that lie with the hagiographical approach to this controversial figure that hides revisionism and political agendas behind it. Therefore, this critical study not only sheds more light on Admiral Horthy’s figure but also places it into a broader perspective of the past, present, and future of Hungary, thanks to Horel’s impeccable work.

Horel’s detailed knowledge of Hungarian history and the interwar period alongside her thorough research and critical approach resulted in a very important study.

The image of Admiral Horthy shifted from demonization by the communist regime to exaltation which culminated with the admiral’s reburial in Kenderes in September 1993, during the period of democratic transition. The author disagrees with the conclusions of both communist and revisionist historians, and underlines the dangers of revisionist tendencies in the contemporary Hungarian government; Horel explores all mechanisms of this revival in the climate of anti-communist obsession.

Ethem Çeku, Kosovo and Diplomacy Since World War II: Yugoslavia, Albania and the Path to Kosovan Independence.
Reviewed by Igor Vukadinović*

The book of the historian Ethem Çeku Kosovo and Diplomacy Since World War II: Yugoslavia, Albania and the Path to Kosovan Independence provides a historical account of the Kosovo and Metohija question and the Albanian national movement in Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1980. It is focused particularly on the diplomatic aspect of the issue and on an analysis of the state policies of Yugoslavia and Albania, and follows the role of major foreign political players in this matter. The book is intended primarily for Western readers and evinces the author’s effort to elicit empathy and solidarity with the Albanian national movement in Kosovo.

The book is organized into nine chapters combining chronological and thematic approaches. The first chapter offers a brief overview of the Balkan policies of the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain during the Second World War. The second chapter analyses various plans for Kosovo and Metohija within the framework of special relations between Yugoslavia and Albania and the negotiations of the two communist leaderships about the unification of their countries between 1945 and 1948. The third chapter follows the evolution of the Kosovo and Metohija question from the outbreak of the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Cominform in 1948 to the split between Tirana and Moscow in 1960. The fourth chapter is devoted to the constitutional status of Kosovo and Metohija from the end of the Second World War to the adoption of the 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia. The following three chapters deal with the growing internal crisis in Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s and the establishment of closer ties between Albania and the leadership in Priština, which was a symptom of the Yugoslav crisis. The last two chapters are devoted to the violent demonstrations in Kosovo in 1981, which Çeku sees as the highpoint of the Albanian national movement and the turning point of the Kosovo question. This interpretation of the demonstrations may in part be explained by the personal perception of the author, who was their active participant.

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One of the strengths of the book is the use of a broad range of sources. Apart from documents from major Albanian archives, the author used source materials from the Archives of Kosovo and Metohija in Priština, the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade and the Russian State Archives of Socio-Political History in Moscow. The book provides some important information that has until recently been little known or unknown to the broader scholarly public, such as Soviet diplomats’ reports on Albania’s stance on the Kosovo question in the 1950s or the messages the leading Albanian politician in Yugoslavia Fadil Hoxha sent to the leader of Albania Enver Hoxha through the Albanian ambassador to Yugoslavia in 1970. The author perceptively covers shifts in Tirana’s foreign policy and does not fail to notice the emergence of West Germany as an actor in the Kosovo question in the early 1980s, which he vividly pictures by referring to Enver Hoxha’s bewilderment at why a country that has no diplomatic relations with Albania would support national demands of Albanians in Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, the book is marked by the author’s insistence on the narrative of “inequality of Albanians in Yugoslavia” and the Belgrade regime’s brutal attitude towards Kosovo and Metohija. As a result, the readers are deprived of some important historical information and not infrequently encounter claims that cannot be considered as being true to fact.

The unprecedented step made by the establishment of territorial autonomy in Kosovo and Metohija after the Second World War has not been sufficiently studied. In his analysis of the legal and constitutional acts passed after the war, the author fails to mention that the Autonomous Oblast (Province) of Kosovo and Metohija was granted powers in the economy, education, the judiciary and internal affairs, but instead merely emphasizes the hierarchical subordination of provincial authorities to those of the republic.

The author insists repeatedly on the thesis about the “anti-Albanian policy” of Serbia and Yugoslavia in the first post-war years, although it was then that the Yugoslav communist regime intentionally displaced tens of thousands of Kosovo-and-Metohija Serbs from their homes and made decisions which favoured the Albanization of minority communities, such as imposing compulsory schooling in Albanian on Turkish children or the change of surnames on members of the Slavic community in the Gora region. The thesis about “Serbian domination” in the political life of Kosovo and Metohija is made to seem plausible by omitting the fact that Albanians accounted for more than 70% of deputies in the People’s Committee of Kosovo and Metohija and more than 70% of members of the Provincial Executive Committee which was headed by Fadil Hoxha for the whole eighteen post-war years. In the conclusion of the fourth chapter, Çeku claims that the 1946 Constitution of Yugoslavia treated Kosovo and Metohija as “oblast”, which is not true.

The author also puts forth the claim that the economic development of the Kosovo-and-Metohija autonomy was “minimal” until 1968, that the region was bypassed in terms of investment and that it was only after the downfall of Aleksandar Ranković that the provincial economy could begin to prosper. In reality, however, in 1957 the Yugoslav political leadership launched ambitious economic projects in Kosovo and Metohija, which brought about its transformation. The rate of economic growth the province reached between 1957 and 1965 was never reached again in the twentieth century. The popular myth about “Ranković oppressing Albanians” has never been put to serious scrutiny but has instead been uncritically accepted as a starting point in making assessments of an era, which is the reason why the fast-paced development of a network of institutions of higher education in the province between 1958 and 1966 is also left unmentioned by the author.
Although the Albanian national movement in Yugoslavia is one of the book’s focuses, the author provides little information about its structure, modes of operation and protagonists, occasionally misleading readers into believing that the latter were people who spent decades in prison for their beliefs, such as Adem Demaçi. In that way, readers are left unaware of the fact that the leaders of the Albanian national programme in Kosovo and Metohija in the 1960s and 1970s were not “persecuted members of an underground resistance” but in fact the most influential party functionaries and intellectuals employed in state institutions who, with the support of Josip Broz and the Yugoslav political leadership, elevated the autonomy of Kosovo and Metohija to the status of a federal unit with its own constitution, supreme court and powers in the area of defence and international relations.

Kosovo and Diplomacy Since World War II: Yugoslavia, Albania and the Path to Kosovan Independence is a useful handbook for research concerned with the diplomatic history of the Kosovo-and-Metohija issue, the policy of Enver Hoxha’s Albania on the issue, and the history of European diplomacy in the Cold War era. The parts of the book that deal with the history of Kosovo and Metohija and Yugoslav state policy are marked by the author’s propagandistic slant, which takes away some of its scholarly value.


Reviewed by Dušan Fundić*

The recently published book of Thanos Veremis is a condensed overview of a little more than the last two centuries of Balkan history. Veremis, Professor Emeritus of Political History at the University of Athens, founding member and former President of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) and visiting professor at Princeton, Oxford and London School of Economics, is a prolific historian, whose better-known works include Modern Greece: A History since 1821 (2010). The book reviewed here is structured into three parts whose titles – “The Balkans from the Nineteenth to the Twenty First Century: the Building and Dismantling of Nation States”, “The Balkans in Comparative Perspective”, and “Unfinished Business” – clearly show the main directions in which he takes his research.

Discussing the relationship between the influence of great powers and the dynamic of the Balkan states’ internal development, the author identifies the phenomena and processes he perceives as decisive for the outcomes and contemporary problems of the Balkan region. In that sense, he attributes responsibility for the state of affairs in Balkan politics and relations between the countries to the incompetence and irresponsibility of foreign and local political actors alike. Veremis focuses primarily on the most important developments in the political history of Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania, offering a comparative perspective and an overview of their foreign policy orientations.

By the end of the eighteenth century the Orthodox Christians of South-East Europe were inheritors of three cultural traditions:

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