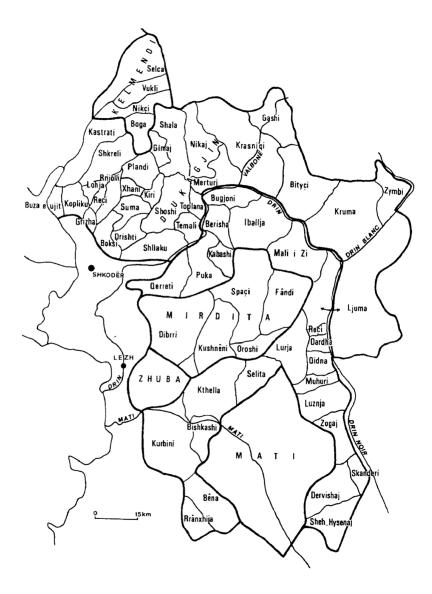
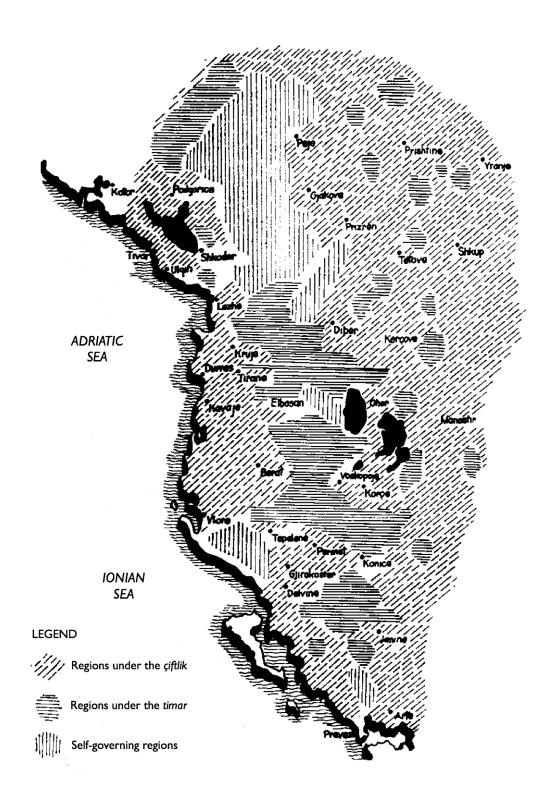
APPENDIX A

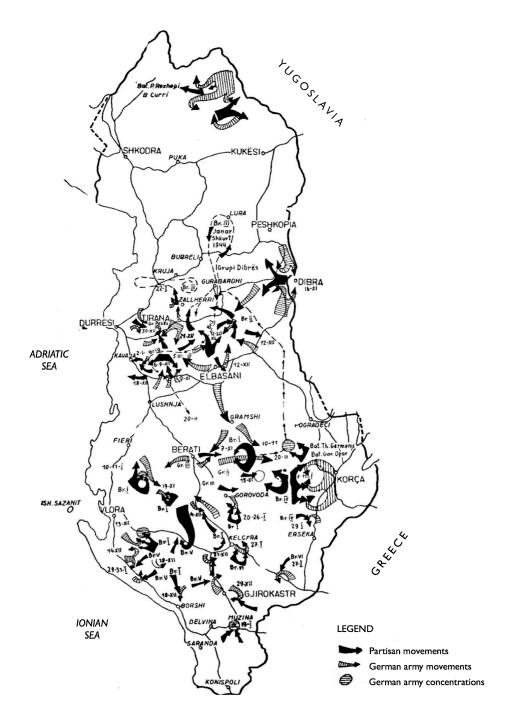
Maps



Map 1. Clan regions in northern Albania in the early twentieth century (Source: Doja 1999).



Map 2. Geographical distribution of *timar*, *çiftlik*, and self-governing regions in the western Balkans, c. 1790 – c. 1870 (Source: Mile 1984).



Map 3. Map of Albania showing troop movements during major German offensive against communist partisans in the winter of 1943. Troop activities on map indicate heavy partisan concentrations in the lowlands of central and southern Albania and their near total absence in the northern highland region (Source: Buda and Frashëri 1985).

APPENDIX B

Sample of Besa Agreement Between National Government and Highland Peasants on Terms of Law and Political Rule

Sample of *besa* document establishing the terms of rule of the Albanian national government in the highland region of Mat in 1919 (Source: CSAA, Fund 152, Dossier 1 [1919]).

In order to secure our beloved homeland Albania, to secure peace and to increase the love and fraternity between each other, those of us who have gathered in Mat have agreed to commit to a general *Besa*, becoming subject to all the orders of the government in accordance with its laws.

- 1) We are all brothers and have as our goal the best for our homeland.
- 2) We recognize the government and are bound by our will and our soul to all the commands it
- 3) Every Albanian, whatever his issue or trouble, shall demand his rights from the government.
- 4) Murder and the seeking of blood by one Albanian against another is banned for one year. For an entire year, blood vengeance will be suspended.
- 5) Theft is forbidden, and an Albanian that takes the life of another will be punished as follows:
- 6) His property will be confiscated and his family banished from the Mat region, the perpetrator's home will be burned down and he will be sent to face military court.
- 7) He who steals the property of another will be punished by three months to three years in prison, and will pay double the value of the stolen property.
- 8) For an Albanian that kidnaps the daughter or wife of another, kidnapping will be considered by the people as equal to murder, and will be punished in accordance with point 5.
- 9) According to local custom, if one takes the life of another for questions of honor, or catches one in the act of stealing, the murder will be considered justified and the perpetrator will not be penalized.

- 10) Dishonoring another and fighting among the people is not permitted, and will be punished severely.
- 11) Firing weapons for pleasure without the permission of the government is forbidden and will be punished severely.
- 12) Those who take and offer shelter to perpetrators in their home and does not notify the government or the local council of elders [*pleqësi*], but provides assistance to them, will be punished the same way as the perpetrators, in accordance with points 5 and 6.
- 13) Italian soldiers and their equipment will not be touched. Anyone who tries to lay a hand on them will be hanged.
- 14) He who cuts telegraph and telephone wires or steals poles will be handed to the Italian military court, which will issue its punishment.
- 15) Those that did not accept and did not enter into this *besa* are considered enemies of the homeland and are not our brothers. For this reason their families will be deported from the country.
- 16) All, young and old, will conduct their own affairs and will not deal with politics.
- 17) Those who deal with politics and foreign propaganda are against the goal of organizing Albania or have the intention of causing disorder and upheavals, will have their families deported and their homes burned to the ground.
- 18) By offering our hand in *besa* to each other, we agree to uphold these agreements and protect the honor of our country.
- 19) In accordance with custom, we give our pledge and sign this paper and agree that for its implementation we will follow the decisions of the subprefect and the Commission.
- 20) For all matters the people must address the Albanian Government, he who does not do so is not considered our brother.
- 21) If for any reason the government requires a national militia we will obey all commands issued by the government.
- 22) In due time, after the government and Commission have made their decision, the bearing of arms will be forbidden.

Burgajet, March 5, 1919

[signatories]

The establishment of a Commission consisting of 20 representatives of the people of Mat to act in accordance with the rule of the government is hereby certified, as demanded by the honor of our country.

APPENDIX C

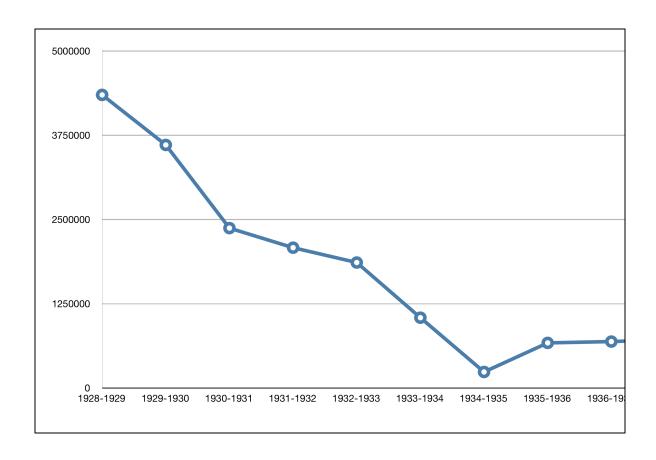
Tables and Data for Chapter 6

Company or proprietor	Total Land (ha)	Region(s)	Notes
Hajdar Starova	100	Veliternë (Pogradec)	
Ibrahim Biçaku	2500	Cërrik (Elbasan)	
Berat group (names n/a)	1045	Fier (Berat)	
Rexhep Jella	n/a	Maminas (Durrës)	Orchard
Hamit Toptani	n/a	Acaushaj (Durrës)	Orchard
Xhafer Taga	8	Larushk (Durrës)	
Shoqëria Maliq	n/a	Maliq	

Table 1. Partial list of local proprietors and firms in large-scale commercial agriculture, 1925-1939. Compiled from data in Fishta (1989), Fishta (1999) and Fishta and Doçi (1965).

Company or proprietor	Year of start of operations	Total Land (ha)	Region(s)	Lease origin	Original land owner	Notes
Ente Italiana Agricolo d'Albania (EIAA)	1926	3500-5000	Shijak (Durrës)	private and state çiftlik	Banush Hamdi be bej Toptani, Miltia	eu, Hamdi bej Toptani, Fuad adh Shallvari
Societa Anonima Agricola Industriale Albanese Italiane	1926	1000-1200	Aliko (Saranda)	private çiftlik	n/a	
Societa Anonima Prodotti Industrie Agrarie (SAPIA)	1928	300	Yrshek (Tirana)	private çiftlik	Zija bej Toptani	
Domenico Panteleo and Vito Giusti	1932	50	Babicë (Vlora)	private çiftlik	Arshi Selfo	
Francesco Pacelli	1932-?	n/a	Tirana	private çiftlik	Servet Libohova	Failed after a few years.
Arturo Orlandi and Umberto Uberti	1936-1938	4000	Mifol (Vlora)	private çiftlik	Shefqet Vërlaci	Sought to maintain original ciftlik system of 1/2 levy on product.
Societa Industriale Agricola Albanese (SIBS) (Arturo Orlandi)	1938	1400	Llakatund (Vlora)	private çiftlik	Eqerem Vlora, Sefa Vlora	
Ettore Santi	1927-1930	6000	Poro (Vlora)	private çiftlik	Mehmet pashë Vlora	Failed after a few years. Partly due to peasant resistance.
Sindicato Agricolo Industriale Italo- Albanese (ITALBA)	1928-?	300	Shijak (Durrës)	private çiftlik	Masar bej Toptani	Failed after a few years. Controlled transferred to EIAA.
Bonanni and Grillo	1929-?	2000	Rushkull (Durrës)	private çiftlik	Miltiadh Shallvari	Mostly forest. Later sold to EIAA.
Batistioni	1928-29	300	Bilvia-Vorë (Tirana)	private çiftlik	Masar bej Toptani	Failed after a year.
Ernesto Ranciano and Ettore Guglielmani	1931	450	Bestrovë (Vlora)	private çiftlik	Seit Qemali	Failed after a year.
S.A. ITALBA	1940	n/a	Pjeshkëz (Durrës), Saranda	private and stat	e çiftlik	State-owned company.
The Cleveland Tractor Company	1931-36	(30000- 35000)	Coastal region	state çiftlik (?)	n/a	Land reclamation from swampland. Contract never approved,

Table 2. Partial list of foreign firms in Albanian agriculture, 1925-1945. Compiled from data in Fishta (1989), Fishta (1999) and Fishta and Doçi (1965).

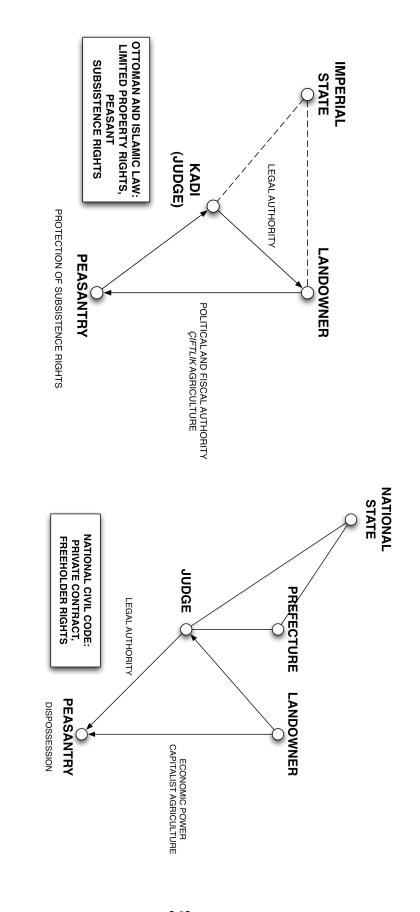


Graph 1. Tax revenue from the tithe (*e dhjeta*), 1928-1938. (Source: Meta 1999, p. 110, 112).

Note: Until the fiscal year 1934-35 tithe payments were made in kind. After 1935 payments were made in cash value. Values on y-axis are absolute values in Albanian gold francs.

	Families		Amount of land	
Owner type	No.	%	ha	%
Large landowners	7	0.0	14,554	3.7
State <i>çiftlik</i>	-	=	50,000	12.7
Rich peasants	4,713	3.1	91,133	23.2
Small and middle peasants	128,961	83.1	237,668	60.4
Landless	21,544	13.9	-	-
Total	155,225	100.0	393,355	100.0

Table 3. Land distribution structure in 1945, on the eve of agrarian reform. (Source: Sjöberg 1991, p. 33).



Graph 1. A graphic representation of institutional transformations in Albania's lowland agrarian system, c. 1800-1945.

ALBANIAN NATIONAL STATE, 1924-1945

OTTOMAN AND POST-OTTOMAN ALBANIA, c. 1800 - 1924

APPENDIX D

A Note on Archival Sources

The research of this dissertation relied heavily on archival documents held by the Central State Archives of Albania (*Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit*), Albania's central repository of government documents and other textual historical material. The archival material consulted covered the period after Albania's independence (1912), through the pre-war (1919-1939) and wartime (1939-1944) periods. Individual documents ate cited in the endnotes whenever their contents are quoted directly or used to support an empirical claim.

The CSAA organizes documents on the basis of particular funds, which hold documents from specific entities, such as government ministries, prefectures, and diplomatic offices, as well noted individuals. These individual funds are futher cross-indexed on the basis of a classification system that groups documents on the basis of specific domains. According to the latest (2004) classification system, these domains are:

I. State Organization, II. Politics, III. Military, IV. Economy and Finance, V. Education, Culture and Science, VI. Health, and VII. Religion.

On Albania's highland policy, I consulted documents from the period 1912-1944, organized under the following subheadings:

- I-1-1.3. The election of village heads.
- I-2-2.1. General information on the organization of state institutions.
- I-4-9. Traditional customs and the reconciliation of blood feuds.
- II-2.16. Political movements in the highlands, 1913-1944.
- II-4-2. Zog's campaign against participants of the June Revolution and regions resisting submission to his rule.
 - II-4-11. The activities of *bajraktars* and their relations with the Zog government.

In relation to the lowlands, in addition to documents filed under II-4-2, I consulted documents under the following headings:

- II-4-7. The anti-Zog movement in Vlora.
- II-4-8. The Fier revolt of 1935.
- II-4-10. The Delvina movement of 1937.

In addition to the above, a valuable collection of primary documents involving conflict over land is the volume by Beqir Meta and Rinush Idrizi, *Lufta e fshatarësisë për tokë*, 1925-1939: përmbledhje dokumentesh (1985).

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