

War of Independence or succumbed to their wounds just after Liberation. Many names are missing, because they were not entered in the records of the Services Committee, for the simple reason that no-one, neither widow nor heir, ever made the application.

In recent years, many researchers have been making use of local archives, in association with the General State Archives, and producing studies on the local history of towns, prefectures, and sometimes even villages. The book under review falls into this category. The lists it publishes increase our knowledge of the history of Fokida and its people during the revolutionary period, and it also provides other scholars with an incentive to engage in even more systematic and thoroughgoing investigations.

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Rexhep Qosja, *La Question albanaise*, Fayard 1995, pp. 326.

The Albanian Question, or, to put it in another way, the question of the fate of the Albanians of Kosova in the context of the New Yugoslavia, is the main subject of the latest book, in French, by Rexhep Qosja, the well-known Albanian writer, Professor at the University of Pristina, and member of the Academy of Sciences. Qosja first traces the history of the Albanian people from the second half of the nineteenth century—the time of their first national awakening—to the Balkan Wars and the birth of the Albanian state. From this point onwards, he confines his study to that segment of the Albanian people which remained in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes to begin with, and Yugoslavia subsequently, the greatest part of which inhabited the province of Kosova and the west of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

As presented in this book, the subject is not a new one in recent literature. Indeed, there has been a noticeable surge in literary activity on the subject of Kosova in the last five years at least, a fact that is undoubtedly due to the territorial and political realignments that have been taking place in the Balkans during this time. The Albanian side, with Tirana and Pristina as its main production centres, has applied itself to a real publishing blitz with regard to the “drama”, as they term it, experienced by the Albanians, as they live divided among two countries. The purpose of this literary activity is undoubtedly to inform and sensitise world opinion, as is demonstrated, moreover, by the fact that many of the recent publications are written in one of the West European languages (two typical examples being *The Truth on Kosova*,

published by the Tirana Academy of Sciences, 1993, and the periodical *Kosova*, which first came out in Tirana, also in 1993). There has been a similar rash of articles on the same subject in West European periodicals.

In the context of this activity, many topics have been broached and many opinions expressed, ranging from accounts and analyses of current political developments relating to the Kosova Question to the presentation of the history of the Albanians in the region from antiquity to the present day; from the living conditions of the Albanians in the Serbian state to a variety of opinions as to the best way of resolving the whole issue. The relevant literature is truly voluminous, and Qosja himself has made a substantial contribution to it, both with books (*Populli i Ndaluar*, Tirana 1992) and with frequent articles in Albanian newspapers.

Despite the initial impression it gives the reader, this book exceeds the narrow confines of a simple historical study and presentation of the progress of the Albanian nation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: it is more of the nature of a political manifesto, an attempt to spotlight the Kosova Question and at the same time to advance the Albanian views about how it should be resolved now that the generally unstable situation obtaining in the territory of the former Yugoslavia is creating favourable conditions for its resolution in accordance with Albania's wishes. The main target, of course, is international public opinion, as is indicated moreover by the fact that the book is published in French. Furthermore, as the author himself points out at the end of the Introduction, the purpose of the book is to stir European awareness with the help of "historical and contemporary facts", to show how this "historical crime against the Albanian people" was committed, how it has been perpetuated, how its tragic consequences can be overcome, or, in other words, what could be a "just solution" to the Albanian Question today (p. 14).

However, it seems clear that the writer's purpose is not so much to inform the reader, to dispassionately present the Kosova Question in its entirety with the help of "historical and contemporary facts", as to generate an emotional charge, to rouse innate human feelings against injustice and oppression, to begot supporters for the Kosova Question, and to rally them to the defence of the rights of the Albanian people. Qosja is one of the major figures in contemporary literature of Kosova, and both his style and the flow of his language clearly betray his true intentions.

The subjects he is particularly concerned with here, and which he discusses much more than any others, are the developments leading up to the creation of the independent Albanian state and the fixing of its borders in 1913, and the fate of the province of Kosova after the break-up of Yugoslavia.

In this respect, it is significant that a large part of the book (the whole of the last two chapters) is devoted to opinions, proposals, and plans concerning the resolution of the Albanian Question, whether "unjust" (emanating from Serbian or European sources) or "just" (in line with his personal views about the best and most permanent solution to the problem). It is worth pointing out here that Qosja has repeatedly dissociated himself from the moderates both outside and within Kosova, favouring the Albanians' right to self-determination and their future union with the Albanian motherland.

There is much to criticise in the content of the book and the way the author presents and argues the various aspects of the question. I shall mention only the extremely selective use of those sources and bibliography generally that serve his own purposes, as also Qosja's sweeping use of subjective and often absurd arguments that leave the reader unconvinced. One could also raise many objections to the side-issues he chooses to analyse, as also the opinions he expresses about them. A detailed refutation and correction of each and every one of the numerous inaccuracies would fill a whole new book, so I shall simply offer comments on a few points, which, however, typify the general style and content of the whole work.

In Chapter One, a discussion of the Albanian population and its geographical range, Qosja produces some arbitrary, essentially unsubstantiated estimates of the number of Albanians in the Balkans and proceeds to an extremely (and no doubt deliberately) vague definition of what he personally regards as Albanian territory. This vague picture is visually conveyed by map No. 2 at the end of the book: titled "The borders of the Balkan states before the Balkan Wars of 1912", it depicts the borders of the other Balkan countries (Greece, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Bulgaria) perfectly clearly, while Albania is awarded an ambiguous and at the same time enlarged geographical area extending from southern Serbia to Greek Epirus and Macedonia. The visual impression the reader is left with is a purposely confused one, and the writer exploits this later on when he presents and defends his assertions.

Chapters Two to Four concentrate on the events leading up to the birth of the independent Albanian state and the initial fixing of its borders in 1913. Qosja views the borders as the result of *marchandage* among the Great Powers of the time to the detriment of the Albanian people. The Greeks and Serbs are frequently described as "latterday conquerors of Albanian territory". With regard to the fixing of the Greek-Albanian border, he expresses an opinion that is, to say the least, peculiar: he asserts, *inter alia*, that the Great Powers gave "towns in southern Albania" (as he persists in calling Greek

Epirus), including Konitsa, Preveza, Ioannina, and Kastoria, to Greece purely and simply because modern Greece was regarded in the West as the heir of ancient Greece: "Western civilisation's debt to Pericles, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Phidias, Pythagoras, and the rest of the Greek geniuses was paid with a very hefty cheque drawn on Albanian territory" (!) (p. 99).

With regard to the Second World War (significantly, this is the period that concerns Qosja least of all, and he devotes only a small part of Chapter Seven to it) and the annexation of Kosova to Albania by the Italian occupation authorities (a fact which undoubtedly discouraged the Albanians of Kosova from joining the resistance movements, at least until Italy surrendered in 1943), all Qosja finds to say is that the prevailing notion that Italy annexed to mother Albania the Albanian territory that the European Powers had denied her in 1913 is in fact erroneous, because there were other Albanian territories that ultimately were not annexed, but remained under either German or Bulgarian occupation (p. 160).

The second subject with which, as mentioned before, the author seems to be especially concerned after the Balkan Wars and the birth of the Albanian state is the period that followed the break-up of Yugoslavia and the fate of Kosova since. In Chapters Eight to Ten he gives a detailed account of the intentions and the proposals of the European nations and the other Balkan countries with regard to the Kosova Question, with particular emphasis on the various trends, plans, and views circulating in Serbia itself.

The last chapter of this section, and of the book, is devoted to "the Albanian Question and its just resolution". In Qosja's opinion, the Albanian Question should be treated as an issue concerning not an ethnic minority but a "divided people", given that there are more or less as many Albanians in former Yugoslavia as in Albania itself. The Kosova Question is not simply a matter of respect for human rights, it is a question of "colonialism", because the area has become the object of colonial exploitation by the Serbs, from both an economic and a demographic point of view.

Continuing his analysis, Qosja concludes that the resolution of the Albanian Question is the single prerequisite for the consolidation of peace in the Balkans; and the just and definitive solution today, following the break-up of Yugoslavia and the emancipation of the former Yugoslav republics, can only be national unification following the implement of the principle of self-determination: "This will involve changing the borders. Well, yes! Borders are not sacred, they were not created by God" (p. 267). Besides, he says, this unification will not create a "Great Albania", as many allege, accusing the Alba-

nians of expansionist aspirations. It will produce a "natural Albania", a thoroughly legitimate and democratic demand. This is the nub and gist, the very essence of Qosja's political manifesto, the ultimate message he wishes his book to convey.

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Hülya Demir - Rıdvan Akar, *Istanbul'un Son Sürgünleri. 1964'te Rumların Sınırdışı Edilmesi* (The Last Expulsions from Istanbul. The Deportations of the Greeks in 1964), Istanbul 1994, pp. 230.

Two esteemed scholars, Ms H. Demir, graduate in Philosophy from the University of Istanbul (Faculty of Arts) and member of the Human Rights Associations's Minority Rights Monitoring Committee, and Mr R. Akar, graduate student in Economics at the University of Istanbul (School of Economics), well-known for his excellent study on the Wealth Tax (Varlık Vergisi, 1992), stigmatise in their book the official Turkish policy against the approximately 13,000 Greek citizens who were deported from Turkey in 1964, as well as against the ethnic Greeks (Rum) who were Turkish citizens and who were expelled from Istanbul, Imbros (Imbroz, today Gökçeada) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) that same year.

Ms Demir and Mr Akar are the first, in Turkey or elsewhere, to have dealt with this issue. Their principal source of material was the daily press, given that they have not had access to the essential archival material on the Greek community in Turkey and, further, that both the historians and the politicians who have written about this period in their studies and memoirs have preferred to pass over in silence an issue which is still smouldering, thirty years later.

In December 1963, the authors remind us, a time when the problem of Cyprus was becoming more acute, Turkey was facing a crisis. The government felt that the situation in Cyprus could be settled once and for all by dividing the island in two or by sending in armed forces. But Turkey's diplomatic overtures to both her western allies and the United States did not produce the expected results. The opposition, dissatisfied with the government's conduct, pressed for a more decisive and aggressive policy. And public opinion, seeing the daily press photographs of murdered Turkish Cypriots, including women and children, was outraged.

It was at this point that, in its perplexity and confusion, the Turkish