect tematicii alese de coordonatori, materialele științifice făcând incursiuni în istorie, etnografie, cultură, sport, filosofie, istoria jurnalismului, securitate și mediu, într-un stil propriu autorilor însă perfect științific prin sursele utilizate, prin calitatea și multitudinea acestora.

Și de această dată autorii surprind cititorul prin informațiile prezentate într-o manieră științifică, unele prin ineditul lor, altele prin interpretarea personală dar susținută puternic de dovezi istorice și arhivistice. Și acest volum, deși cuprinde teme relativ diferite, prezintă totuși o mare unitate, introducerea fiind făcută de modul în care se scrie istoria, din perspectiva unui filosof. Articolele se succed în cronologia lor și abordează teme ca istoria națională și locală românească, teme de istorie universală, subiecte sensibile ale istoriei moldovenilor, teme de economie, cultură și sport atât din arealul românesc, cât și cel macedonean sau moldovenesc ș.a.

*Coordonatorii*

Volume IV „History, Culture and Research” is the result of the collaboration in recent years between Romanian and foreign specialists, who have succeeded in presenting in this volume important topics from their areas of scientific interests.

Of the 25 articles, nine belong to foreign authors (from Serbia, Greece, Macedonia, the Republic of Moldova) and 16 to Romanian authors. The diversity of the subjects fits perfectly with the theme chosen by the coordinators, the scientific materials spanning a wide range of subjects such as history, ethnography, culture, sports, philosophy, history of journalism, security and environment, in a style specific to each author, but perfectly scientific due to the sources used, their quality and number.

Once more, the authors surprise the reader by the information presented in a scientific manner, some by their originality, others by personal interpretations yet strongly supported by historical and archival evidence. This volume too, although it includes rather different themes, has great unity, the introduction addressing the way history is written, from the perspective of a philosopher. The articles follow each other in their chronology and address topics such as Romanian national and local history, world history topics, sensitive topics of Moldovan history, topics of economy, culture and sports in both the Romanian and Macedonian or Moldovan areas, etc.

*The coordinators*

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# ISTORIE, CULTURĂ ȘI CERCETARE HISTORY, CULTURE AND RESEARCH

## IV

Coordonatori  
DUMITRU-CĂTĂLIN ROGOJANU  
GHERGHINA BODA

**CETATEA  
DE SCAUN**



**Coordonatori**

**Dumitru-Cătălin Rogojanu**

**Gherghina Boda**

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VOL. IV**

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# RESEARCH OF YUGOSLAV-ALBANIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS 1945-1948

Božica SLAVKOVIĆ MIRIĆ<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *In our paper, we relied on available archival sources and professional literature. The article deals with review of political and economic cooperation, its scope and type, as well as the political conditions for the creation of economic relations between Yugoslavia and Albania in the period 1945-1948. The paper also presents the balance of cooperation. Yugoslavia and Albania established co-operation in World War II, which continued after the end of the war. The culmination of good relations was the visit of Albanian President Enver Hoxha to Yugoslavia in 1946 and the signing of the Treaty of Friendship. However, due to the distrust and reservations of the Albanian leadership towards the Yugoslav one, in 1947 there was a crisis in cooperation. The climax was 1948, when all relations were severed. They were normalized after 1955.*

**Keywords:** *Albania, Cooperation, Economy, Yugoslavia, Period after the Second World War.*

Relations between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Albania, which were established during the Second World War, gained a new dimension after the liberation. A euphoric mood was created about mutual brotherhood, unbreakable friendship and cooperation<sup>2</sup>. Despite the fact that it still had not recovered after the liberation<sup>3</sup>, the Yugoslav state began to provide assistance to Albania, where the consequences of the war were felt in all segments<sup>4</sup>.

Even before the official recognition of the Albanian state (29 April 1945), Yugoslavia concluded two treaties with Albania on 20 February 1945. The first agreement took the form of a military alliance for a joint fight against the German occupation forces, which was to be extended in the post-war years. The second agreement regulated economic cooperation, which included the abolition of the customs border, the exchange of goods between Yugoslavia and Albania, and mutual consultations on concluding agreements with third countries. Both countries were

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<sup>2</sup> Archive of Yugoslavia (hereafter: AY), Fund Commission for International Relations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, 507/9, 1/1-11, *Bashkimi*, 21 April 1945.

<sup>3</sup> Milan Piljak, „Reforme jugoslovenskog ekonomskog sistema 1945-1965”, *Istraživanja mladih saradnika Instituta za noviju istoriju Srbije*, ed. Zoran Janjetović, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2013), 220; Dušan Bilandžić, Radovan Vukadinović, *Osnovne društvene promene u Jugoslaviji i svijetu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata 1945-1973*, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1973), 26-30.

<sup>4</sup> AY, 507/9, box 7, 1/2-77, Privredni razvoj Albanije.

equal in rights in all their waters and ports<sup>5</sup>. Also, in September 1945, Albania and the Soviet Union signed an agreement under which the Soviets provided grain and technical experts for the oil industry and mining, and Albania in turn was to send tobacco, dried wax, copper ore, and oil to the USSR<sup>6</sup>.

Despite the good will for cooperation, by the end of 1945 the enthusiasm for brotherhood and unity with Yugoslavia had waned. Albanians were reprimanded for not appreciating Yugoslavia's economic aid enough, and on the other hand for not fulfilling their obligations to Yugoslavia<sup>7</sup>. Among the Albanian leadership, there was an understanding that the aid they received from Yugoslavia was in fact Soviet aid, ie. that the USSR provides assistance to Albania through Yugoslavia<sup>8</sup>. Finally, at the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania in February 1946, it was decided that Albania would turn to cooperation with Yugoslavia and get rid of the opportunist. Magazine *Luftetari* pointed out that „two peoples and two armies, bound by the blood of their best sons in the great anti-fascist struggle, decided to march together on the path of renewal, a better life and peace”<sup>9</sup>.

The Albanian economy was in a chaotic situation. According to a report by the Yugoslav delegate in Albania, Josip Djerdja, due to the previous economic policy, the people received almost nothing from the new government, while the agrarian reform, although a large amount of capital was invested, included only a part of the population, so that capital was underused<sup>10</sup>. Poor harvests, in addition, caused food shortages. Coercive measures, such as the seizure of grain, could not compensate for the scarcity<sup>11</sup>.

In May 1946, an agreement on trade and placement was signed between Yugoslavia and Albania: care had to be taken to ensure that exports arrived on time for both sides. The lists of goods could be supplemented and changed during the duration of the agreement. The prices of these goods were to be determined by a mixed commission. Both sides agreed that the balance could amount to a maximum of 20,000,000 dinars. This agreement replaced the agreement of 25 February 1945 and was to be applied by 31 December 1946. The National Bank of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was to open an interest-free account in dinars in the name of the Albanian State Bank, on which the equivalent of goods imported from Albania to Yugoslavia would be deposited. Through this account, payments were to be made in

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<sup>5</sup> Djordje Borozan, *Velika Albanija. Porijeklo. Ideje. Praksa*, (Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut Vojske Jugoslavije, 1995, 514); Josip Smoldaka, *Partizanski dnevnik*, (Zagreb: Spekter, 1986), 219–220; Slobodan Selinić, Dušan Bajagić, *Jugoslavija i svet 1945–1950. Hronologija*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2010), 46.

<sup>6</sup> Ričard Krempton, *Balkan posle Drugog svetskog rata*, (Beograd: Clío, 2003), 74.

<sup>7</sup> Branko Petranović, „Kosovo u jugoslovensko-albanskim odnosima i projekt balkanske federacije”, *Srbi i Albanci u 20. veku*, ed. Andrej Mitrović, (Beograd: SANU, 1991), 379.

<sup>8</sup> Milorad Komatina, *Enver Hodža i jugoslovensko-albanski odnosi*, (Beograd: Službeni list, 1995), 47–48.

<sup>9</sup> AY, 507/9, 1/1–45, *Luftetari*, 23 February 1946.

<sup>10</sup> AY, 507/9, 1/1–43, Izveštaj Josipa Đerđe, 7. februar 1946.

<sup>11</sup> Piter Bartl, *Albanci. Od srednjeg veka do danas*, (Beograd: Clío, 2007), 238.



Yugoslavia on the orders of the Albanian State Bank for goods exported from Yugoslavia to Albania. Payment orders were to be denominated in dinars<sup>12</sup>.

The arrival of Albanian president Enver Hoxha and the Albanian delegation in Belgrade showed that the relations between Yugoslavia and Albania were on the rise. During the visit, on 1 July 1946, agreements on economic cooperation, placements and loans were signed. Yugoslavia pledged to support the development of Albania's industry and economy by providing technical assistance and sending experts, providing information and documentation. It was planned that Albanian experts would be trained in Yugoslavia, and that Albanians would be able to buy machines and technical equipment in Yugoslavia on credit. The Government of the Yugoslavia undertook to grant the Government of Albania a loan of \$ 1,200,000 for the purchase of goods in Yugoslavia according to a list to be determined by mutual agreement up to 600,000 for various services that can be contracted in Yugoslavia at the expense of albanian institutions, companies and individuals. The albanian government was supposed to repay this loan by delivering goods to the Yugoslavia<sup>13</sup>.

An agreement was reached on the formation of mixed Yugoslav-Albanian enterprises (analogous to the Soviet-Yugoslav experience) on a parity basis that would take care of the exchange of goods, exploitation of Albanian ore wealth and transport potentials. These were: the Society for the Construction and Exploitation of Railways, the Society for the Extraction and Production of Petroleum, the Society for Exploration of Mines, for the Exploitation and Processing of Ore, the Society for Electrification, the Society for Maritime Navigation, the Trade and Import and Export Company and the Albanian-Yugoslav bank<sup>14</sup>. Yugoslavia was to pay 50% of the share capital to the companies<sup>15</sup>. Each company had a board of directors of 8 members and a supervisory board of 4 members, with seats divided equally between representatives of Yugoslav and Albanian capital. The headquarters of each society was in Tirana. Where necessary, the headquarters of the Main Branch were planned to be in Belgrade. Each society was supposed to last 30 years and that time was possible extended for periods of 5 years each, but the Albanian government would have the right to buy back the Yugoslav part of the capital after 30 years. The possibility that the company may be

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<sup>12</sup> AY, Fund of the Presidency of the Government of the FPRY, 50-48-105, Sporazum o trgovinskoj razmeni i plaćanju, May 1946.

<sup>13</sup> *Balkanski ugovorni odnosi: 1876-1996.: dvostrani i višestrani međunarodni ugovori i drugi diplomatski akti o državnim granicama, političkoj i vojnoj saradnji, verskim i etničkim manjinama*, 2, (1919-1945), ed. Momir Stojković, (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ: Međunarodna politika, 1998), 4-6; Milenko Babić, *Enver Hodžina Albanija*, (Beograd: Novinska agencija Tanjug, 1981), 68; Pero Zlatar, *Enver Hodža: politička biografija*, (Beograd: Rad, 1986), 112.

<sup>14</sup> AY, 507/9, 1/1-1-126, *Bashkimi*, 14 July 1946.

<sup>15</sup> Payment was made in 2 installments, as follows: to the Albanian-Yugoslav Society for Construction and Exploitation of Railways - 37,500,000 dinars, to the Society for Exploration and Exploitation of Oil - 25,000,000, to the Society for Exploration and Exploitation of Mineral Resources - 12,500,000, to the Society for electrification - 12,500,000, the Company for Import and Export - 6,250,000, the Albanian-Yugoslav Bank - 37,500,000 dinars. Total: 131,250,000 dinars (AY, 50-49-107, Pitanje učešća u industrijskim preduzećima).

liquidated even before the expiration of this period was explicitly envisaged, if the decision was made by the representatives of the Yugoslav and Albanian part of the capital<sup>16</sup>.

The agreements themselves provided for mostly parity obligations. Additional protocols relating to certain facilities and works regulated the unilateral obligations of the FPRY, which was a unique example in contracts of this kind. In these protocols, the FPRY undertook to: during the construction of railways, approve the participation of its construction companies for these works, as well as mechanization and materials, except for sleepers and ordinary construction materials; in the oil industry, the construction of refineries for oil refining as well as the construction of a hydropower plant for the needs of the oil industry; in the power industry, to build a hydroelectric power plant for the needs of the city of Tirana. For the People's Republic of Albania, the agreements provided for the introduction of existing investments or all work performed in some of the joint ventures<sup>17</sup>.

The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance was concluded in Tirana on 9 July 1946. It was supposed to „confirm the indestructible blood brotherhood that was created in the great liberation struggle against the common enemy, it will confirm the determination of the people of both friendly countries to defend their freedom and independence together in the future”<sup>18</sup>.

During the economic negotiations, the issue of determining the exchange rate between the dinar and the new Albanian franc was raised. Based on the opinion of the Albanian Minister of Finance from 15 July 1946, the exchange rate of 6.12 new Albanian francs for 100 dinars was determined (one Albanian franc was 16.34 dinars). This exchange rate was determined on the basis of the Yugoslav purchase price for gold and the purchase price for gold of the new Albanian franc. The exchange of money lasted from 15 to 24 July, and the maximum for the payment was 1,000 new francs. At the beginning of the change of money, there was chaos on the market, because many black stock exchanges and speculators appeared. After the death sentences for such acts, first in Skadar, then in Vlora, the situation changed and stabilized<sup>19</sup>.

After the official signing of the document on receiving aid from Yugoslavia, the Government of Albania adopted the budget for 1946/47. in the amount of 1,136,067,300 Albanian francs. It was the first planned budget to meet the needs of the Albanian people<sup>20</sup>.

At the end of 1946, the connection of the economies of the two countries continued. On 27 November, agreements on harmonization of business plans, customs union and currency equalization between the two countries were signed in

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<sup>16</sup> AY, 50-49-107, Ugovori o mešovitim društvima sa Albanijom.

<sup>17</sup> AY, Cabinet of the Marshal of Yugoslavia, Fund 836, 1-3-v/23, Posebne crte svakog pojedinog društva.

<sup>18</sup> AY, *Tanjug* Fund, 112-796-797, July 1946.

<sup>19</sup> AY, 50-49-108, *Bashkimi*, 11 July 1946.

<sup>20</sup> AY, 112-797-799, 4 August 1946.

Belgrade. The Yugoslav government undertook to help its government provide the necessary goods base to maintain the value of the Albanian lek at the level of the Yugoslav dinar by importing goods into Albania. The circulation of banknotes in the Albania should had been proportional to the amount of banknote redemption in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia based on the number of inhabitants and economic strength of both countries. Both governments undertook to abolish the customs border and customs between the two countries within a month, creating a single customs territory<sup>21</sup>. In order to ensure the effective implementation of the provisions, an Albanian-Yugoslav joint customs commission was to be established on the albanian territory<sup>22</sup>. This contract was to last for 30 years. The Yugoslav government had committed itself to helping the Albanian government eliminate inherited economic and technical backwardness and improve the living standards of the people. Profit rates and sales tax rates on products that were valid in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia should have been valid in the People's Republic of Albania as well. Both countries were able to enter into trade relations with third countries. The Yugoslav government was to provide Albania with the necessary foreign exchange and imports of materials, machinery and plant. Trade was to be carried out by the Yugoslav-Albanian Society for Import and Export or by the export or import enterprises of the FPRY. Implementation was to begin in early 1947<sup>23</sup>.

Thanks to Yugoslav aid, Albania gained new factories and repaired old ones<sup>24</sup>, and a railway was built<sup>25</sup>. Yugoslavia also helped build the Velika Selita hydroelectric power plant near Tirana, which was to supply electricity to the Tirana and Drac industries, as well as the construction of waterworks, to supply the population of these two cities. The works were carried out by the Albanian-Yugoslav Electricity Company through the Yugoslav company „Hidrogradnja” from Belgrade, which singled out the best machines, vehicles, tools, workshops and staff<sup>26</sup>. Postal traffic began to develop<sup>27</sup> and electricity entered Albanian homes<sup>28</sup>. Albanian peasants received state support in their agricultural work<sup>29</sup>, agrarian reform abolished feudal system in the country<sup>30</sup>, working class developed<sup>31</sup>, cooperatives were established<sup>32</sup> and individuals

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<sup>21</sup> AY, 50-48-105, Ugovor između vlada FNRJ i NRA o usklađivanju privrednih planova, carinskoj uniji i izjednačenju valuta, 27 November 1946.

<sup>22</sup> Vladimir Dedijer, *Jugoslovensko-albanski odnosi 1939-1948*, (Beograd: Borba, 1949), 174.

<sup>23</sup> Komatina, *Enver Hodža i jugoslovensko-albanski odnosi*, 50.

<sup>24</sup> Dedijer, *Jugoslovensko-albanski odnosi 1939-1948*, 182-183.

<sup>25</sup> AY, 112-807-808, 14 March 1947.

<sup>26</sup> Dedijer, *Jugoslovensko-albanski odnosi 1939-1948*, 187.

<sup>27</sup> AY, 112-817-818, 18 August 1947.

<sup>28</sup> AY, 50-48-105, Izveštaj po pitanju elektrifikacije, 15 August 1946.

<sup>29</sup> Krempton, *Balkan posle Drugog svetskog rata*, 70-71.

<sup>30</sup> In order to consolidate the state after the war, agrarian reform was carried out, the largest in Albania until then. 173,000 hectares of land were confiscated (the total arable land in Albania in 1938 was 292,000 hectares). Of that, 155,000 hectares were allocated to landless peasants, and the rest was used to form state goods (Bartl, *Albanci. Od srednjeg veka do danas*, 237).

<sup>31</sup> AY, 112-788-789, 25 August 1945.

went to professional training in Yugoslavia, where they were treated as semi-skilled workers in factories and received a salary<sup>33</sup>. Also, Albanian students were allowed to study in Yugoslavia with the funds provided<sup>34</sup>. The Albanian population also received aid in grain, which was necessary for such a poor country. The aid also came out of the agreement in the cases when Albanian managers requested it or when it was necessary. In the period 22–23. October 1946, catastrophic floods occurred in Albania.<sup>35</sup> Albania informed United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation (UNRRA)<sup>36</sup>, but the first assistance to the victims came from Yugoslavia<sup>37</sup>.

Despite unreserved Yugoslav assistance to Albania, there were distrust of Albanian leaders towards Yugoslavia. It was possible that these were the natural reserves of the small over the big, conflicts throughout history, the aspirations of Albanians for national unification and the transformation of Albania into a significant factor in the Balkan strategy<sup>38</sup>. Yugoslav representatives in Albania noticed that some Albanian leaders turned more and more to the USSR and that Soviet experts came to Albania en masse, and that the Albanian press popularized the USSR more than Yugoslavia<sup>39</sup>. The Soviet leadership primarily considered it right for Albania to be under the auspices of Yugoslavia as long as Yugoslavia faithfully followed the Soviet state. When Yugoslavia set out to show signs of independence in its policy toward Albania, a reaction from the Soviet Union followed<sup>40</sup>. Enver Hoxha visited Moscow in July 1947<sup>41</sup>. Albanian leaders returned from the Soviet capital with the best impressions of the friendship of the people of the USSR: „It what we asked for was immediately accepted, and the Soviet government promised to help us raise our economy and the lives of our people. The Soviet government helped us by lending us

<sup>32</sup> AY, 112–821–822, 3 October 1947. Before the war, cooperatives did not exist, while after the liberation, the cooperative movement gained wide proportions. During 1947, there were a total of 25 consumer, 300 procurement and consumption, 69 craft, 6 fishing and 21 peasant labor cooperatives in the country. 90% of the urban population were members of consumer cooperatives, and 37% of the rural population were members of purchasing and consumer cooperatives. Craft cooperatives comprised 52% of craftsmen.

<sup>33</sup> AY, Ministry of Labor of the FPRY, 25–84–213.

<sup>34</sup> Borozan, *Velika Albanija. Porijeklo. Ideje. Praksa*, 515.

<sup>35</sup> Several hundred bridges were destroyed, the traffic from Tirana with Skadar, Korča and Piškopeja was interrupted. Tens of thousands of people were left homeless. Villages in the vicinity of Ljušnja in central Albania suffered the most. There were 50,000 injured people in the whole of Albania (AY, 50–48, 28 October 1946; AJ, 112–801–802, 15 November 1946).

<sup>36</sup> AJ, 112–801–802, 15 November 1946.

<sup>37</sup> AY, 112–801–802, 1 December 1946.

<sup>38</sup> Branko Petranović, *Jugoslavija, velike sile i balkanske zemlje 1945–1948: Iskustvo „narodne demokratije” kao partijske države*, (Beograd, Podgorica: Istorijiski institut Crne Gore, 1994), 113–114.

<sup>39</sup> Komatina, *Enver Hodža i jugoslovensko-albanski odnosi*, 56.

<sup>40</sup> Aleksandar Životić, „Jugoslavija i jačanje sovjetskog uticaja u Albaniji 1947–1948”, *Tokovi istorije* 3/2009, 97.

<sup>41</sup> Blendi Fevziu, *Enver Hodža: prva biografija zasnovana na dokumenti od ličnata arhiva i na ispovedite na onie što go poznavava*, (Skopje: Fondacija Otvoreno opštество- Makedonija, 2014), 318.

factories and tractors and helping us in the cultural, educational and other fields”<sup>42</sup>. In Albania the pro-Soviet line was clear.

The economic and other relations between Yugoslavia and Albania continued in a tense and distrustful atmosphere. The Albanian government passed a decree replacing the Albanian franc with a lek equal to the dinar at the rate of 1: 9.<sup>43</sup>, adopted a number of other decrees and implemented other measures to ensure the stability of the new currency. According to the decree, the exchange of money was done in unlimited quantities. Thanks to this equation, „the state economic sector had become much stronger, the albanian lek has become a strong currency”<sup>44</sup>. However, the implementation of trade agreements and cooperation between the two countries had been fraught with irregularities. One report emphasizes that Albanians disrupted the delivery of Yugoslav items by making inappropriate remarks (poor quality and packaging, non-sending of invoices, the issue of complaints etc.). The Yugoslav list of exports and imports was realized with 26%, and the Albanian with 21%. In the opinion of trade envoy, Stojan Divic, the Albanian attitude towards Yugoslavia in all economic branches was incorrect. An illustration of this was the example of the port of Drač. The Albanians urged every day for deliveries of goods from Yugoslavia, but they could not „swallow” the quantities sent to them, but each ship that came stood for 7 days. Unloading was performed by only one shift, which worked for 8 hours, and then rested while the ships were standing during that time. Chaos reigned in the port - the goods were scattered, unprotected from the weather. The port could only accommodate two unloading ships. From the whole Albanian attitude, underlined Stojan Divić, „a small speculative trade policy erupted and the desire to act independently on the world market”<sup>45</sup>. The lists were made quickly and incompletely, so no contracts could be concluded with companies for the delivery of goods. The operations of the Albanian-Yugoslav Bank were disorganized and there was a tendency to bypass it<sup>46</sup>.

The General Directorate of Transport of the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Trade informed that the machines and parts of the sugar factory in Korča had been unloaded in the mud in the open field and that great damage had occurred. The reception of goods was not well organized, and the central warehouse did not even exist. Due to their ignorance of the language, the representatives of the Albanian-Yugoslav societies often could not find the documents that accompanied the goods, so they refused to receive them and sent trucks from one place to another until they found who they were intended for<sup>47</sup>. Jegenije Ahmet, General Director of the Albanian-Yugoslav Society for Export and Import (Impex), said at the Impex conference held on 17 or 18

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<sup>42</sup> AY, 112-816-817, 26 July 1947.

<sup>43</sup> AY, 112-815-816, 2 July 1947.

<sup>44</sup> Marko Perović, *Ekonomski odnosi Jugoslavije i Albanije 1947-1948*, (Beograd: Savez novinara Jugoslavije, 1951), 146.

<sup>45</sup> AY, 507/9, 1 / 3-20, 16 October 1947.

<sup>46</sup> AY, 50-55-117, Vlada FNRJ, Minsitarstvo građevina Predsedništvu Vlade FNRJ, 3 June 1947.

<sup>47</sup> AY, 50-50-109, 17 October 1947.

July that „Yugoslavia gave a loan, it is not known whether for speculative or political purposes, but that Albania is strong enough to repay that loan”<sup>48</sup>.

On the whole, at the end of 1947, Albania's tendency to escape Yugoslavia's economic control became clear. The opinions of Yugoslav experts in Albania were ignored, and they called saboteurs and speculators. This situation continued during 1948. The Albanians tried to circumvent the obligations of the treaty and to conceal the help of Yugoslavia, and they also violated some provisions<sup>49</sup>. The work of mixed societies was fraught with great difficulties. Changes in the behavior of the Albanian side followed the Yugoslav-Soviet disagreements, which quickly shifted from the economic to the political field. First of all, the Albanian Ministry took over the management of these companies, bypassing the Yugoslav leaders. The dual management of societies created unhealthy relations between Albanians and Yugoslavs, as both addressed the directors of their nationality. Parity leadership in the true sense of the word could not be solved because the Yugoslav leaders were in principle experts, unlike the Albanian ones<sup>50</sup>.

During April 1948, the Yugoslav leadership tried to establish the relationship between the two countries on the basis of mutual interests, and above all to free the country from the economic burden it had on its former friend. In a letter to Enver Hoxha, Josip Broz Tito emphasized that relations must be reconsidered, primarily because of Albania's distrust of Yugoslav intentions and non-recognition Yugoslav aid<sup>51</sup>. The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania refused in response to J. B. Tito from 23 May 1948, Belgrade's accusations that relations had deteriorated through Albanian guilt<sup>52</sup>. Josip Đerđa pointed out that the Albanian side had expressed all Yugoslav weaknesses and mistakes in order to prove the unsustainability of relations between Yugoslavia and Albania<sup>53</sup>.

The decline in cooperation was felt in all fields. The climax followed the adoption of the Informbiro Resolution in 1948, when Albania terminated all agreements with Yugoslavia. Although not a member of the Informbiro (E. Hoxha states that this was prevented by the Yugoslavs<sup>54</sup>), Albania was invited to a secret meeting in Bucharest, so that the indictment against J. B. Tito could be clarified by his evidence<sup>55</sup>. Incident situations just kept coming. Works on the Skadar-Titograd railway and on the tracing

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<sup>48</sup> AY, 507/9, 1 / 1-127-242, 1 August 1947.

<sup>49</sup> AY, 50-48-105, Izveštaj o jugoslovensko-albanskoj privrednoj saradnji, 20 November 1947.

<sup>50</sup> AY, 50-49-320, Ugovori o mešovitim društvima sa Albanijom.

<sup>51</sup> AY, 507, 1/1-174 v, 22 April 1948.

<sup>52</sup> AY, 507, 1/1-178, Pismo Politburoa CK KPJ Politbirou CK KPA, 31 May 1948.

<sup>53</sup> Komatina, *Enver Hodža i jugoslovensko-albanski odnosi*, 86.

<sup>54</sup> Enver Hodža, *Titoisti* (Tirana: Izdavačka kuća „8 nentori”, 1982).

<sup>55</sup> Magazine *Bashkimi* paid full attention to the IB Resolution, publishing in July and August on the front page 65 of its editorials, editorials translated from the IB bodies, various speeches, news of the Albanian Telegraph Agency, telegrams of various party organizations sent by the Central Committee of Communist Party of Albania and of foreign agencies directed against Yugoslavia (AY, 507/9, 1 / 1-161, Albanska štampa o rezoluciji Informburoa).

of the Skadar-Kuks railway were suspended, because these works were performed by the Yugoslav-Albanian joint venture. On 30 June, oil supplies to Yugoslavia were suspended. On the other hand, the Albanians tried to collect the rest of the Yugoslav goods that were found in Albania. By force, theft or threat, all plans and studies were picked up from mixed enterprises, railway construction sites, and even food from warehouses for Yugoslav workers<sup>56</sup>. From 5 to 20 July, all Yugoslav personnel returned from Albania<sup>57</sup>.

On 1st July 1948, the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed over to the FPRY Embassy two notes requesting that all Yugoslav experts, advisers and other citizens working in Albania leave this country within 48 hours and informing the Albanian government canceled all economic agreements and protocols concluded between the two countries. On that occasion, Albania did not cancel only the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance<sup>58</sup>. The FPRY government rejected the motives by which the Albanian government canceled the economic agreements (that the Yugoslav government wanted to take over the Albanian economy). It stated that 81.5% of economic cooperation was in favor of Albania, and only 18.5% in favor of the FPRY. According to the Yugoslav government, the purpose of these agreements was to provide the People's Republic of Albania with the most efficient fraternal assistance possible, given the underdeveloped economy and the destruction of the war. The FPRY government took note of the termination of economic agreements, although according to the agreement the termination had to be announced one year in advance, but did not accept the thesis of the Albanian government that these agreements were non-existent and invalid. Such a case, as it was pointed out, had not been recorded in the history of previous diplomatic relations and unilaterally violates part of the agreement in the most brutal way<sup>59</sup>. The Albanian government responded with a note from 21 July in which it repeated the arguments from the first note that Yugoslavia sought to destroy the economic independence of Albania through economic exploitation. It claimed that the mentioned Yugoslav percentage in aid to Albania was inaccurate and that Yugoslavia had fulfilled only 13% of its obligations in the first half of 1948, while the Albanian government had executed 74.02%, but expressed readiness to discuss trade and economic relations on the condition of „reciprocity and equality”<sup>60</sup>.

Enver Hoxha completely changed his policy towards Yugoslavia, which was especially evident at the XI Plenum held on 13-24 September 1948<sup>61</sup>, as well as at the I Congress of the Communist Party of Albania 8-22 November of the same year.

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<sup>56</sup> Komatina, *Enver Hodža i jugoslovensko-albanski odnosi*, 87.

<sup>57</sup> AY, 25-96, 1 July 1948. By 7 July 1948 1.024 people left Albania, and in August another 1,034 were waiting for an exit visa.

<sup>58</sup>AY, 836, 1-3-v / 44, Verbalna nota Narodne Republike Albanije Jugoslovenskom Ministarstvu inostranih poslova, 1 July 1948.

<sup>59</sup> AY, 507/9, 1 / 1-127-242, *Borba*, 3 July 1948.

<sup>60</sup> AY, 507/9, 1 / 1-127-242, 21 July 1948.

<sup>61</sup> AY, 507/9, 1 / 2 -111, Rezolucija 11. Plenuma Komunističke partije Albanije.

Yugoslavia was accused of a deliberate policy of enslaving Albania<sup>62</sup>. After the Congress, however, the economic situation in Albania deteriorated. With the arrival of Soviet goods, food prices stabilized, but soon began to rise again. The people said that they lived better when Yugoslavia „robbed” them than when the Soviet Union helped them<sup>63</sup>.

Yugoslavia rescinded the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance on 12 November 1948<sup>64</sup>. It defended itself against defamation, trying to prove that its assistance was not limited to its obligations and that the results were visible. In *Borba* a text was published that at the end of 1947, Albania concluded deals worth 1.6 billion dinars on the basis of a loan of 2 billion. Of that, Yugoslavia delivered materials worth 1.350 billion dinars to Albania or 84% of what was planned, and the rest was not realized due to the slow and untimely submission of Albanian demands. At the same time, Yugoslavia received from Albania the value of goods in the amount of 150 million dinars, which was not a ratio of 1:10. Of the 3 billion loans from 1948, Yugoslavia delivered 90% of the goods that arrived in Albania or were on the road. Albania did not determine the plan for the export of its goods to Yugoslavia, it exported to Yugoslavia at that time goods worth only 240 million dinars, whereby it did not want to be tied to fixed terms and quality of goods. In view of the lower prices and accusations that Yugoslavia exported Albanian goods abroad and confiscated surplus Albanian products, the slander can be seen from the fact that in 1948 the FPRY should have exported part of the Albanian products loses 52 million dinars on the difference between higher Albanian and lower world prices. At the same time, differences in quality, shortcomings in packaging etc. were not taken into account, as a result of which only the Yugoslav company „Centroprom” lost 17 million dinars. According to the statements of the representatives of the Government of Albania in the coordination commission, an agreement was always reached, even regarding the prices of export items to Albania until June, when the prices for only three products were not definitively determined. Yugoslavia also respected significantly higher production costs (for example, Albanian copper, which was three times more expensive than its price on the world market). As Albania was provided with grain from Yugoslavia, it did not pay enough attention to the purchase of grain in the country. The purchase plan in 1947 was realized for wheat with 75.2%, corn 37.6% and rye 86.7%. Mixed societies were run only by Albanians, bypassing boards of directors. The mixed bank was almost shut down. In 1947, the Yugoslav side decided that in addition to the share capital, it would not participate in the shares in the company, so that all the material that the FPRY introduced into the companies during 1947

<sup>62</sup> AY, 507/9, 1 / 2-119, *Bashkimi*, 14 November 1948.

<sup>63</sup> AY, 507/9, 1/1-239, Referat Gogo Nušija, 15 November 1948.

<sup>64</sup> *Dokumenti spoljne politike SFRJ: 1949*, (Beograd: Jugoslovenski pregled, 1991), 296-303; *Balkanski ugovorni odnosi: 1876-1996.: dvostrani i višestrani međunarodni ugovori i drugi diplomatski akti o državnim granicama, političkoj i vojnoj saradnji, verskim i etničkim manjinama*, t. 3, (1946-1996), ed. Momir Stojković, (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ: Međunarodna politika, 1999), 207-215.



represented the share of Albania. As a result, the company's balance sheets at the end of the year as a share of the FPRY showed only paid-in share capital, and on the other hand as a disproportionately higher share of Albania. For the construction of the Drač-Pećin railway, as the Yugoslav side pointed out, all the material came from Yugoslavia; 45% of the works on the Drač – Tirana railway were carried out in 1948, the Velika Selita hydroelectric power plant was built, in 1947 the exploitation of the Patos oil field began, and a large number of Yugoslav experts were in Albania. A large number of Albanian students studied or were in practice in Yugoslavia. All imports and exports were made through the Yugoslav Merchant Navy. During 1948, 5 motor sailing ships (50% of the total tonnage of the Albanian Navy) were made available, as well as other smaller naval units<sup>65</sup>.

The entire assistance provided by Yugoslavia from 1945 to mid-1948 was presented by the Albanian side as a desire of the Yugoslav authorities to exploit the natural resources of Albania, to turn its industry to the benefit of Yugoslavia, and to turn it into their colony.

*Balance of economic cooperation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia with Albania*

Based on the agreement on trade cooperation with Albania in 1945, the total value of deliveries amounted to 40 million dinars. Yugoslavia exported 2,991 tons of wheat, 5,717 tons of corn, 106 tons of beans, 2,000 tons of cement and other materials to Albania<sup>66</sup>. During 1946, in addition to trade under a trade agreement, the Yugoslav government provided aid of 20,000 tons of wheat and corn. After the flood, 52,268,441 dinars were collected in the name of help to Albania<sup>67</sup>.

During 1947 and the beginning of 1948, Yugoslavia fulfilled its obligations with 1,432,968,000 dinars in deliveries of goods. Among the most important facilities that were given to Albania on the loan of 2 billion were: a sugar factory in Korča, a sardine factory in Vlora, a jam factory in Elbasan, a printing house in Tirana, a rush factory in Rogozina, an automatic telephone exchange in Tirana, and completing a spare parts factory in Tirana. For the needs of Albania, a cotton mill was procured in America. In addition to these facilities, materials were delivered to Albania, among others: 3 railway locomotives, 69 railway wagons, 20 cars, 3 fishing boats, 10 small fishing units, 278 agricultural machines, 130 electric motors, 191 various machines, 1500 t of gas oil, raw iron 1,300 t, sheet metal 1,100 t, fertilizer 5,700 t, cement 15,500, glass 78,000 m<sup>2</sup>, cotton textile 5,682,000 m, woolen textile 259,000 m, shoe 160,000 pairs, shoe „opanak” 50,000 pairs, sugar 800 t, jam 100 t, corn 14,000 t, wheat seeds 6,000 t, various seeds 1,500 t and medicines for 16,000,000 dinars<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> AY, 507/9, 1/1-127-242, *Borba*, 6 July 1948.

<sup>66</sup> AY, 50-48-105, Protokol povodom sklapanja Trgovinskog ugovora, 1 July 1946.

<sup>67</sup> Petranović, *Jugoslavija, Velike sile i balkanske zemlje 1945-1948*, 97.

<sup>68</sup> Perović, *Ekonomski odnosi Jugoslavije i Albanije 1947-1948*, 91-99; AJ, 507/9, 1 / 1-127-242, August 1947.

In addition to loan assistance, in 1947 deliveries were made within the framework of the trade agreement<sup>69</sup>, according to which Yugoslavia gave a total of 360,408,658 dinars of which in goods 289,495,153. From Albania 153,418,000 albanian leks were received, of which in goods 141,123,750<sup>70</sup>. From the most important items under the trade agreement, Yugoslavia exported: wheat 20,000 t, corn 2,500 t, sugar 500 t, textiles 752,000 m, jams 349 t. According to the trade agreement from 1947, Yugoslavia received a total of 153,468,000 albanian leks from Albania, of which 141,153,000 were in goods (oil - 36,000 t provided, nothing delivered, bitumen - 26,000 t provided, delivered 12,949, raw cotton - provided 2,100 t delivered 142, sunflower seeds - provided 5,700 t delivered 2,011 t)<sup>71</sup>.

In 1948, Yugoslavia planned to help Albania in the amount of 3 billion dinars, and one billion as income from economic cooperation with Albania. The Albanian government had hired 2,300 million with material, of which 356 million were material from abroad<sup>72</sup>. By the end of June 1948, when the Albanian government terminated the economic agreements, 529,635,000 dinars had been executed from the Yugoslav obligations, which amounted to 779 million in the first half of the year. During that period, Yugoslavia delivered: 1,700 t of anthracite, 5,547 t of motor oil, 717 t of gasoline, 295 t of steel, 721 t of agricultural machinery, 90 t of agricultural tools, 30 pcs of trucks and other means of transport, light bulb 80,000 pcs., electric motor 22 pcs., fertilizer 485 t, plant protection products 256 t, woolen fabrics 126,693 m, cotton fabrics 2,462,579 m, shoes 20,000 pairs, rubber shoes 47,000 pairs, shoes „opanak” 20,000 pairs, jam 100 t, sugar 1,500, chocolate 4 t and etc.<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>69</sup> The trade agreement included: Receivables of Albania: aid collected from the FPRY in 1946 (50,000,000 dinars), 50% of the share capital for joint Albanian-Yugoslav companies (130,000,000), a loan from the National Bank of the FPRY to the Albanian-Yugoslav Bank for lending to joint ventures 53,000,000 - a total of 233,000,000 dinars. The transfer of this money was to be made by deliveries of goods. The estimated value of Albanian exports to the FPRY was 188,000,000 dinars. - a total of 421,000,000 dinars. Receivables of the FPRY: Estimated value of exports of the FPRY to Albania - 327,000.00 dinars, delivery of goods using commodity checks in the border areas 10,000,000, planned works and services that Yugoslav institutions and companies should perform for Albania 80,000,000, claims against Albania for 1946 4,000,000 - a total of 421,000,000 dinars. A later assessment of the contingent lists established that the value of Albanian exports was 240,121,000, and Yugoslav 330,217,000 dinars. Based on the situation as of 31 December 1947, the claims of the FPRY were 251,000,000 dinars for the delivered goods, 353,000 dinars for the collected goods checks, 37,000,000 dinars for the performed works and services - a total of 288,353,000 dinars. Claims of Albania: for the delivered goods 93,000,000, for the transfer of aid to the flooded, share capital for joint ventures and the loan of the National Bank of the FPRY to the Albanian-Yugoslav Bank 233,000,000 - a total of 326,000,000 dinars. The balance in favor of Albania amounted to 37,647,000 dinars (AY, 50-48-598, Izvršenje obaveze FNRJ prema Albaniji u 1947 godini i neki problem u vezi sa planom za 1948; AY, 50-49-484, Prema listama, 8 November 1947).

<sup>70</sup> AY, 507/9, 1 / 1-127-242.

<sup>71</sup> AY, 50-48-598, Izvršenje obaveze FNRJ prema Albaniji u 1947 godini i neki problem u vezi sa planom za 1948.

<sup>72</sup> AY, 507/9, 1/1-127-242, Privredni odnosi Jugoslavije i Albanije.

<sup>73</sup> AY, 507/9, 1 / 1-127-242.

Albanian imports from Yugoslavia					
	In million dinars				
Production branch	1938.	1945.	1946.	1947.	1948.
Coal production and processing	356	/	238	590	2926
Oil production and refining	/	/	/	24070	41236
Production of ferrous metallurgy	/	/	/	55430	5943
Multicolored metals	/	/	/	10893	12695
Non-metals	/	/	/	3450	336
Ferrous metallurgy	30	164	/	134200	20845
Complete factories	/	/	/	42880	/
Shipbuilding	/	/	/	9420	928
Electrical industry	/	/	342	36500	3472
Chemical industry and drugs	801	370	3500	35500	31840
Industry of building material	2133	230	2940	29410	15500
Lumber industry	40685	/	7030	30000	10551
Paper and pulp industry	7590	/	5520	64000	9481
Textile industry	1455	/	13790	371540	174205
Leather and shoes	/	/	/	89820	15986
Rubber industry	/	/	/	15395	10371
Food industry	936	170	/	103715	61445
Agriculture	72934	6457	24537	184350	31395
Forest exploitation	10035	/	/	700	47
NNO	/	/	/	332490	/
Miscellaneous, packaging, costs	/	/	/	112300	9200
Film industry	/	/	/	1420	/
Total	136955	7331	57717	1.707.170	458382

(Source: AY, 50-56-414, Albanski uvoz iz Jugoslavije u milionima dinara)

In 1948, no significant investment purchases were made in joint ventures: for electrification, oil exploitation and railway exploitation. Within the Albanian import during 1938, by far the largest percentage was imported cereals, then products of the wood industry - furniture, sawn timber and veneer, from the paper industry, most of its needs were met by Albania from Yugoslavia, as well as from construction material - cement. In 1945 and 1946, cereals and textile goods occupied an important place. The following year, 1947, the Albanian list of claims from Yugoslavia expanded in terms of quantities and assortment. An important place still belongs to agricultural products, and in the first place

were textile products. Products of the food industry, sugar and jam, played an important role in Albanian imports. The change in the products of the metal industry in relation to the pre-war period is particularly noticeable. While before the war, the products of the metal industry had a negligible share in Albanian imports, in 1947 they took a third place in total Albanian imports. The most important item in exports in 1948 was olive oil, followed by crude oil, bitumen, liqueurs, edible olives, sea salt and other. All other items that the Albanian economy could offer to foreign markets were insignificant due to the very poor assortment and quality (prunes, dried figs, salted intestines), difficult transport conditions in the country (copper, chrome, fuel oil, various types of logs) or due to lack of appropriate packaging (onions, herbs, wine, south fruit)<sup>74</sup>.

Bearing in mind the balance of Yugoslav economic policy towards Albania 1945-1948, the question should be asked why Yugoslavia provided economic assistance to Albania, when itself was in a difficult position immediately after the Second World War. Milovan Djilas writes that the „expensive and unfair” economic relationship between Yugoslavia and Albania was possible only because the Yugoslav and Albanian leaders stood - since the war - on the view that both countries should unite - so that Albania would become the seventh Yugoslav republic, and the area of Kosovo and Metohija, inhabited mostly by Albanians, would join it. It was held that this would, in the end, eliminate territorial disputes and national intolerance. From that conception, Yugoslavia treated Albania in the economy - although interstate agreements were made on mixed societies and trade - with selflessness and breadth, as if it were one of its underdeveloped republics<sup>75</sup>. The unification of Yugoslavia and Albania would strengthen the Yugoslav foreign policy position, because it would enable it to enter the Mediterranean, it would gain in strategic importance and its role in the Balkans would be strengthened. Yugoslav connection with Albania was in the interest of the Soviet Union as well, because in that way, through the territories of Bulgaria, Macedonia and Albania, it would reach the Adriatic Sea, as well as the Mediterranean Sea. For Albania, the alliance with Yugoslavia was geopolitically significant. It did not have a naval tradition and financial resources, Western powers controlled the Strait of Otranto (between southern Italy and southern Albania with the Greek island of Corfu) and was surrounded on the Greek side, with its territorial pretensions, so Albanian „way out” was through Yugoslavia<sup>76</sup>.

### Summary

The subject to which this paper is dedicated has only been partially dealt with in the historiographical literature dedicated to Yugoslav-Albanian relations in the period after the Second World War. Hence, this research was undertaken as an attempt to

<sup>74</sup> AY, 50-56-416, Albanski uvoz iz Jugoslavije.

<sup>75</sup> Milovan Đilas, *Vlast i pobuna: memoari*, (Zagreb: Europapress, Novi liber, 2009), 122.

<sup>76</sup> Dušan Topalović, „Geopolitičke komponentne albanskih savezništava”, *Marksistička misao: časopis za teoriju i praksu socijalizma i socijalističkog samopupravljanja* 6/1985, 154-159; Dušan Topalović, „Geopolitički aspekti jugoslovensko-albanskih odnosa”, *Marksistička misao* 2/1986, 138.

shed light on the segment of economic relations between Yugoslavia and Albania, based on available historical sources and professional literature. Emphasis was placed on the plans that were made for the realization of economic cooperation between these two countries and on their realization from 1945 to 1948.

The research includes the manner of conducting cooperation, its scope and type, as well as the political conditions for creating economic relations. It is important to note that Albania's economic reliance on Yugoslavia took place at a time of five-year reconstruction, at a time when the Yugoslav state was recovering from the effects of the war and working on its stabilization. Relations between the two countries have been burdened by previous protracted conflicts and conditioned by the policies of the great powers on the Balkan Peninsula. Despite this, the Yugoslav Communists established a friendly relationship with the Albanian Communists and sought to help the Albanian state develop and strengthen after World War II. Albania was recovering with unconditional Yugoslav economic aid, especially in the field of agriculture, the joint fight against hunger and the construction of railways and factories. Then, it looked up to Yugoslavia and copied its political system. During that period, there was a conflict between these two countries with Western powers and negotiations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on the creation of a Balkan federation, in which Albania was to be included. Yugoslavia was on good terms with the USSR, modeled on the Soviet state and party system, and Stalin left Albania to Yugoslavia, believing it to be its sphere of interest. Yugoslav-Albanian economic cooperation was on the rise, especially after Enver Hoxha's visit to Yugoslavia in mid-1946 and the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. However, Albania showed a desire to establish direct contact with the Soviet Union, so there was often reservations and mistrust under the praise of cooperation with Yugoslavia. The crisis in Yugoslav-Albanian relations occurred when the Soviet and Albanian party leaders established direct cooperation, with Enver Hoxha's visit to Moscow in mid-1947. Finally, Yugoslav aid and co-operation were forgotten when the Informbiro resolution was passed and when Albania turned against its neighbor, siding with the USSR. Relations between Yugoslavia and Albania normalized after 1955, but mistrust and distance persisted.