

# Sidste Nyt fra Albanien, Kosóva og Makedonien

*The Latest News from Albania, Kosóva and Macedonia*

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Professor Neritan Ceka, Formand for det Demokratiske Alliance Parti i Albanien. Formand for Parlamentets Udvalg for den Nationale Sikkerhed. Foto: Bjørn Andersen, 2006

Dette nr. er specielt. Det består af flg. tre dele:

- Omtale af et møde om [valget i Albanien i 2005 og de senere års politiske udvikling](#)
- Samtale med [Professor Neritan Ceka, Formand for det Demokratiske Alliance Parti i Albanien og Formand for Parlamentets Udvalg for den Nationale Sikkerhed](#)
- Anmeldelse (på Engelsk) af [Socialantropologen Tobias Svenningsen's studie fra landsbyen Progër](#) ikke så langt fra Korça

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**Tirsdag 31. januar 2006 kl. 18.30**

i RCT's kantine, Borgergade 13, København

**Valget i Albanien i 2005 og de senere års politiske udvikling**

**Oplæg af Jørgen Grunnet**

Bjørn Andersen og Tue Magnussen vil supplere

Der er fri adgang til mødet

**Jørgen Grunnet** har tidligere været Europarådets Missionschef i Albanien. Han var leder af ODIHR's og OSCE's overvågning af valget i 2005. Han har arbejdet i den danske udenrigstjeneste og var før da chefredaktør på »*Politiken*« gennem mange år.

**Bjørn Andersen** har netop udgivet bogen  
[»To skridt frem? Albanien i en brydningstid«](#)  
(pris: 175 kr. på mødet).

**Tue Magnussen** deltog - som flere gange tidligere - i overvågningen af valget.

Henvendelser vedr. mødet:  
[information@miqesia.dk](mailto:information@miqesia.dk) eller Tue Magnussen, tlf.: 3376 0530.

## Samtale med Professor Neritan Ceka



Neritan Ceka. Foto: Bjørn Andersen, 2006

Neritan Ceka er professor i arkæologi og interesserer sig stadig meget for sit fag, selv om hans tid i mange år mest er gået med politisk arbejde. Han har været medlem af Parlamentet i mange år og blev også genvalgt i sommeren 2005, og han bestrider en meget vigtig post som Formand for Parlamentets Udvalg for den Nationale Sikkerhed.

Karakteristisk nok spurgte han under sit ophold efter en dansk arkæolog som han havde haft besøg af for mange år siden i Albanien, og det lykkedes at etablere kontakt påny; Ceka var meget fornøjet over mødet og syntes det var helt morsom at den unge mand på motorcyklen var blevet til en meget voksen herre.

Til at begynde med - efter Hoxha-styrets sammenbrud - støttede Neritan Ceka Sali Berisha, men de kom uoverens, og Ceka forlod partiet for at deltage i stiftelsen af et nyt parti *Demokratisk Alliance*. Partiet mener selv at det ligger omtrent samme sted som Det Radikale Venstre i Danmark.

Partiet udghorde en del af det parlamentariske grundlag for Fatos Nano's regering, der måtte træde tilbage efter valget. Der har tilsyneladende været visse tilnærmelser *fra anden side* efter valget, men resultatet dog endte med at Demokratisk Alliance valgte at støtte den samme side som før. Måske har Ceka m.fl. ikke været i tvivl på noget tidspunkt om at et samarbejde med *den anden side* var enten uhensigtsmæssigt eller umuligt eller måske begge dele.

Forleden aften fik jeg lejlighed til en kort samtale med professor Ceka - det fandt sted midt mellem to andre arrangementer. Ceka var netop kommet fra et besøg på Christiansborg, hvor han havde haft en drøftelse med Niels Helveg Petersen og med flere andre, og bagefter vores samtale skulle han videre til et middagsarrangement, så en del af samtalen fandt sted, mens vi gik hen ad Vesterbrogade.

Jeg forstod på professor Ceka, der er en meget behagelig mand at tale med og en person man hurtig kommer i god kontakt med, at der ganske vist er et stærkt politisk element i de store uoverensstemmelser mellem de forskellige partier i Albanien, men at en meget væsentlig del af uoverensstemmelserne var af ganske anden art, ikke mindst af personlig art.

Ceka fandt det ikke så mærkeligt at valget havde ført til et magtskifte, for det skyldtes hvad der

var sket inden, og her tænkte han bl.a. på det markante brud, der var sket mellem den daværende premierminister Fatos Nano og den daværende vicepremierminister og udenrigsminister Ilir Meta.

Han havde svært ved at se at Ilir Meta ville kunne opnå store politiske resultater foreløbig. Han havde spillet sine kort på en måde, så han havde tabt næsten al den indflydelse han havde, selv om han nu gjorde sig anstrengelser for at holde sig i vælgerens fokus. Meta gav stadig mange interviews og prøvede at komme ud med sit budskab.

Professor Ceka så spændt på udviklingen i Socialistpartiet, som havde ført til at Fatos Nano var trådt tilbage som partiformand og erstattet af Tirana's borgmester Edi Rama. Han syntes at have respekt for Pandeli Majko, som - efter at have været forsvarsminister frem til valget - var blevet Socialisternes Generalsekretær.

Han var skeptisk med hensyn til hvad der ville ske på regeringssiden. Ganske vist var situationen meget anderledes end i 1997, hvor Sali Berisha var blevet tvunget væk som præsident efter de kuldsejlede pyramideforetagender, plyndringen af våbendepoterne og den efterfølgende opstand, og hvor den »blå« regering var blevet erstattet af en »rød« med Fatos Nano i spidsen. Men i det grundlæggende mente han at Sali Berisha ikke havde ændret sig, hverken på det personlige plan eller i politisk henseende. Han fandt at Berisha var en meget selvrådig person, og han forudså at der ville opstå problemer mellem flere af ministrene. Selv om flere af ministrene var stærke personligheder - eller måske netop derfor - kunne der meget vel opstå sprækker i regeringen.

BA, 10. January 2006

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# Progër

## A village in the neighbourhood of Korça in Southern Albania

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Progër is situated NE to Korça

- [Village-life in Southern Albania](#)
- [Observations](#)
- [Relevance](#)
- [Notes](#)
- [Literature etc.](#)

## Village-life in Southern Albania

In 1993, shortly after the collapse of the Hoxha-regime and a few years before the pyramid-scandals, a young Norwegian social-anthropologist - Tobias Svenningsen - went to Albania. He stayed there for 8 months and made many useful observations of daily village-life. He had taken inspiration from another Norwegian anthropologist, [Berit Backer](#), who unfortunately was killed by a sick refugee from Kosóva before the departure of Tobias S.

Some sociologists, anthropologists, journalists etc. have visited Albania or Kosóva in the second half of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th - and again in recent years - and have made interesting observations [[Note](#)]. Some of them have visited the Northern of Albania, possibly because this area is the most inaccessible and in some aspects the most exciting part of Albania since some of the old traditions - as the *gjakmarrja* - still are uphold to some extent [cf.: [»Gjakmarrja. Albanian Highlander's »Blood Feud« as Social Obligation«](#)].

Tobias S. chose otherwise; he decided to go South-East to the Korça region - and even to study the Albanian language before he appeared in the area. Some of the Albanian contact-persons found a suitable family in Progër to host him. All Albanians are very hospitable - and many families would have welcomed the guest, but since the field-study would last for many months a family with a young son - at the age of Tobias S. and with a lot of spare time - was chosen. Secondly, it was agreed that Tobias S. should pay for his stay.

The area in the Korça-region is not lowland and as easy to pass through as the areas near the Adriatic, but it is very near to modern Greece and not as remote as the Northern regions.

## Observations

Tobias S. did not make any sort of a »stiff study« or a study too much influenced by »theoretical ideas«, and he did not make *formal* interviews either; instead he made a down-to-earth-study, observed what was happening - and made a lot of ordinary conversations with the hosts, with people in the streets and in the bars and with people he helped to install satellite dishes. Everyday he made notes in his notebook.

Maybe some reader would find there is no (or not much) theory in the book at all, but that would be wrong. The theory is highly visible in the structure and the perspective. To get the best understanding of village-life, this procedure seems to have been the most appropriate and the one which would give valuable information. Nevertheless, specialists would appreciate a paper some time, maybe on the internet, about the theoretical considerations.

One of the most striking observations was that everyone - of the parent-generation - preferred their sons (and daughters) to leave countryside and to get a job in one of the cities. Most parents thought life as a farmer was too exhausting, too out-of-date and too distant from modern city-life, and therefore they often were reluctant to goad the sons (and maybe even the daughters) into activity at the farm. One reason why the farms were too out-of-date was that most fields were too small to be exploited economically, and furthermore the fields often were sliced up as in Denmark before the great reforms in the first part of the 19th century.

If possible, many young people emigrated - mostly to Greece - to earn some money to settle there or - after some years - back in Albania. Many emigrants sought to get a job as far away from the Albanian-Greek border as possible, to learn and speak Greek, to use Greek Christian names and to appear as Greek in any possible sense. Nevertheless, many of them were caught by the authorities and had to return home before they had planned to do so, since they did not

have got valid visa and work permits.

On the other hand, it was not as easy to get a good job and a good flat in the cities, and furthermore many commodities were more expensive at the city-markets than in the village. That is, some agricultural products from abroad were highly competitive - as Danish feta - and many Albanians therefore preferred to buy such foreign products instead of Albanian products of problematic quality [Note 2].

The collapse of the Hoxha-regime might have to be seen as a major step forward, politically spoken. Nevertheless, the closing down of the collective farms had certain disadvantages - first of all, many women workers were forced to work at the family farms and therefore their daily social contacts were weakened.

Tobias S. was a little surprised of the common village-strategy, since the villagers - at least in Progër and mostly the Christian ones - did not choose to work together, to modernize and to make proper investments. The greatest hindrance maybe was not »structural«, but »ideological«. Most villagers did not want to repeat communist collectivism - with the exception of some people who were closely related to each other.

*Reciprocity* is a key-concept in the Albanian village (as it is in many other parts of the world), but it is most easy to handle inside family and among friends. Many villagers hoped some *foreigners* would invest in the village - but it did not seem realistic.

A few villagers chose a more prosperous strategy than the other villagers since they combined agricultural work - at their own fields - with other kinds of work.

Generally, the villagers chose their strategy very well knowing more adequate acting - from an *economical* point of view - could be possible; nevertheless, their choice - at this point - was very much influenced by recent social experiences and some reluctance to untried economical and social approaches or methods.

One villager established a new bar, but he had to give up after a short while since he did not have the kind of a social network as his competitor had. Obviously he did not have the *flair*, nor the *entrepreneurial spirit*. The other fellow acted as a typical Albanian businessman, he got himself supported by family and friends, from time to time he stood a round of free drinks - and he took some other initiatives.

## **Relevance**

Things have changed in the Albanian villages. But still the most important observations are highly relevant.

All the major problems seem to have persisted, and the authorities as well as the farmers have to make a restructuring. Maybe a rapprochement to the EU will do something good, but - to my opinion - the Albanians have to change policy and strategy by themselves and to get rid of the widespread corruption. Only then, other countries and some of the international organizations will be able to support the Albanians in a future-oriented way.

Bjoern Andersen



## Notes

1) For example Edward Lear, Edith Durham, Franz von Jessen, Fritz Magnussen - later on Birthe Traerup, Berit Backer, Antonia Young, Isabel Fonseca, Robert Carver and Nina Rasmussen.

2) Even when the Albanian products are good, the Albanians often choose foreign products. For example furniture, shoes and clothes from Italy. Since the Albanians do not produce cars all cars and vans have to be imported.

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## Literature etc.

Svenningsen, Tobias F.: *»En del av Europa? Albansk kultur og samfunn i 90-årene«* [A part of Europe? Albanian culture and social life in the 1990'es]. Forlaget Migrasjonslitteratur, Bergen, Norway 1997. 235 p.

### Chronologically:

Durham, Edith [1863-1944]: *»High Albania«*, 1st edition 1909, available on the internet: <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/durham/albania/albania.html>

Backer, Berit [1947-1993]: *»Behind Stone Walls«* [MA-thesis from 1979, edited and published by Robert Elsie and Antonia Young in 2002, cf.: <http://www.elsie.de/pub/b31.html>]

BA: *»Gjakmarrja. Albanian Highlander's »Blood Feud« as Social Obligation. A review of Diana Gellçi's book«*: <http://bjoerna.net/sidste-nyt/277.htm> [2005]

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The author: **Tobias Svenningsen** [Tobias Frambe Svenningsen] [b. 13.10.1967] holds a MA in social-anthropology from the University of Bergen, Norway. He is a specialist in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has been posted to Albania, Kosovo and Bosnia, and Iceland as well.

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