

The anti-Yugoslavian Propaganda in the Albanian Press during Communism

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Abstract

The beginning of the 50-s, found Albania separated from its closet communist ally for almost a decade, Yugoslavia. The ideological separation had now been completed in between Enver Hoxha and Marshal Tito. Hence, the Albanian communism saw Yugoslavia as the active enemy against the Albanian state. This period involved Albania even more into the popular democratic camp, where together with a lot other countries, were the satellite states of URSS. However, the Albanian state was considered as the weakest satellite of URSS, and since that time the enclave satellite. One of the most used elements to "fight" Yugoslavia, was creating propaganda against and the best and almost the only way to do this, was through the local press of that time. The fact of having a considerable number of local newspapers, was greatly exploited. This propaganda, instead of being used to fight Yugoslavia, was rather used to keep Albanians away from even thinking about Yugoslavia but at the same time, it was clearly visible that Albania would be doctrinal, up to naivety. Analyses of the press of the time, lead researchers to the idea that the regime of that period, was willingly entering itself into internationalism, and was trying to avoid any national or western element. Such a severe propaganda against Yugoslavia, had also an international impact, due to the positions held towards Albania.

Keywords: Albania, Yugoslavia, URSS, Propaganda, Press.

Introduction

The Albanian state, which came out of the World War II as a winning state against the Nazi- fascist forces, with its liberation in November 1944 and adaptation to the politics of the time, found itself in one of the wings of the anti-Nazi allies. The Albanian state had similarities between the form of liberation and the dominating forces in the country, after the national liberation from Yugoslavia. In Albania as well as in Yugoslavia, the strongest military force was the Partisan one, with around 70000 partisans in the Albanian territory alone (Lory, 2008, 37). These partisans were the supporting force of the Communist Party, which was formed from Yugoslavian delegates, Dushan Mugosha and Miladin Popović, who gave directives and led the country with Enver Hoxha on top, whom they had not only elected but commanded too (Duka, 2007, 216 – 217). If we consider the period since the Communist Party was formed in 1941, this would be a long leadership of 7 years. The relations were so good that in the meeting of the Political Bureau on March 14, 1948 was discussed the idea of uniting the Yugoslavian Federation with Albania. This unification was also supported by the leader of the Albanian Communist Party and prime-minister at the same time, Comrade Enver Hoxha (Dervishi, 2006, 594). However, Comrade Hoxha very soon realized that this unification would be a mistake in two main aspects. First,

it would limit to the maximum his forces inside the country, by turning him into a *de Jure*, not only *de facto* of Josip Broz Tito, but also *de Jure*. Secondly, it would threaten the independence of the political Albania, established as such since the London Conference of the Ambassadors in 1913 (Dervishi, 2006, 595).

Attitude to foreign policy and Yugoslav weapons

Enver Hoxha was then waiting for a *casus belli* to be separated from Yugoslavia, or at least to be free from all the influence it had on the country. The best moment came when Yugoslavia was excluded from the Communist Informative Bureau, with its headquarters in Moscow, on June 28, 1948, because it has gone out of the communist ideology and it hadn't taken strict measures against the rich peasants, (*Kulakë*) (Jacques, 1995, 510). This was considered to be very heavy in Moscow, and as a result, it was considered so in Tirana as well. The separation from Yugoslavia was finalized during 1949, when everything Yugoslavian was considered prohibited and trying to be undone.

In 1951, the anti-Yugoslavian and Pro-Stalinist ideology reached its peak. It was such an ideology that more than anywhere was expressed in the propaganda of the press, which was completely taken by this communist ideology. Now Albania was positioned in the Stalinist Camp, whereas Yugoslavia was leaning on the right, as to balance the forces, against soviet accusations and threats. Consequently, the press tried to invent any kind of propaganda against Yugoslavia, above all its closeness to the United States of America. The main propaganda in the Albanian press of the time was focused on the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, concentrating in three aspects: first, the ever-growing relation with USA; second, the political and economic relations with the capitalist countries of the Western Europe; third, the threat that the Yugoslavian Policy imposed on Balkans.

The most over spoken one was the relation with USA, in the foreign policy of Yugoslavia. Since the beginning of 1951, Yugoslavia has been criticized as secretly collaborating and betraying the Soviet Union, by engaging itself in the US aid (ATSH, 1951, 4). In fact, USA was seriously considering helping Yugoslavia especially in the economical aspect, after separation from URSS, as it was the State Secretary himself Mr. Perkins, who declared the immediate need for help for Yugoslavia after his visit there (Chronology, 1951, 115). This was badly turned into a propaganda from the communist press, according to the point of view of the soviet wing, as he was accused to be entering Yugoslavia in the NATO group, which would soon lead to war against the communist countries (ATSH, 1951, 4). However, the help that Yugoslavia was asking from USA was as a result of a deficit since the breaking relations with URSS, and the aid in most of the cases was for the civil population, like the one in mid-March, when USA was asked for help in buying food and pharmaceutical medicaments (Chronology, 1951, 212).

Our biggest fear though, was whether Yugoslavia would be supplied with weaponry from USA. The construction of main streets through Yugoslavia with the help of USA, or the visits of the American generals in strategic points and main harbors, where all seen as threats (Çelo, 1951, 3). However, Tito found it necessary to be positioned in the western wing, because of a possible threat of revenge from URSS, and he felt obliged to find military support and help in the west, mainly from USA.

On November 14, he made a deal with the Americans in Beograd that consisted of USA protection from outside attacks, in exchange of raw materials and delicatessen goods (Chronology, 1951, 696). This really showed two aspects hidden behind our anti-American and Yugoslavian propaganda. First of all, fear, fear of this closeness because we wouldn't be able to defend ourselves in case of an attack from Yugoslavia, and secondly, jealousy, coming from the readiness of USA to help our former ally. Moreover, the relation that Yugoslavia started with the Western Countries was also criticized. The relation with England was seen as the threat just like the one with the Americans. These two countries in the propaganda jargon were known as the Anglo-American imperialists. Tito was also known as the student of Churchill because of his politics and closeness to the military NATO group (ATSH, 1951, 4). Despite so much criticism about Milovan Djilas going to London, which from the Albanian press was accused as being commanded from London, (ATSH, 1951, 3) all this showed the great importance that West was giving to Yugoslavia of the time, by placing it as the leader of Balkans, with a very strong western impact. In addition to this, the relation of Yugoslavia with France, was also seen with the same propagandistic eye, as it was believed that Yugoslavia would take all the weaponry that France had from Nazi Germany (ATSH, 1951, 4). If this was to happen then we were in great danger because German weaponry was way too advanced in comparison with our old ones, even in our solders along the border, who were the selected part of our army. The same situation stood for the relation that Yugoslavia was creating with Austria, as a satellite of the Anglo-Americans, as it was very much criticized from us. We criticized it because such a relation put an end to any relations of the URSS with the West, as the iron fence had already started in Turkey, passed through Greece, the entire Yugoslavia and now it was Austria that made the connection with western Germany. If we consider the geostrategic framework, England was a country far away, Italy was the one closer and its closeness to Yugoslavia would put Albania in an immediate risk, and it would feel as an enclave of the Stalinist communism, after the closeness that Yugoslavia was forming with Greece (D. J., 1952, 1968). Consequently, Albania feared what it called "the square", which was the link between Rome, Beograd, Athens and Ankara, a diplomatic union formed from the Anglo-Americans (Delani, 1951, 4). This would also threaten the two satellites of URSS, Albania in the Western Balkans and Bulgaria in the Eastern Balkans, a place where the threat from Yugoslavia was dominant in the press, just like in our country (Çako, 1951, 4). Therefore, the relation that Yugoslavia was having with USA and Western Europe, was turning Yugoslavia into a Balkans threat. Not rarely was Yugoslavia considered as the Balkans gunpowder (Couriade, 1951, 4). This was also displayed in comic magazines of the time, like Hosten, a very well-known magazine in which a caricature of Tito symbolizes the shell in the hands of NATO leaders (Kotini, 1951, 15). In fact, in itself Albania was the most isolated country in Balkans (Wainman, 1955, 116). As a result, it was out of the situation of that time, of Balkans disagreements and sometimes it was even seen as an obstacle, especially from its two allies, Yugoslavia and Greece. Since after the war, there have been three communist states in the Balkans, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia that were directly related with Moscow, whereas Albania pertained to the Yugoslavian field (Ulam, 1951, 55).

Consequently, with the international relations that URSS had created, Albania was the satellite of the satellite of the URSS. Meanwhile, there is a set of deals between those which were pro west and those pro soviet, as also expressed in our print. In many articles was given the threat that was about to come from the relation between Tito's Yugoslavia and the monarch-fascist Greeks. Both countries were seen as surrendered to the Anglo-Americans, as the Greeks had surrendered their aerodromes to the British, whereas Tito gave the harbors to the Americans in 1951. The closeness between these two countries was not only under the military framework as was expressed in our press, but also in the economic one. The connection again of the railway between Yugoslavia and Greece on February 12, (Chronology, 1951, 115) would increase the economic relations between the two countries, and would bring a geopolitical impact on these two countries as well as on the allies and NATO. However, the relation between these two countries was seen in the most negative aspect possible and the communist Albanian propaganda, inspired from Moscow, stated that Tito took away the Yugoslavian food to give it to the monarch-fascist Greeks. In fact, these economic relations also benefited the foreign trade of the country, by increasing its income and the help between the two states was seen as an American way of keeping the equilibrium between the two countries. The USA had really shown itself as the equilibrium force, in a significant part of the Balkans, through diplomacy, economic support that helped increase the countries income, and also by keeping the population calm, rather than the propaganda we produced for the military support that came to us in the framework of popular democracy. Yugoslavia was constantly gaining a new important role in the Balkans and in the relations between the two international blocks. Despite our criticism for the opening of the Peace Conference in Zagreb on October 23-27, as a conference with imperialist influence, (Jojic, 1951, 4) this showed the importance that this country had gained in the West, as the first gate into the socialist camp, as the first gate of the iron fence.

However, the vertical axis Beograd-Athens, interrupted and threatened the horizontal axis Tirana-Sophie, two of the URSS satellites. Both these countries found themselves as threatened from this vertical axis because Albania was complete surrounded in its border from Yugoslavia and Greece, whereas for Yugoslavia this surrounding was only half of its border, plus the relation Beograd-Athens was a tampon zone between the two URSS satellites. Therefore, propagandistic articles frequently appeared in our press for the threat that was imposed on Bulgaria from these two countries, or Bulgarian propagandistic articles were published in our press. Bulgaria was very much appreciated because it captured saboteurs that Yugoslavia sent, (ATSH, 1951, 4) as well as it expressed the threat imposed, because of the extension of the railway from Yugoslavia to Selenic. Bulgaria was seen as a silent ally to Albania, and the relation reached a point when the Republic of Bulgaria is called the Sister Popular Republic of Bulgaria. Two sisters that were united because of a father country known as URSS.

The weaponry that Yugoslavia possessed at the time, was very much criticized in the Albanian press, for the fact that this country had a huge amount of American weaponry, and in fact it was seen as a threat to all the popular democratic countries. Actually, the most threatened country, because of its geostrategic position, was Albania. Strong criticism was given against the Yugoslavian Army, which could arm

around 1 million soldiers, in peaceful times, was stated in "Luftetari" newspaper, the Albanian Army newspaper. Such statements, troubled the tranquility in Europe, and expressed the fear of the Albanian state, especially for the high number of soldiers, that when compared to Albania, it was equal to the entire number of the population.

Leaving Tito and Stalin approach

The major part of the Albanian press was occupied from the propaganda of the "Ego" myth which was basically expressed in two aspects: first, in criticism towards Josip Broz Tito, the Yugoslavian Marshall, and secondly, the flattering towards Stalin. In the first one, we see that anti-Yugoslavian propaganda is not in relation to the Yugoslavian state, or its population, but against Tito's group, known in the press as "Tito's Clique", or directly against him. The majority of the articles have a direct connection to this propaganda, which was expressed in writing or different caricatures.

He was accused of not being able to eliminate all the political groups of the pre-communist period. He also kept relations with Vatican, which was an imperialist state. This way, he was leading Yugoslavia into trouble and out of the communist ideology line. This way of approach seemed absurd to Stalin and Enver Hoxha as well, who tried to copy him, even in eliminating the political rivals. Tito was also known as a traitor of the Yugoslavian nations, due to the fact that in two very important dates of the Yugoslavian history, November 29, 1943 when the first meeting was held in Jajce, and November 29, 1945 the Liberation of Yugoslavia, he was celebrating with the Americans. This was considered very heavy, especially in the ideology axis, which could be translated as betrayal to the soviet influence.

The propaganda reach to a peak where Yugoslavian immigrants asked Enver Hoxha's help that together with Stalin they could make possible the liberation of Yugoslavia from Tito. This seemed grotesque and it was obvious that it was not written from the hands of the Yugoslavian immigrants, in a time when Enver Hoxha himself was feeling insecure in front of such a big army that Tito had. Another form of criticism towards Tito, was mocking him through satirical articles and various caricatures. He was seen as the spy of the Westerns, and in a satirical biography the relation with the west is given since the time of the Austro-Hungarians, who entered him in the Yugoslavian Communist Party. He is even displayed so cruel by turning schools into prisons for the imprisonment of the intellectuals, when the same thing had happened in Albania as Enver Hoxha himself had eliminated all the intellectual elite educated in West.

Also important were the epithets given to Josip Bronx Tito, from the satirical press of the time, based on the caricatures. In most of the cases he was presented as a parrot, which repeated every word said in Wall Street, and in some cases as an executioner or even as the child of the Americans (Hosteni, 1951, 15). Such epithets were actually well thought, even the type of the newspaper that they were published, by trying in this way to best influence the psychological aspect of the people to whom the newspaper was directed. He was displayed as an executioner in "Puna" (Work) newspaper, which was directed to workers and aimed at convincing them that such a leader was a workers' executioner. Whereas as a child he was displayed in "Luftetari" (The Soldier) newspaper, which targeted the soldiers, by trying to convince them that

you shouldn't fear a child and face any kind of attack from him.

However, the most important and frequent epithet given to Tito, was Judas. This was an epithet taken from the religious terminology explaining a lot of things at once through the press. Set in Judas position, who betrayed Christ, makes Tito a traitor in front of Stalin, who was seen from Enver Hoxha as the Christ himself that he adored. Moreover, he could also mock religion in a way, as he was forcing people to atheism, he spread propaganda against the religion like people who believed in God like Tito, where traitors and unfaithful.

On the other hand, the press of the time showed the time dependence that Albania had towards URSS. After breaking the relations with Yugoslavia, Albania had complete thrown itself in the hands of URSS, like a paralyzed person who can't walk. In fact, there was no need to be like that. URSS of the time dominated everything, up to the country's culture through literature and science (Parry, 1951, 183). But Albania was the smallest satellite state in population number and the weakest one of its satellites (Roucek, 1952, 171). However, the Albanian state really cared for and valued the relation with URSS. But in 1951 the situation was a bit special because of an incident in the Albanian history known as the Soviet Embassy bomb on February 26. After the incident the Albanian state acted in two prisms. The first one was arresting people, around 30 people were arrested and executed that night. Furthermore, by the end of March the military attaché and the Soviet ambassador were leading the country, a situation that worried the Yugoslavian state of the time.

While the second prism was the blind loyalty and transmitting it to the Soviets. We started maintaining a harsh position towards Yugoslavia, supporting Stalin's views in relation to it. In the press of the time, not only were the bad sides of Yugoslavia expressed, but also propaganda from URSS inside the state. In most of the articles it was said that Yugoslavians gave their life for Stalin, they would voluntarily be condemned just so that they would not be separated from the Stalinist ideology. Likewise, the youth was showing bravery, risking their life for the love they had for Stalin. It tries mostly to show the idea that the youth is on the side of Stalin and it is victimized in a way from the love they have for him (Dhimitri, 1951, 4). Such propaganda was very effective, as in a way it showed that Tito was governing the country with the old generation whereas the youth and the future of Yugoslavia is with Stalin going towards Moscow. This was also to make Albania aware of the fact that they should not stop looking towards Moscow. The propaganda of our country reached such a peak as to consider as insulting the Yugoslavian declarations of Kardelj in UNO. Moreover, Tito was accused of turning Yugoslavia into Bourgeois Nationalism and distancing it from internationalism, which was Moscow propaganda. But the fact was that Tito did not allow nationalism as his slogan was "Bratstvo i Jedinstvo" (Brotherhood and Unification), as he was seeking the creation of the new Yugoslavian nationalism. The URSS propaganda considered Yugoslavia as ingrate, as it has already turned the back to the Red Army which has liberated Beograd, (Çelo, 1951, 4) but in fact it was the URSS that had excluded Yugoslavia from the Communist Informative Bureau, because it had not made its peasants struggle a lot more. This was of much interest to the URSS as well as if the articles were not real or if you could find space for criticism. URSS controlled the Albanian press through the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana, who

in many cases asked for articles to be written pro Soviets and anti-Yugoslavian (Kaba & Çeku, 2011, 149).

Besides this, Tito was accused as having become the satellite of Washington, and that he had profited more from the USA than us who were in a complete dependence to URSS. URSS hadn't made a friendship pact, like it had with all its satellites, despite having diplomatic bodies inside the state. The relation with Albania to the URSS, different from the Bulgarian one which was geostrategic from land and sea, ours was only through air lines and they had to pass through Yugoslavia. This implied that in case of an attack from Yugoslavia, it was impossible to get help in Albania. That is why the relation of Albania with URSS and the propaganda in the Albanian press against Yugoslavia, was not a well-thought policy that showed lack of experience in analyzing the Balkans politics from the Albanian elite of the time. However, URSS needed a counterweight in the middle of the Mediterranean, in the lower part of Yugoslavia (Greene, 1953, 1057).

The internal reaction in Yugoslavia and Albania's Press

Propaganda was strong even in the social aspect towards Tito's Yugoslavian state. A form of this propaganda was given in the sabotage that the Yugoslavian society had against Tito's government, which was expressed in two forms: first, with the national disobedience and secondly, in the destruction of Tito's property.

The first form of propaganda was expressed as a measure from the labor force, who were disobedient and had no desire to work. Such disobedience was seen in peasants who refused the participation in *zadruga* (social cooperatives), (Çako, 1951, 4) as well as in the workers who were the ones that tried to find any kinds of forms and means to delay the realization of the 5 year-plan. Another disobedience was also shown in the refusal to sell Yugoslavian goods to USA (Hoxha, 1951, 4). Such a propaganda was closely related with the main axis of communist ideology of the time. First, the idea of disobedience and strikes was a way of expressing the influence in order to overthrow the capitalist system in all the left and communist parties in Europe, for decades since the XIX century, when the labor force was the one who governed. This showed that the Yugoslavian labor force was against the capitalist leadership of Tito. But in fact they forget something! If it was for the labor force to that easily sabotage work, it would show that Tito's governing was very soft with his people and didn't cause any terror or massacre. This way of disobedience that was occurring in Yugoslavia, could not even be thought to happen in Albania, to contradict Enver Hoxha. Sometimes, by showing propaganda against Yugoslavia, we were displaying the flaws and violence that was imposed on the Albanian population.

Secondly, the destruction that was happening in Yugoslavia, in enterprises, *zadruga* and the transportation system, was very much highlighted in order to damage Tito's intentions. In the propaganda is displayed as a total success the destruction of the wagons or the explosion of the railways in the entire Yugoslavia, (Rapo, 1951, 4) because goods could not get to the harbors for the Americans. The workers are also congratulated for not showing at work for 8 months. This kind of strange destructive propaganda would seem like a boomerang for the Yugoslavian society, if it were

real. This for the fact that the public property was not created from Tito, but it was property that all the Yugoslavians would enjoy even if Tito was ever realized of its duty. Then, people complaint that the salaries were low and didn't fulfill their basic needs, but if they didn't show at work for 8 months, how could they be paid or that the rate of production in villages had dropped, at a time when the main economic relation in villages were *zadruga*, how could the production rate increase, when there was no collaboration between the peasants.

However, a part of this was basically a show, which was not made as propaganda against Yugoslavia, but against the Albanians, telling them that the work conditions in Yugoslavia were terrible compared to what you have or that the labor force in Yugoslavia was struggling to achieve socialism, whereas you have it created from your Communist Party. Despite the purpose, this influenced a lot in the Albanians of the future generations, who learned from this propaganda against Yugoslavia and used it during the last years of communism, aiming to destroy communism but ended up destroying themselves.

The military provocations also took an important place in the borders with our "allies" that pertained to the popular democratic countries. They tried to maintain the side of Hungarians, telling them that they had the right to defend themselves in case of border trespassing from the Yugoslavian army, but Hungary as well as Bulgaria and Rumania were not afraid because they had the support of Stalin (Bekteshi, 1951, 2). Such articles were published at the time with our articles about the trespassing of our border from the Yugoslavian aeronautical forces. It was said that our border was trespassed 300 times within that year, and the soldier Halil Halla was killed in the border in Lin, Pogradec (Rapo, 1951, 4). However, there were not only the attacks of Yugoslavia towards our country or any other popular democratic countries mentioned above, but it was also Yugoslavia that reported a note of protest against the Albanian state in UNO for having killed a Yugoslavian soldier in the border on September 12, as well as against Bulgaria, which has done the same thing. Such attacks helped to release the tension these countries had with each-other, because of having high psychological pressure as a result of their ideologies. The Albanian zone, Dibra, in the Macedonian area, was an Albanian land inside Yugoslavia, had numerous roadblocks in the border area from both parties, and because of being one of the zones where most of the Albanians fled, the pressure here was even higher. However, what needs to be emphasized is the fact that the inclusion of these events in the propaganda press, came as a result of two main reasons. First, Albania wanted to insert itself in the group of the popular democratic places that were confronting capitalist countries and their satellites. Secondly, to show the fact that Albania was a land very valuable to Yugoslavia.

Actually, Yugoslavia found interest in Albania, due to the fact that within its federation there were around 700 000 Albanians of the same origin and blood as the native Albanians. They held in Prezren, an Albanian city in the border with Albania, The Free Albanian Council, and also transmit propaganda in the radio against the Communist Albania. Since during the end of the war, Yugoslavia had been trying to give economic and technical help to Albania, aiming in this way to keep here calm and attracted to a federalist future (Frenkel, 1951, 421). But the Albanian state and

mainly the communist clique had seen this act as a way of making them distance from power, a thing they obviously didn't like. In particular, the approach to America was unacceptable. In the propaganda of the Albanian press, the similarities between the Albanian and Yugoslavian nations were a lot, but it was Tito's clique that was keeping them away (Boshnjaku, 1951, 4). The unification of Tito with the USA reached to such a point that the Albanian press revealed a Yugoslavian article which stated that Albania was trying to make economic relations with Italy and Great Britain. This was an insult for us, totally unacceptable for our country to trade with capitalist countries (Frashëri, 1951, 4). Actually, although our declaration seemed a paradox, its purpose was to show our blind loyalty to URSS and that we don't betray our ideology even though a good trade would have helped a lot our backward economy that was in the soviet mercy.

During this time, the border was under strict control, as the Yugoslavian zone was the favorite zone for the Albanians to flee the country. This zone was much more preferred than the Greek border for two reasons: first, the Yugoslavian border occupied $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Albanian border and secondly, because of the border conflicts that we had had with Greece about two years ago. Lots of groups were caught fleeing from the Albanian border, and a lot of others were accused as being Yugoslavian spies helped by the UDB, Yugoslavian Secret Service. There was a huge trial for a group like this in Kukes, a northeaster Albanian city, the closest to Prizren. That October a lot of Yugoslavian immigrants were sentenced because of being accused of spying, and a part of them were executed. However, despite the border surveillance, the executions and sentences for attempted fleeing, nearly 500 people had immigrated towards Yugoslavia during that year. Eliminations of filo Yugoslavians continued, even after the elimination of the deputy Kochi Xoxes, who was accused of breaking the relations as pro Yugoslavian. Everyone condemned at this time, was found a connection to this person, by also saying that he/she was the last one of his group. The purpose of acting such, was to be justified in front of the Soviets who now commanded the country freely, and it was also known that Kochi Xoxe was accused as being against the Soviets for the purpose of keeping the Albanian psychology alert towards Yugoslavia which was still considered a threat. This would lead to a closer relation with the Soviets against the Yugoslavians.

A part of the articles even had some absurd propaganda, in which was often written that most of the Albanians wanted to return to Albania but they were not allowed from the UDB and the Yugoslavian state (Babani, 1951, 4). The propaganda of the time was frequently against the Albanian reality, as it was known that a part of the Albanians wanted with any means possible to escape from the terror of Enver Hoxha and move to Yugoslavia. But there was the propaganda to tell the Albanians that even the part of the Albanians that were in Yugoslavia wanted to come back to Albania because they were suffering so much, so don't even think about leaving and going to Yugoslavia. Plus this propaganda did not refer to the autochthon Albanians in Yugoslavia, but to the ones who had gone there when we had good relations with that country.

The question was: what about the Kosovo, Montenegrin and Macedonian Albanians that were there? What was said about them in the press of the time?

Even for the Albanians who were in their lands in Yugoslavia, were not left aside of

the Soviet propaganda. In Kosovo, it was said that the standard of living was worse during Tito rather than during the Yugoslavian reign of Karadjordjević. A fact that is not true at all, because at that time there have been made changes in Kosovo, especially in the agriculture sector, where the land was being worked and there was an increase in the agricultural mechanics (Verli, 2000, 119). There were also complaints about the elections held in Yugoslavia, and Kosovo is mentioned as well, but it never given the real situations of the Albanians inside the election process. The other problem was the use of the term national minorities, (Zeneli, 1951, 4) by making them look a really small group, when in fact they were the biggest group who didn't have its own republic. Moreover, the Albanian zone inside Yugoslavia, in whichever the three Republics they were in, was seen as an espionage zone, by emphasizing cities like Prizren or Tetovo, which collaborated with the UDB, against Albania. Such articles clearly showed that the Albanian press was not in the hands of the patriots, but in the hands of the International Soviet Forces. It was particularly them who were using the Albanian press to take Yugoslavia, without Tito and the best way was using Albanians against the Albanians. This would throw down the Albanian nationalism by first calling Kosovo people as Yugoslavian and not Albanian and secondly by considering them a minority the soviets were trying to decrease the number of the Kosovo people inside Yugoslavia. Thirdly, by considering Tito's period worse than that of the Karadjordjević, it was meant that whoever came in Yugoslavia after Tito, for the Kosovo Albanians, already considered as Yugoslavians, it would nevertheless be better than Tito.

Conclusions

This Albanian press, even though high in quantity but not in quality, was the best way to see through documents how the soviet ideology used the Albanian state. The level of this press, which apparently was not high, was in proportion to its population, whose majority was illiterate and therefore easy to manipulate. Lastly, setting Yugoslavia as the main foreign threat for the Albanian state, kept its population constraint and unable to leave with any means possible the Enverist - Stalinist Albania. However, the inside propaganda was even more important and the main purpose of the propaganda transmitted to the Albanians, as to not have a better Yugoslavia than URSS, and the leader Josip Broz Tito was not just a negative figure, but the total opposite dimensional figure of the positive Stalin that we held.

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