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THESIS

NATO'S SMALL STATES: ALBANIA AS A CASE STUDY

by

Brandon Burden

December 2016

Thesis Advisor: David Yost
Co-Advisor: Carolyn Halladay

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NATO'S SMALL STATES: ALBANIA AS A CASE STUDY

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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from the

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This thesis examines Albania, one of the newest Alliance members, as a case study in the debate as to whether small states serve as security importers or providers in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It investigates the hypothesis that the benefits for NATO as a whole associated with Albania's NATO membership outweigh the costs. Albania's accession to NATO, the evolution of its roles, and its potential for expanded contributions are evaluated to assess the advantages and costs of Albania's membership in the Alliance. This project places Albania's NATO membership since 2009 in the context of its independence since 1912 in order to provide insight regarding Albania's decision making and motivations. It also analyzes Albania's contributions to NATO during its Partnership for Peace (PfP) membership in 1994–2009 and as an Alliance member since 2009. This thesis concludes that despite its weak economy, domestic issues, and numerically small military forces, Albania is a valued member of the Alliance that provides important capabilities in support of NATO's core tasks.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAF	Albanian Armed Forces
ACP	Albanian Communist Party
AFLTDP	Armed Forces Long-Term Development Plan
CBO	Congressional Budget Office
CS	cooperative security
EU	European Union
FG	force goals
GDP	gross domestic product
IFOR	Implementation Force
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MAP	Membership Action Plan MAP
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PARP	Planning and Review Process
PFP	Partnership for Peace
PG	Partnership Goals

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I want to thank my beautiful bride, Eneida, for her patience and support during my studies and research. She has selflessly cared for me while carrying our soon-to-be-born son, Timothy Rush Burden.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has always included small states among its members. Iceland and Luxembourg were, for example, among the founding Allies in 1949. The admission of additional small states as members has nonetheless become controversial in some quarters. Detractors argue that small states could complicate decision making and could not meaningfully contribute to the Alliance's activities and operations. In the debate about NATO's security providers and security importers, small states are generally viewed as security importers.

A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis investigates the hypothesis that the benefits for NATO as a whole associated with Albania's NATO membership outweigh the costs. Albania's accession to NATO, the evolution of its role, its current role, and its potential for an expanded role in the future are evaluated to assess the advantages and costs of Albania's membership in the Alliance. To what extent is Albania a security consumer or provider?

B. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

NATO's continuing enlargement process is a topic of ongoing debate among experts. There are arguments in favor of welcoming additional members to the Alliance and arguments to keep the current membership configuration. Some scholars debate the roles of the organization as a whole. Some speculate that the Alliance has overstepped its bounds in contingencies for which other international organizations might have been better suited to act.[1] Other experts advocate that the Alliance increase in size and scope. One of the themes in this discussion is the inclusion of small states in the Alliance; to what extent are small states security providers or consumers?[2]

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[1] Steven E. Meyer, "Carcass of Dead Policies: The Irrelevance of NATO," *Parameters*, Winter 2003/2004, 33, no. 4 (2004): 83–97.

[2] Ibid., 89.

NATO expanded its membership in three post–Cold War rounds of enlargement (1999, 2004, and 2009) involving the accession of 12 states from Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, Montenegro's accession to the Alliance is expected in 2016. Following the Cold War, NATO worked to adapt to the new security environment. According to some assessments, the threats faced by states today more frequently come from non-state actors than from states with standing armies. With the nature of warfare changing, the roles and value of Allies within NATO are also changing. Collective defense was the fundamental reason for the creation of the Alliance in response to the threat of Soviet aggression.[3] The core task of collective defense remains today, but the way it is pursued has evolved due to the changes in warfare.

This thesis examines the case of Albania, which gained Alliance membership in 2009. Understanding the relationship between Albania and NATO over the past seven years should provide insight as to how individual states fill necessary functions within the Alliance, how those functions affect the significance of NATO, and specifically how Albania has performed since its accession to the Alliance. To what extent has it been a security consumer or provider? The thesis research builds on the broad topics of NATO enlargement, the current relevance of NATO, and the roles of small states in the Alliance. The thesis also assesses evidence to clarify Albania's contributions to the fulfillment of NATO's core tasks and objectives. Finally, this thesis evaluates the implications of Albania's NATO membership for future small-state accessions.

C.   LITERATURE REVIEW

The Atlantic Alliance was originally created in order to deter and defend against possible Soviet aggression and to furnish a basis for diplomacy seeking a peaceful resolution to East–West differences. This unifying purpose held the Alliance together with little fundamental change until the Cold War ended in 1989–1991. This ending marked the beginning of a significant transition period for the Alliance that has spurred

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[3] Ivo H. Daalder, "NATO in the 21st Century: What Purpose? What Missions?" Brookings Institution, April 1999, 19, http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/1999/04/nato-daalder.

many debates among scholars concerning the enlargement, relevance, and purposes of NATO. Since 1999, NATO has enlarged its ranks three times through the accession of 12 countries. With the exception of Poland, all of these new member states are comparatively small Central and Eastern European nations. The inclusion of small states within the Alliance is a point of contention among experts that is closely tied to the purpose and future of NATO.

1. NATO—Relevance and Purposes

The relevance and purposes of NATO have provoked extensive debates among experts. Some experts believe that the Alliance should focus more on its collective defense responsibilities and assume fewer non-Article 5 tasks. Some believe that the Allies should devote more attention to burden-sharing in their decisions about inviting new members to join the Alliance. The Allies agree that the Alliance should stay relevant as a significant military and political international organization. All of these topics are worth exploring to understand the current and future state of NATO.

David Yost is among the many experts who believe in a proper balance in the roles of the Alliance, while never neglecting its founding purpose. According to Yost, "the first priority of the Allies necessarily remains the security of their national territories, followed by the security of the Euro-Atlantic region as a whole."[4] Yost has written extensively about how NATO balances its core tasks of collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security as defined in the Alliance's 2010 Strategic Concept.[5] The Alliance has capabilities prepared to respond in a variety of crisis situations, and this has been evident in the many crisis management operations conducted since 1992.

These actions overlap with activities in the domain of cooperative security. Yost writes that in its current state, the Alliance emphasizes crisis management and

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[4] David S. Yost, *NATO's Balancing Act* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2014), 14.

[5] Yost, *NATO's Balancing Act,* 344.

cooperative security on the basis of a consensus on common values and shared security threats. With crisis management and cooperative security being exercised regularly, Yost believes that there should be a greater emphasis on collective defense. In his view, there should be a proper balance of all three tasks in order to fulfill the security commitments made by all NATO members.[6]

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) takes a budgetary perspective on defense and security efforts in the Alliance. The CBO tracks trends in how NATO members utilize their resources in support of NATO operations and common costs. The CBO found that the contributions and support provided by specific Allies have fluctuated year by year and that physical support and financial contributions are not necessarily correlated.[7] The CBO observed that the end of the Cold War allowed most Alliance members to lower their spending contributions. This increased a key imbalance in burden-sharing—namely that between the United States and the European Allies.[8] The Congressional Budget Office's findings demonstrate the imbalance present among NATO members in their defense spending.

Ivo Daalder wrote in 1999 that NATO's continued existence was required, but he argued that it should be more of a military organization as originally chartered and focus on collective defense. He held that in order to strengthen the Alliance's defenses and security within Europe, more involvement and more balanced burden-sharing from member states are necessary. He also maintained that the Alliance should focus on enhancing its power-projection capabilities.[9] The implementation of this acquisition policy would include improved command and control, intelligence, and airlift capabilities. Finally, he wrote that this effort is intended to increase security in the Euro–Atlantic region while maintaining the previous progress made by the Alliance.

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[6] Ibid., 377.

[7] Congressional Budget Office, *NATO Burdensharing After Enlargement* (Washington, DC: Congressional Budget Office, August 2001), ix.

[8] Ibid., 1.

[9] Daalder, "NATO in the 21st Century."

Ultimately, Daalder stated that NATO's purpose during the Cold War was mainly to serve as a military alliance while today it is a more political alliance. Despite this shift in circumstances, he argued that the central role of the Alliance has been and should always be collective defense.[10]

2. Enlargement—Critical Arguments

The enlargement of NATO in recent years has been synonymous with adding small states to the Alliance. NATO's enlargement has divided experts, who have articulated arguments for and against it. The arguments for enlargement have included the need for a stronger military posture to deter Russian aggression, an increase of the Alliance's sphere of responsibility, and increased stability in Central and Eastern Europe. Some experts argue that the enlargement process has kept the Alliance both politically and militarily strong. The arguments against enlargement include the contentions that a bigger Alliance means a greater risk of irritating the Russians, that additional small states have little to offer, and that the inclusion of small states may actually weaken the Alliance.

Steven Meyer wrote in 2003 that NATO should be abolished, partly because of the problems presented by the enlargement process. He based his opposition to NATO enlargement—and NATO's existence—on political complications created by adding new Allies to NATO. In his view, this started with the Alliance's enlargement to include former Warsaw Pact countries, thereby extending the NATO footprint in Europe.[11] This enlargement to the east, he argued, had negative effects on then-prospective NATO members such as Romania by complicating their pursuit of EU membership.[12] He maintained that the European Union (EU) should be more active in Central and Eastern Europe to better serve the interests of the states concerned.[13] One example provided was

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[10] Ibid, 19.

[11] Meyer, "Carcass of Dead Policies," 84.

[12] Ibid., 91.

[13] Ibid., 89.

Romania's support of U.S. policy against terrorism during the George W. Bush administration as a way to gain favor with the United States and NATO. This split loyalty, Meyer argued, strained Romanian–EU political relations, thus serving as an example of how NATO affiliations and priorities can create conflict between member states and the other institutions they belong to or seek membership in.[14]

Meyer also argued that the Membership Action Plan (MAP) after 9/11 became less about Alliance candidates fulfilling requirements and more about how those candidates aligned with U.S. policy and interests, thus undermining the entire program.[15] Meyer's argument in this respect was not a criticism of enlargement, however, but an objection to how it was pursued in the years immediately after 9/11. Overall, Meyer viewed NATO as an organization that had overstepped its bounds in situations in which other international organizations would have been more appropriate instruments to take action. Indeed, Meyer advocated that the European Allies withdraw from the Alliance, putting an end to NATO. Meyer's criticism of the Alliance extends beyond enlargement in that he calls for terminating NATO.

Another critic of NATO enlargement is Dan Reiter. His argument is that the EU should push for democracy in Europe, not NATO, because the EU is less likely to provoke Russia. Reiter explains his perspective by laying out his interpretation of the contending schools of thought on the enlargement question. He holds that supporters of enlargement feel that the accession of former Warsaw Pact states would deter Russian aggression. He also believes that enlargement would reduce the potential for conflict between Alliance members, based on the commonly accepted theory that democracies are less likely to fight each other than are dictatorships. According to Reiter, the other side of the enlargement argument holds that enlargement threatens and therefore provokes Russia while also complicating internal Alliance decision making, which weakens NATO. Reiter also believes that NATO enlargement into former Communist states did

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[14] Ibid., 91.

[15] Meyer, "Carcass of Dead Policies," 92.

not foster democracy. This is based on the fact that, according to the 1995 *Study on NATO Enlargement,* in order to be a NATO member a state must be a democracy. He cites the 1999 accessions of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland as examples of states that developed functioning democracies on their own. He observed that Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia all had constitutional democracies established following the end of the Cold War without membership in NATO.[16] He belittles the contributions to democratization of NATO's Partnership for Peace.[17] Overall his argument is that the enlargement of the Alliance is not effective at spreading democracy and that further enlargement should be discouraged. In short, Reiter is among the commentators opposing future NATO enlargement.

The value of enlargement through small states for collective defense was disputed by Daalder, who wrote in 1999 that "an expansion of NATO's purpose and membership risks not only increased dissension among the allies but also dissipation of the Atlantic Alliance's ability to meet its fundamental collective defense tasks."[18] He cited the Baltic states as examples of limited military contributions: "Given Moscow's predictable reaction and the fact that the Baltic states have little to contribute militarily to NATO, it is difficult to see how their inclusion in the Alliance meets the oft-repeated test for all new members, namely that 'their accession to NATO will contribute to wider European stability and security.'"[19] In these examples, with Daalder's statement that "the Baltic states have little to contribute militarily to NATO," he implies that small states mostly consume security while providing limited security capabilities for the Alliance.[20] He argued that in future enlargement efforts the credibility of the enlargement process should be maintained so that friendly and hostile nations understand the open-door policy, which

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[16] Dan Reiter, "Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001): 65.

[17] Ibid., 61.

[18] Daalder, "NATO in the 21st Century," 11.

[19] Ibid., 59.

[20] Ibid.

is to offer membership to prospective Allies, bringing them under the protection of all NATO members.[21]

3.   Enlargement—Pros

The "pro" side of the enlargement discussion focuses primarily on promoting European stability both politically and militarily. Alexandra Gheciu supports NATO enlargement, particularly through the inclusion of small states. She argues that the previous inclusion of former Soviet states and satellites resulted in stronger democratization and better political relations among those states. She specifically cites the Czech Republic as an example of a small state in a geographically important location, which is able to support NATO efforts to counter Russian influence. Gheciu also relies on the theory that democracies generally do not fight each other as evidence for her argument for stability. In general, she believes a larger NATO means a bigger security framework for those within.[22] This applies particularly to small states and demonstrates their role in collective defense and cooperative security.

Another scholar, the late Ronald D. Asmus, also supported enlargement, but as a means to keep the Alliance from becoming politically and militarily weak. He wrote that NATO should, to avoid this weakening, focus more on military missions and be open to non-Article 5 operations outside of the territories of member states. Additionally, he argued that the Alliance should be the first choice among international institutions, when needed, as a means to promote positive relations among the Allies.[23] Asmus held that continued enlargement and strengthening of NATO would be in the best interest of the Alliance and its neighbors.[24]

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[21] Ibid., 60.

[22] Alexandra Gheciu, *NATO in the "New Europe": The Politics of International Socialization After the Cold War* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 133.

[23] Ronald D. Asmus, *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 278–279.

[24] Ibid.

To repeat, Asmus was one of the supporters of enlargement, specifically through small state accessions. In his view, the Bosnian conflict highlighted the need for a post–Cold War change in NATO. The NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia showed the potential for small states to contribute to operations conducted by the Alliance. One-sixth of the 60,000 troops deployed in 1996 came from non-NATO countries, most of them involved with the Alliance's Partnership for Peace (PfP).[25] Asmus pointed out that Hungary was a contributor through its strategic position, which provided an ideal base of operations for the Alliance.[26] NATO enlargement occurred in Eastern and Central Europe following this conflict, and Asmus held that this enlargement contributed to regional stability through the spread of democracy.[27] In his view, events during this period demonstrated the value of enlargement, particularly including small states.

Current instability in Eastern Europe, specifically in the Balkans, has led to calls for experts to devise a solution. Dessie Zagorcheva believes that the answer to stability in the Balkans is the enlargement of NATO through the inclusion of all the states in the region. She cites Russia's support for Serbia on the subject of Kosovo's status as a reason for NATO to increase its influence in the Balkans, thereby limiting Russian influence in this part of Europe.[28] She goes on to state that Montenegro's split from Serbia and its move toward NATO membership increased NATO influence in the region.[29] As Asmus demonstrated, small states have the ability to contribute to the stability desired in Europe. Zagorcheva believes that instability threatens the region and greater Europe.[30] She points out that enlargement is needed due to the many issues in the Western Balkan states, such as their "persistent state weakness, instability, nationalistic rhetoric, inter-ethnic tensions,

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[25] Ibid., 125.

[26] Ibid., 128.

[27] Ibid., 125.

[28] Dessie Zagorcheva, "NATO Enlargement and Security in the Balkans," *Journal of Regional Security* 7, no. 1 (2012): 22.

[29] Ibid., 9.

[30] Zagorcheva, "NATO Enlargement and Security in the Balkans," 8.

economic backwardness, territorial and border disputes, corruption, [and the] absence of the rule of law."[31] Despite the many individual problems faced by Balkan countries, she believes that the possibility of membership could serve as a motivation for reform in these nations as it has in many other Central and Eastern European countries.[32] The Congressional Budget Office reported that "economic assistance [from NATO] to Central and Eastern Europe may have helped smooth the transition from Communism to market democracy."[33]

In the debate as to whether small states are security providers or consumers as NATO enlarges, Ramunas Vilpisauskas in 2002 viewed small states as potential security providers. He used the then-prospective inclusion of Lithuania as an example of this based on its expenditures on defense as a percentage of GDP, its participation in international security and peacekeeping operations, and its activities to support regional security in cooperation with NATO in various exercises.[34] Vilpisauskas concluded his argument by stating that Lithuania as a NATO member would contribute to "creating a zone of peace, security, and prosperity."[35] Finally, he dismissed the argument that small states are "free riders" and mere consumers of security. He held that these are unsubstantiated fears.[36]

Another scholar, Joel Hillison, agreed in 2009 with Vilpisauskas and found that the new states in the Alliance contributed on average more than the old states did based on their defense spending as a percentage of their GDP.[37] Some commentators argue against enlargement because they believe that new states will not pull their weight, but

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 11.

[33] Congressional Budget Office, "NATO Burdensharing After Enlargement," 15.

[34] Ramunas Vilpisauskas, "Lithuania's Accession to NATO: Can a Small State Play the Role of a Security Provider?," *NATO's Nations and Partners for Peace*, 2002, 21–23.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Joel R. Hillison, *New NATO Members: Security Consumers or Producers?* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 2009), vii.

Hillison's findings refuted this argument. He found that the limited troop contributions often provided to operations and exercises by small states, a common point made by those against enlargement, is not reflective of their willingness to participate, but rather a NATO military compatibility issue that will be resolved over time.[38] Hillison, along with scholars such as Asmus and Gheciu, concluded that small states are beneficial in the enlargement of NATO and that the future of NATO depends on efforts by all the Allies— old and new, large and small.

D.   POTENTIAL EXPLANATIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Every time NATO increases its membership, there is a discussion among experts and officials in the Alliance about whether enlargement is advantageous. The scrutiny has become more focused because the past several accessions to the Alliance have involved small states. To bring clarity to this debate, this thesis investigates their significance and value to NATO. Specifically, to this end, the thesis examines Albania's performance and actions in the Alliance since its accession in 2009. The evidence provided is based on the current objectives and core tasks of NATO and the actions that Albania has taken in support of these objectives and core tasks.

This thesis investigates the hypothesis that Albania is a productive contributor to the efforts and objectives of NATO. A case study of Albania's contributions may support the judgement that small states in the Alliance can fill important niche roles in support of NATO's overall mission success. Attributes such as geographic location, regional knowledge and relationships, and specialized skills can be significant benefits to the Alliance and serve as vital assets that support the capabilities of larger and more powerful allies.

E.   RESEARCH DESIGN

An assessment of the contributions of small states in NATO is not most effectively accomplished through statistical data, but rather through analyzing individual

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[38] Ibid.

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examples of performance. This thesis examines the single case study of Albania. The case study assesses the performance of Albania based on its efforts in regional stability, actions in the global fight against terrorism, defense spending, and overall participation in and support of NATO activities. While only some of these actions are quantifiable, collectively they throw light on the extent to which Albania is a productive member of the Alliance.

The sources and materials for this research include Albanian governmental documents, official NATO documents and reports, and scholarly literature analyzing Albanian actions. The research on Albania in particular dates for the most part from the end of the Cold War in 1989–1991 to 2016 to better show the country's NATO-related activities, including Albania's participation in Partnership for Peace and its fulfillment of the Membership Action Plan. Also, the research includes relevant background and current information describing the history, missions, and objectives of NATO. This thesis clarifies the expectations and objectives of the Alliance and shows how small states can fill important roles.

F.   THESIS OVERVIEW AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter II provides a brief history and overview of NATO and its objectives. Chapter III describes the modern history of Albania from the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1918–1922 to the present. This history throws light on the experiences and motivations of the Albanian people as well as outlining the evolving relationship between Albania and the West. The thesis then examines Albania's post–Cold War ties to NATO, including Partnership for Peace, ultimately resulting in its membership in the Alliance in 2009, along with Croatia. Chapter IV analyzes Albania's actions as an Alliance member through its defense spending, force modernization, exercises, and operations in support of NATO's core tasks of collective defense, cooperative security, and crisis management. Chapter V, the conclusion, presents findings as to what extent the hypothesis is supported by the evidence provided. The conclusion also explores the implications of the Albanian case study for small states that are current or aspiring members of the Alliance. The

organization of this thesis is designed to provide background about both Albania and NATO before investigating Albania's contributions as one of the small states in the Alliance.

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II. NATO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a political and military alliance composed of 28 member states that represent most of North America and Europe. NATO, a large organization comprised of variously sized states that provide assistance on a global scale, is designed to promote democracy while collectively supporting its core tasks of crisis management, cooperative security, and collective defense. This chapter presents a brief history of NATO from its founding to the present day. It examines the North Atlantic Treaty that governs the Alliance, and describes the functions and expectations of members, including small states, within the Alliance.

NATO was created in 1949 for the purposes of "deterring Soviet expansionism, forbidding the revival of nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence on the continent, and encouraging European political integration."[39] As the American Marshall Plan provided economic aid to Western Europe during its recovery after World War II, the Soviet threat was also felt in Europe, and affected nations needed guaranteed security during their rebuilding processes.[40] As Lawrence Kaplan observed, "Only an American guarantee could serve this purpose."[41]

Tensions remained high between NATO and the Soviet Union throughout the Cold War, with periods of détente. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Germany was reunified and the Warsaw Pact dissolved, signaling the effective end of the Cold War and the rapid decline of Communism in Europe. Several former Soviet republics and Warsaw Pact members began to gravitate toward NATO. These interested countries undertook significant social and political reforms to establish governments more aligned with democratic principles. This transition continues more than 25 years later, as

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[39] "NATO History," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed March 10, 2016, http://www.nato.int/history/nato-history.html.

[40] Lawrence S. Kaplan, *NATO Divided, NATO United: The Evolution of an Alliance* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 2.

[41] Ibid.

demonstrated in 2009 with the Albanian and Croatian accessions to NATO, and also in 2015–2016 with Montenegro's "Invitee Status" in the Alliance,[42] which allows its representatives to participate as observers in Allied meetings.[43]

Since the fall of Soviet Communism, NATO has been involved in a wide range of activities encompassing its core tasks of collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security. For example, in 1995, NATO engaged in an air campaign in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Operation Deliberate Force) after the failure of diplomatic efforts to facilitate the region's reconstruction. This air campaign made possible the Dayton Peace Agreement ending the 1992–1995 war.[44] This operation marked a new stage for the Alliance, showing that it was willing to act militarily in support of collective security objectives if needed. The largest demonstration of military force by NATO Allies occurred between 2001 and 2014, in support of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) deployed in Afghanistan, which is also considered to be among NATO's most significant crisis management operations to date. NATO Allies led ISAF from December 2001 to August 2003, when the Alliance took command of ISAF.

Outside of combat operations, NATO has been involved with several humanitarian missions, including the provision of support to affected areas in 2005: in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, which resulted in between 1,200 and 1,800 deaths and the displacement of more than 400,000 people from the New Orleans area and the Mississippi Gulf Coast, and following the 2005 Pakistan earthquake, which killed an estimated 53,000 Pakistanis and injured an additional 75,000.[45] In and outside the North

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[42] Vincent Morelli, *NATO Enlargement: Albania, Croatia, and Possible Future Candidates* (CRS Report No. RL34701) (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, October 6, 2008), http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA488773.

[43] "Relations with Montenegro," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed August 20, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49736.htm.

[44] Gregory L. Schulte, "Former Yugoslavia and the New NATO," *Survival* 39, no. 1 (March 1997): 19–42, doi:10.1080/00396339708442895, 19–21.

[45] Joan Brunkard, Gonza Namulanda, and Raoult Ratard, "Hurricane Katrina Deaths, Louisiana, 2005," *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness* 2, no. 04 (December 2008): 215–23, doi:10.1097/DMP.0b013e31818aaf55; "Operations and Missions: Past and Present," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, November 9, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52060.htm.

Atlantic region, the Alliance fulfills its core tasks. NATO continues to stand ready to "safeguard the freedom and security of its members through political and military means,"[46] and it does so by ensuring that all members of the Alliance respect the North Atlantic Treaty. This commitment to respect the treaty was a significant adjustment for many states, including the United States, where it sparked controversy among isolationists.[47] Member nations had to operate in consideration of each other's needs, not just their own. As they agreed to protect one another, entering the Alliance meant a retooling of policy for member states large and small.

A. THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

> The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area. They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security. They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty.

—Preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty[48]

The North Atlantic Treaty is the founding and principal guiding document of NATO and all member states in the Alliance. The fundamental reason behind the treaty was to form a group of nations that agreed to defend one another in the event of an external threat. The treaty is also an agreement of peace and cooperation between the members of the Alliance. The 14 articles of the treaty describe its purpose and the expectations of the members, as well as how these are to be implemented. It is concise,

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[46] "What Is NATO?," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed January 30, 2016, http://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html.

[47] Kaplan, *NATO Divided, NATO United*, 2–4.

[48] "The North Atlantic Treaty Preamble," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, March 21, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm.

and most of the articles are only one to two sentences long. The longest, Article 14, is just five sentences.

The two articles that shape the treaty and the Alliance are Articles 2 and 5. Article 2 sets out the non-violent means with which the Alliance wishes to operate through the strengthening of institutions to bring about peace, stability, and economic collaboration among the member states. In the words of Article 2,

> [t]he Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.[49]

It is important to note that Article 2 forms the basis of NATO's political aspect, which goes largely unsung in most analyses. There is considerable political importance to the Alliance, and its practices and premises begin with Article 2.

Article 5 assures that members of the Alliance will be protected by each other as if it were one organic body under the principle of collective defense. To quote Article 5,

> [t]he Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.[50]

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[49] Ibid.

[50] "The North Atlantic Treaty."

Article 5 is the crux of the military side of the Alliance. It states in strong terms the commitment of the Allies to mutual aid in countering aggression.

The North Atlantic Treaty guides the decisions of the North Atlantic Council (NAC), "the principal decision-making body within NATO."[51] The North Atlantic Council was established under Article 9 of the treaty, and its "decisions are agreed upon on the basis of unanimity and common accord."[52] The council is comprised of representatives from each member country, and all members "have an equal right to express their views and share in the consensus on which decisions are based."[53] Their collective decisions shape the current operations and the future of the Alliance. These decisions include the shaping of the organization's core tasks as outlined in NATO's 2010 Strategic Concept.

The Strategic Concept is a document that aids in focusing the Alliance's efforts while fulfilling the intent of the treaty. Specifically, it "outlines NATO's enduring purpose and nature and its fundamental security tasks."[54] Within this document are the core tasks of the Alliance: collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security.[55] As agreed upon by the NAC, crisis management focuses on prevention as well as the handling of crises that arise and affect various areas across the world. Cooperative security "focuses on promoting international security through cooperation."[56] The final core task, collective defense, centers on the deterrence of aggression from threats and the defense of NATO members from those threats. Each of these tasks requires dedicated

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[51] "North Atlantic Council (NAC)," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed August 22, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49763.htm.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] "NATO's Strategic Concept," Republic of Albania, Ministry of Defence, accessed February 23, 2016, http://www.mod.gov.al/eng/index.php/security-policies/relations-with/nato/85-nato-s-strategic-concept.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

resources and commitment by Alliance members. The diversity among members enables the fulfillment of a wide range of needs.

B.   CORE TASKS

Collective defense stands out as the primary purpose of NATO, beginning with the treaty and continuing as one of three core tasks of the Strategic Concept. Each member state has taken a vow to defend the other states from threats, and this brings collective strength to the Alliance. The security environment shifts as threats change. The 9/11 terrorist attack remains the only time that the Article 5 commitment to collective defense has been invoked.[57] Despite its limited history of use, it is the umbrella of protection over the Alliance. Article 5 contributes to the Alliance's deterrence posture every day.

Crisis management is a core task that has been exercised frequently since the early 1990s, with noteworthy beginnings in the Balkans. One specific case occurred in Albania, beginning in 1997 during a period of significant domestic turmoil. In August 1997, a NATO team traveled to the country to assist in repairing Albania's police system, banking institutions, and economic condition.[58] As Albania continued to face problems internally and externally, it again reached out to NATO in March 1998. Due to security concerns over conflicts in Kosovo, Albania "became the first Partner to exercise its PfP [Partnership for Peace] emergency consultation rights."[59] The assistance that Albania received included aid for ethnic Albanian refugees fleeing Serbian repression in Kosovo, military training, and military supply assistance. In order to help Albania, NATO handled the crisis carefully, reaching out in support of Tirana and ethnic Albanian refugees while

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[57] "Collective Defence—Article 5," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed March 12, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_110496.htm.

[58] David S. Yost, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998), 235.

[59] Ibid., 236.

simultaneously attempting to not provoke the Serbian leadership.[60] These calculated efforts are crucial to properly carrying out the core task of crisis management.

Cooperative security is the last of the core tasks. It is pursued in part through Alliance enlargement, which is included as a part of cooperative security in the Strategic Concept.[61] Enlargement allows the Alliance to expand its activities into areas that were previously non-aligned or hostile. These extended activities encompass more locations in which to deploy military resources as needed in the face of potential threats. It should be noted that cooperative security involves efforts in addition to the NATO enlargement process. These other activities include working with international organizations and pursuing arms control agreements.

The Balkans offers examples of how Alliance boundaries have changed. Albania was one of the original members of the Warsaw Pact, and its Alliance affiliation with Partnership for Peace did not begin until after the Cold War had ended. Albania's PfP affiliation provided NATO with a friendly Balkan state as a partner, and ultimately as an ally since 2009. Under the cooperative security core task, NATO continues to welcome new members and partners to enhance security in the face of global threats. To avoid problematic confrontations, the Allies take care when establishing each new relationship. According to NATO's website, "CS [cooperative security] can only succeed if all partners speak the same language and the right balance between investment and benefit is found. CS as a double-edged sword requires NATO and its partners to find this balance and use the sharpness of this weapon to diminish the security challenges."[62]

Bringing new members into the Alliance is achieved by using instruments such as the Partnership for Peace (PfP) and the Membership Action Plan (MAP). These tools help put prospective members on the right course to meet the requirements needed for accession. MAP, for example, was used and continues to be used "to encourage and

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Yost, *NATO's Balancing Act*, 16.

[62] "Cooperative Security as NATO's Core Task," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed August 26, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_77718.htm.

support liberal democratic reforms" in the Western Balkans.[63] PfP, established in 1994, contributes to development prospects by allowing potential members to participate in Alliance activities and exercises. PfP members also choose individual national goals to pursue with NATO as part of their participation.[64] This program is a sort of practice for prospective members as they undertake political, military, and domestic reforms to better align their systems with NATO ideals. NATO benefits from the program in several ways. These countries contribute to the overall security landscape and NATO gets their support in the pursuit of shared objectives without a legal obligation to defend them. NATO's collective defense obligation only applies to members. In theory, this means that PfP countries are on their own in the event of an attack. The Alliance might nonetheless still come to the defense of a PfP participant, as political and security considerations could lead the NAC to act in its defense. While collective defense support is only guaranteed to Alliance members, the Alliance's principles indicate that NATO Allies might in some cases still come to the aid of a partner. The Allies chose, however, not to act in defense of two PfP partners: Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014.

C.   PARTNER TO MEMBER

Since the Cold War, many former Warsaw Pact members have become Alliance members. This demonstrates how much the security environment has changed over the past several decades. Each additional member brings a different perspective and a unique set of abilities. The variety of abilities is important for the execution of the core tasks, as the tasks often blend into or complement one another. Collective defense, for example, is in principle made stronger by cooperative security, which seeks to enlarge the Alliance. Crisis management also plays a role in overall Alliance security, as its purpose is to prevent and mitigate the effects of crises early on.[65] Large and small Allies are both able

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[63] Rebecca R. Moore, *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2007), 109.

[64] "Partnership for Peace Programme," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed August 22, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50349.htm.

[65] "NATO's Strategic Concept."

to contribute to security through their particular sets of capabilities. The core tasks provide a structured framework for NATO and individual members to focus their efforts.

As of 2016, there have been six rounds of enlargement within the Alliance, resulting in its growth from 12 to 28 countries. Currently, the countries actively seeking membership include Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Macedonia, and Ukraine,[66] while the last round of enlargement in 2009 saw the addition of Albania and Croatia.[67] The strengthening of NATO ties and influence in the Balkan region is evident in the case of Montenegro, for which NATO Foreign Ministers signed the Accession Protocol on May 19, 2016, poising it to become the Alliance's next member. According to Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg, the admission of Montenegro is "a clear sign that NATO's door remains open for partners that share and promote our values."[68]

Maintaining the "open door policy" is important for attracting new members and partners to the Alliance. However, in addition to the benefits that new members bring in terms of capabilities, these new Allies may also signify additional risks and responsibilities. The majority of the states that have been added since the establishment of the Alliance were formerly under Soviet or Communist influence. According to Alexandra Gheciu of Canada's Centre for International Policy Studies, "[i]t was argued that domestic instability along with problems of transition to post-Communist institutions threatened to be one of the key—if not the key—sources of instability in Europe."[69]

This issue in Eastern and Central Europe is different from the situation in the West. After the Cold War, Central and Eastern Europe was left with institutions that revolved around a principle of dictatorial one-party governments ultimately controlled by Moscow. The fall of Communism left a vacuum in these countries that required the

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[66] "Enlargement," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed August 26, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49212.htm.

[67] "Partnership for Peace Programme."

[68] "NATO Foreign Ministers Sign Accession Protocol with Montenegro," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed August 26, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_131132.htm.

[69] Gheciu, NATO in the "New Europe," 60.

retooling and often the complete rebuilding of institutions to better align these states with the democratic values of the West. This adjustment was necessary to aid in their integration in Western institutions such as NATO and the European Union. In other words, the adjustment fostered cooperation with the democratic Western states—both politically and economically.

The Alliance seeks to strengthen democratic institutions among its current members and potential members. In former Communist states, NATO helps to build institutions that are suitable to the Alliance and the West from the ground up.[70] The problems inherent to this process are reflected in the Czech Republic's transition. For example, as Gheciu notes, Czech decision makers "did not know how to rule the military except in a rigid, Soviet-style, top-down way."[71] The Alliance's efforts to overcome these practices are important when facing the issues that come with prospective new members. Successfully aiding them during their transitions captures the strength of new members while simultaneously reducing risks.

The PfP program and MAP are key aspects to the process prior to accession. The first chapter of each prospective member's MAP "requires candidates to have stable democratic systems, pursue the peaceful settlement of territorial and ethnic disputes, have good relations with their neighbors, show commitment to the rule of law and human rights, establish democratic and civilian control of their armed forces, and have a market economy."[72] This program was successful in aiding seven accessions in 2004 and two more in 2009, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro are all currently following an active MAP. The success of the process is most clearly seen in Montenegro, which was offered the Accession Protocol for membership in May 2016.[73]

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[70] Ibid., 76.

[71] Ibid., 107.

[72] Eugen Tomiuc, "NATO: What Does It Take To Join?," *RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*, March 7, 2002, sec. Archive, http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1099020.html.

[73] "Membership Action Plan (MAP)," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed August 28, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_37356.htm.

D.   CONCLUSIONS

Today, the Alliance relies on the 2010 Strategic Concept and the core tasks specified in that document to guide its focus. Although collective defense is still NATO's fundamental purpose, day-to-day operations involve the other core tasks more prominently. New and ongoing crises that threaten the security of members and partners call for the attention of NATO. The Alliance is able and willing to engage in areas from Afghanistan to Kosovo. Furthermore, the addition of new members and partners continually changes the territory and responsibilities of the Alliance, while simultaneously increasing its capabilities. As NATO grows, its new members contribute vital regional and cultural knowledge along with potential strategic locations and capabilities.

All of these new capabilities could be useful for future operations. Small and economically weak states such as Albania provide local knowledge and a regional footprint to serve the Alliance if and when needed. Even such seemingly small contributions could be important in a crisis or combat situation in the region. Yet, aside from the benefits of enlargement, this growth brings new challenges and increased responsibilities. The NAC is left with the charge to ensure that the Alliance moves in the direction that best serves the security of the Alliance's members.

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III. ALBANIAN MODERN HISTORY THROUGH THE COLD WAR

Albania is a country little known to much of the world, but it has a rich and complicated history of military engagements. It endured a multitude of invasions, notably by the Greeks, the Turks, and the Italians. Intertwined with its military history is an equally eclectic social history embodied in a well-known Albanian saying, "Where the sword is, there lies religion."[74] The modern country of Albania is just over 100 years old, but the ethnic Albanian people trace their history back more than 2,000 years. Scholars generally agree that the original people living in modern Albanian territories were tribes speaking the Illyrian language as early as the seventh century BC. Ethnic Albanians have maintained an identity to the present day despite the various wars and occupations they have endured as a people.

This chapter offers an overview of the history of the Albanians and then focuses on the nation's modern history from 1912 to 2009. This time period includes Albania's independence, its involvement with World War I and World War II, the rise and fall of Communism, and its transition to democracy, including its Partnership for Peace (PfP) membership.

A. INDEPENDENCE AND THE WORLD WARS

Albania's modern history as a nation began when it declared its independence in 1912, an effort of self-preservation during the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire after nearly 500 years of Ottoman occupation.[75]

The immediate concern was linguistic. At the end of the 19th century, the Albanians had decided that they needed to take action to preserve their language. They adopted one common alphabet on November 14, 1908; this Latin-based alphabet remains

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[74] Miranda Vickers, *The Albanians: A Modern History*, Rev. paperback ed (London: Tauris, 2014), 15.

[75] Ibid., 65.

Albania's official script today. It was believed to be the best choice to unite the Muslim, Christian, Gheg, and Tosk people in the region, all of whom shared a common heritage.[76] This unity through the written language was an important step as the diverse but unified people moved forward toward establishing an Albanian state. This demonstrated a focus on nationalism as an independent state was being defined.

The state's independence was officially confirmed after the Ottomans gave up their claims in May 1913. The great powers recognized Albania as an independent state through the Treaty of London on May 30, 1913.[77] Albania was a principality until 1925, a republic until 1928, a monarchy until 1939, under Italian control until the end of World War II, and then a socialist republic under the dictator Enver Hoxha. This period of rotating government types was tumultuous. Along with the changing of government types, not all of the people accepted the institutions of the state.[78] For example, early on the people in the north of Albania resisted following the authority of the new national leadership after the 1913 Treaty of London was signed, as many of them chose to follow their clan chiefs rather than the national government.[79]

Although Albania had gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire, the newly established state experienced several iterations of territorial change in conjunction with the multiple changes in government. The main reason for this turmoil was its location in the notoriously unstable Balkans, which was at a crossroads of interest from multiple nations. Italy's interest in the region was particularly strong between World War I and World War II. Albania has a coastline on the Adriatic Sea—just at its choke point leading to the Mediterranean Sea. The region is also a passageway to the rest of Eastern Europe and Asia. To the south lies Greece, which has historical claims to parts of southern Albania. In the first half of the 20th century, the Greeks routinely took military and political actions to renew their claims to the southern lands of Albania. To the north,

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76 Ibid., 52.

77 Ibid., 72–73.

78 Ibid., 74–155.

79 Ibid., 82–83.

Montenegro and Serbia (at times part of the combined state of Yugoslavia) continually pushed into Albania in a furtherance of the long-standing battle over the lands making up modern Albania. In 1912, following World War I, the lands of Albania were controlled by Greece, Italy, Montenegro, and Serbia.[80] These foreign interventions in Albania forced it to abdicate domestic control in some episodes and to make alliances as the international security environment changed in an effort to maintain Albanian sovereignty.

Italian control was the most prominent factor in Albania after World War I as the Italians exerted their influence in varying degrees of severity ranging from full occupation to the appearance of equal cooperation. This cooperation was highly visible when Italy supported the establishment of the Albanian monarchy with the introduction of King Zog I, known as the "King of the Albanians," on September 1, 1928.[81] The reign of King Zog saw an increase in Italian control and influence within the country. It also piqued Adolf Hitler's interest in the region and growing relationship with Italy. On the occasion of King Zog's wedding in 1938, "a long, scarlet, supercharged Mercedes [was] sent by Adolf Hitler."[82] A year later, Mussolini invaded Albania, landing 40,000 troops on April 7, 1939.[83] Hitler called Albania, in reference to this successful invasion and occupation, "a stronghold which will inexorably dominate the Balkans."[84]

Italy continued its control of Albania during World War II until Italy's effective surrender to the Allies in an armistice made public on September 8, 1943. At this point, the war and the German strategy changed.[85] Germany seamlessly continued the occupation of the Albanian territory after the fall of Italian control. Concurrently, the Albanian Communist Party (ACP), subsequently headed by Enver Hoxha, was founded and quickly grew in power and prominence as an opposition to the occupation. The

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80 Ibid., 81–91.

81 Ibid., 117.

82 Ibid., 129.

83 Ibid., 130–131.

84 Ibid., 132.

85 Ibid., 144.

Germans also faced persistent Albanian armed resistance throughout the country. The resolve of the Albanians kept the Germans occupied as Allied forces planned and effected landings and attacks against the German forces.[86] This trying period spurred a domestic movement that ultimately led Albania into Communism as the Germans weakened and World War II came to a close. A provisional Albanian government was set up on October 20, 1944, with Hoxha the prime minister and minister of defense.[87] This development was the first step in stabilizing the country and a glimpse of what the next 45 years would look like.

B.   THE COLD WAR

With the ACP running the country it was only natural for Albania to seek an alliance with the largest Communist state in the region—the Soviet Union. At the same time, Hoxha became a strong authoritarian dictator who took whatever measures were necessary to ensure that his agenda was accomplished. Hoxha's Albania cut off ties with the West and then cultivated and relied on relationships with Communist nations including the Soviet Union and China—beginning an age of isolationism behind the Iron Curtain. These isolationist practices were evident within European international organizations. For example, during this time Albania refused to participate in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—not joining until June 1991 after the fall of European Communism.[88]

Hoxha was a strong supporter of Stalin, and their relationship allowed a poor and backward Albania to begin to stabilize after many years of conflict. September 1948 marked the beginning of formal Soviet support to Albania as a result of an agreement between Stalin and Hoxha. The Soviets agreed to buy "Albanian imports at doubled prices, and imports from the Soviet Union were delivered at half price."[89] Due to its

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[86] Ibid., 148–151.

[87] Ibid., 151.

[88] "Participating States," OSCE, accessed October 27, 2016, http://www.osce.org/states.

[89] Vickers, *The Albanians*, 167.

isolationist practices, such arrangements with the Soviets were vital for the economic welfare of Albania. This relationship between the nations was not always ideal as Soviet leaders changed, but it was functional.

Along with subsidizing the Albanian economy, the Soviets also supported the Albanian military. This support meant that the borders of Albania remained intact and did not suffer numerous encroachments as experienced in the first half of the century. Early on, this Soviet support was seen as a threat to the West, which saw in Albania another example of an expanding Soviet behind the Iron Curtain. Soviet influence in Albania was different from that in other Communist states in Europe. Albania took a Stalinist approach to Communism and resisted the changes that began under Khrushchev, which were reflected in many Marxist–Leninist parties in other states. For example, Hoxha believed that the proletariat needed to be suppressed through a strict dictatorship until Communism was fully embraced and established.[90] According to Stephen Bowers, "Hoxha rejected the notion that the 'state of the whole people' was a direct and appropriate evolution from the dictatorship of the proletariat."[91]

To challenge this wave of Communism, a U.S. CIA operation was initiated under President Truman with the aim of overthrowing the Communist Albanian leader Enver Hoxha and replacing him with Zog, the former Albanian king, who had left Albania during the 1939 Italian invasion.[92] The operation consisted of a two-pronged approach that involved propaganda transmitted via radio broadcasts, newspaper prints, and leaflet drops to stimulate political unrest. The other approach was through the recruiting, training, and equipping of a guerrilla force designed to infiltrate Albania and to stimulate

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[90] Stephen R. Bowers, "Stalinism in Albania: Domestic Affairs under Enver Hoxha," *Faculty Publications and Presentations.*, no. Paper 87: 443–445, accessed October 27, 2016, http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1086&context=gov_fac_pubs.

[91] Ibid., 444.

[92] James D. Callanan, "The Evolution of the CIA's Covert Action Mission, 1947-1963" (master's thesis, Durham University, 1999), http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/4481/1/4481_1945.PDF?UkUDh:CyT, 116.

unrest, culminating in a coup d'état.[93] Both of these approaches were executed simultaneously throughout the operational phase that began in the fall of 1950. The domestic newspaper *Shqiperia* was used to promote an Albania without Hoxha, and it attempted to garner support from Albanians within the country and those living throughout the world.[94]

The problem with written propaganda was that 80 percent of the nation was illiterate.[95] On September 18, 1951, radio messages broadcast from Greece sent the same message as the newspaper, but once again the effectiveness was limited due to the small number of homes with electricity and radios.[96] After several attempts with propaganda and the infiltration of agents and guerrilla forces on the ground, the operation saw its end as a result of the Albanian authorities announcing in 1954 that they "had conducted a massive deception operation against the CIA by forcing captured radio operators to transmit false information."[97] This was a clear sign that the operation had been compromised and that further effort by the CIA was futile.

The takeaway from the CIA operation in Albania was that the Soviet influence was strong among Eastern European states. This influence was enough for a small satellite state to stay loyal despite years of direct Western attempts to exert influence. Following the CIA operation, the bilateral Albanian–Soviet alliance became formalized on a multilateral basis through the Warsaw Pact, of which Albania was among the

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[93] "Project BGFIEND," Central Intelligence Agency, accessed January 20, 2016, http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/1705143/OBOPUS%20BG%20FIEND%20%20%20VOL.%202%20%20%28PROJECT%20OUTLINED%20REVIEWS%20TERMINATION%29_0034.pdf.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Callanan, "The Evolution of the CIA's Covert Action Mission, 1947–1963," 119.

[96] Ibid. 119.

[97] Michael W. Davis, "Storming Fortress Albania: American Covert Operations in Microcosm, 1949-1954," *Intelligence and National Security* 7, no. 4 (1992): 435–42, doi:10.1080/02684529208432178. 433.

founding members in 1955.[98] This alliance and its commitment to Communism inherently placed Albania in direct opposition with NATO for decades to follow.

The relationship between Albania and the Soviet Union began to experience complications following Stalin's death in 1953.[99] Albania's trust in the Soviets was not absolute, and this situation led Hoxha to seek new, stronger ties with another powerful Communist state—China. This shift was not a complete move away from the Soviets, but it was a maneuver that let Moscow know that Albania was able to make its own decisions and that it was not its puppet. It was also a message to express Albania's dissatisfaction with Nikita Khrushchev's strengthened ties with Yugoslavia. Indeed, Hoxha objected to all such softening from the Kremlin, and "by 1958 Albania stood with China in opposing Moscow on issues of peaceful coexistence, de-Stalinization, and Yugoslavia's 'separate road to socialism'"—issues contributing to the Sino–Soviet split.[100] The Albanian support for China was publicly displayed in 1960 at the Moscow conference of Communist states when Albania backed China's criticism of Soviet leaders.[101] In October 1960, at the National Day of the People's Republic of China, a top Albanian official, Deputy Premier Abdyl Kellezi, praised the Chinese and Mao Zedong.[102] This shift in support by Albania was bold, but it allowed Tirana to continue to pursue the interests of the state while securing support from a strong ally.

Tensions between Hoxha and Khrushchev continued for years. For example, during a meeting between the Albanian Labor Party Delegation and the Soviet Union Communist Party leadership on November 12, 1960. During the meeting, Hoxha and Khrushchev had a tense exchange over the condition of their states' relationship. During the meeting, Hoxha

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[98] Vojtech Mastny and Malcolm Byrne, eds., *A Cardboard Castle?: An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991*, National Security Archive Cold War Readers (New York: Central European University Press, 2005), 1–3.

[99] Vickers, *The Albanians*, 172.

[100] "Albania—Albania and China," *Country Data*, accessed July 29, 2016, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-169.html.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ana Lalaj, Christian F. Osterman, and Ryan Gage, "'Albania Is Not Cuba.' Sino-Albanian Summits and the Sino-Soviet Splits," *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* 16 (n.d.): 184.

continually raised his voice when addressing Khrushchev and others. In response to this behavior, Khrushchev simply kept asking him to lower his voice. Hoxha carried himself as a passionate and forceful person in general and this meeting was no different. Khrushchev's dissatisfaction with Hoxha's behavior was reflected in several statements he made to Hoxha, including, "but you spit on me" and "you have no respect for me."[103] Concluding this meeting, as Hoxha and his party stood to exit, a member of Hoxha's delegation had the final word: "You should know, Comrade Khrushchev, that Albania will always remain faithful to the Soviet Union and be a member of the socialist camp."[104] This closing comment reassured the Soviets that Albania was still a committed ally despite the current disagreements between the two states.

Albania continued its alliance with the Soviets but on multiple occasions made bold demands and requests. For example, Vojtech Mastny wrote,

> The [Albanian] message spelled out extravagant conditions the Albanians wanted to be met before they would agree to resume participation in the alliance. They included not only restitution of all the damage the Soviet Union had purportedly inflicted on them but also abrogation of the 1963 nuclear test ban treaty and, for good measure, the provision of all the Warsaw Pact member-states with nuclear weapons.[105]

Such demands further emboldened the Albanians. The most important message that was maintained by Albania to Moscow is that Albania would not be easily controlled or persuaded.

During the years of the Cold War, Albania moved to and from whichever side of an alliance or affiliation would best ensure its sovereignty, forming various, often competing, partnerships with the Soviet Union and China. The entire basis of these alliances was a determination to keep Albania independent.

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[103] Ibid., 192–194.

[104] Ibid., 195.

[105] Mastny and Byrne, *A Cardboard Castle?*, 27.

The death of Hoxha on April 11, 1985, was a significant turning point in the potency of the Communist party in Albania.[106] The longstanding dictator was gone and knowledge of his poor practices become more public. The shifting of alliances that Hoxha was known for racked up a tremendous amount of debt due to the subsidies received from allies such as China. The new Albanian leadership was left with an impoverished economy in addition to strained international relationships.[107] Hoxha's successor, Ramiz Alia, struggled to keep the citizens calm in Albania. The economic conditions impacted nearly everyone as food of all sorts began to be rationed. This forced Alia to reach out to the West for help. Germany was the first to give developmental aid in 1987, followed by France and Italy.[108] This was in direct conflict with the ideology of his mentor and predecessor—Enver Hoxha.

Further signs of a declining ideological reign were seen on the campus of what was then still called the Enver Hoxha University of Tirana. Students began wearing blue jeans, leather jackets, and T-shirts with rock bands on them such as U-2. People began to modify their antennas so that they could view Italian television while the radio station in Tirana began playing Western music. All of this continued through the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which the Albanian leadership attempted to dismiss and downplay to its citizens despite the influx of Western influence and an apparent breaking down of Communism.[109]

As the strength and influence of Communism started to collapse in the Soviet empire, so did Albania's reliance on it. In 1992, Albania fully discarded Communism and became an official democracy, holding its first free and fair elections, which put Sali Berisha into power. This move to democracy started a new phase in Albania's history, aligning the nation with the principal values of Western organizations such as the

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[106] Fred Abrahams, *Modern Albania: From Dictatorship to Democracy in Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 26.

[107] Vickers, *The Albanians*, 201–203.

[108] Abrahams, *Modern Albania*, 29.

[109] Ibid., 28–35.

European Union (EU) and NATO, which require democratic governments for all candidates to acquire membership in their organizations.

C.   POST–COLD WAR

After the Cold War, Albania implemented massive reforms and opened the country to the West after decades of isolationism. The nation expressed interest in dialogue with NATO by becoming a member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) in June 1992. Later that year, Albanian President Sali Berisha visited Brussels to meet with the NATO secretary general, an encounter that preceded the secretary general's visit to Tirana. This all culminated in Albania's membership in NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) in 1994.[110] This process of cooperation was another positive step toward membership in NATO. Through PfP, Albania learned about the values and objectives of NATO, as well as the expectations placed on member states. The nation took part in many operations that supported NATO's core tasks, which are identified later in this chapter. Leading up to its entrance into NATO in 2009, Albania also undertook significant domestic, political, and military reforms. Albania's military expenditures based on dollars spent and as a percentage of its gross domestic product (GDP) are shown in Table 1.

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[110]"History of NATO-Albania Relations," Republic of Albania, Ministry of Defence, accessed February 23, 2016, http://www.mod.gov.al/eng/index.php/security-policies/relations-with/nato/88-history-of-nato-albania-relations.

Table 1.   Albanian Military Expenditures from 2001 to 2012.[111]
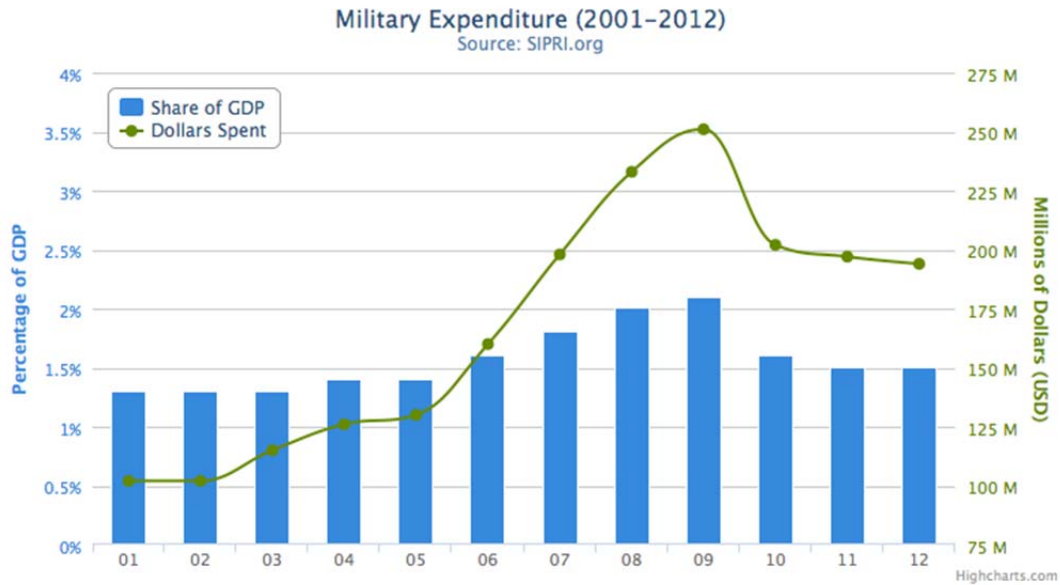
As shown in Table 1, there has been a steady increase in defense expenditures through Albania's entrance into NATO in 2009. The NATO Allies have agreed that each member state should spend 2 percent of its GDP on defense, but few member states actually meet this goal.[112] As of 2015, the median expenditure across all member states was only 1.18 percent.[113] The United States and the United Kingdom are two of the five NATO states that spent 2 percent or more of their GDP on defense. Albania has historically been vigorous in military spending compared to other states of its size, as indicated in Table 1. It has a limited GDP, and its willingness to spend so much on defense is one of the ways in which the country demonstrated its dedication to the Alliance's expectations as it sought membership.

Another area in which Albania worked to improve was pursuing domestic and political reforms. After its initial elections and the establishment of democracy, Albania

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[111] Source: "Albania Military Budget," MilitaryBudget.org, http://militarybudget.org/albania/.

[112] Morelli, "NATO Enlargement."

[113] "Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries (2008-2015)," January 28, 2016, http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2016_01/20160129_160128-pr-2016-11-eng.pdf#page=2. 2-5.

experienced a major domestic crisis in 1997 as a result of financial mismanagement and corruption through pyramid schemes that involved elected leaders across the country. The pyramid schemes reached all economic levels within Albania. Life savings were lost as people "invested" their money in high-return investment ventures that later were found to be fraudulent. Millions of dollars were squandered away by elites and businessmen within the country. This caused the public to see "all their leaders as opportunistic elites."[114] The protests that followed resulted in advancing reforms throughout the country. The two biggest needs identified by NATO after 1997 were electoral and judicial reform. The Albanian Parliament responded by drafting legislation to address these issues and began working on an implementation plan prior to the 2009 accession to the Alliance.[115] Correcting this type of behavior was at the core of PfP doctrine to ready Albania for Alliance membership.

Partnership for Peace was viewed by Albania as a measure to intensify its relationship with the Alliance, while for Albania the ultimate purpose of joining NATO was to achieve security and stability in the Balkans and the Mediterranean region.[116] During Albania's time in PfP, it worked diligently on internal reforms of its political and military systems while participating in several NATO operations alongside actual members. The nation's efforts in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan demonstrated its willingness to become a productive member of the Alliance, and all of these efforts resulted in Albania's accession in 2009.[117] The next chapter includes a discussion of Albania's military contributions in these regions under PfP auspices, leading up to its current participation as a new Alliance member.

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[114] Abrahams, *Modern Albania,* 231.

[115] Morelli, "NATO Enlargement, " 5–7.

[116] Adem Copani, "Partnership for Peace and New Dimensions of Albania's Security Posture," *Foreign Military Studies Office*, July 1996, http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/albania2.htm.

[117] "NATO's Relations with Albania," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, accessed January 20, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_48891.htm.

D. CONCLUSIONS

Albania's history is one of survival and eventual independence. The people of Albania have ties to the lands of their country going back over 2,000 years. Over the course of history, they have fought to maintain their lands, culture, independence, and way of life. The modern state of Albania consists of people devoted to this effort. Throughout the 20th century, Albania was at the center of some of the biggest events and military occupations in history. It was either controlled by or allied with the Ottomans, the Soviets, fascist Italians, and Nazi Germans. Albania also completely rotated sides of the table in its relations with the United States—going from Warsaw Pact member to NATO member. Each of these powerful groups influenced Albania and functioned as building blocks (or as negative examples) leading to its present state.

The purpose of this historical overview has been to provide insight into the mindset of the Albanian people, including its leadership. This understanding is vital in furnishing insight into what motivates the country and how that may influence its future foreign and domestic policies. This history shows Albania as a state committed to sovereignty, identity conservation, and cultural preservation. It has used several informal and formal alliances as a means to accomplish its goals—most recently NATO.

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IV. ALBANIA'S ALLIANCE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PARTNERSHIP TO MEMBERSHIP

Albania is one of the newest members in NATO, and its Partnership for Peace (PfP) membership (1994–2009) coupled now with its seven years of Alliance membership activities serve as a single case study of how a small state can function as a security provider in the Alliance. Since gaining membership in NATO in 2009, Albania has continued its reforms and the participation in Alliance activities that it initiated as a PfP member.

This chapter outlines how Albania has performed in the Alliance through its economic policies, military modernization, and participation in NATO's core tasks of collective defense, cooperative security, and crisis management. The results of these actions illustrate the advantages and costs of Albania's membership in NATO. These impacts on NATO by Albania serve as an example of how small states affect the Alliance, thus acting as a reference for the Alliance when considering future enlargement decisions. The Allies cannot, of course, generalize about all small state members of the Alliance from a single case. Albania's performance as an ally nonetheless raises and answers questions of fundamental importance for NATO's future. Albania demonstrates that a small ally can make significant contributions.

A. ECONOMICS

Economics is a driving or limiting factor in nearly all of the functions of a government. This section examines the Albanian economy at two different levels—macro and micro. At the macro level, the nation's gross domestic product (GDP) is examined over several years, and at the micro level, the salaries of Albanian workers and military members are identified. The amount of GDP does not necessarily mean an economy is poor, but a snapshot of several years can give clues to an economy's performance. In the same respect, the level of wages in a country does not demonstrate an economy's

performance, but a comparative look does give insight into potential domestic and derivative issues.[118]

Currently in Albania there is a drastic wage gap between the rich and the poor that results in spending restraints and a limited individual cash flow for spending in general. The monthly salary range across the nation is between 160 and 9,000 euros, with an average salary of 406 euros. The hourly wage breaks down to approximately 1.8 euros per hour versus 6 to 8 euros per hour in other European countries.[119] This gap in earning levels among workers demonstrates a polarized system consisting of a weak middle class. The low salaries of the average worker further reinforce this point, particularly when compared to other European countries.[120]

The Albanian Armed Forces (AAF) pay is also very low, with a soldier's pay at nearly half of the average worker's pay in Albania. Some of the monthly salaries at various ranks are 222 euros for the lowest enlisted, 425 euros for the highest ranking non-commissioned officers with 26 years of service, and 1,114 euros for a three-star general equivalent with 26 years of service.[121] The weak condition of the middle class means that there is less money circulating within the country. The small size of Albania also means that it is required to look to international markets for many of its needs, driving up the cost of common items.

The positive news concerning wages in the country is that since Albania joined the Alliance, it has experienced a steady increase in the average monthly salary of its workers, as shown in Table 2. The numbers to the left are Albanian lek, the national currency, and represent the monthly salary by year. The blue line represents the salary

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[118] "Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries (2009-2016)" Press Release. North Atlantic Treaty Organization, July 4, 2016,
http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2016_07/20160704_160704-pr2016-116.pdf.

[119] Edison Kurani, "Salaries in Albania, Drastic Gap between the Minimum and Maximum Pay," *Independent Balkan News Agency*, May 4, 2015, http://www.balkaneu.com/salaries-albania-drastic-gap-minimum-maximum-pay/.

[120] "Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries (2009-2016)."

[121] "Fletorja Zyrtare E Republikes Se Shqiperise" (Tirane, July 16, 2015), www.qbz.gov.al.Botim i Qendres se Botimeve Zyrtare,

changes as it increases. As shown in Table 2, in 2009 the average salary was equivalent to approximately 265 euros per month. The first quarter of 2016 saw a continued rise in the average salary and recorded an all-time high of approximately 400 euros per month.[122] On a percentage basis this is a significant increase, which implies that there is promise of better pay in the future. Despite the change in pay over the past several years, overall Albania is still far behind many European nations.

Table 2.   Albanian Salaries from 2006 to 2016[123]
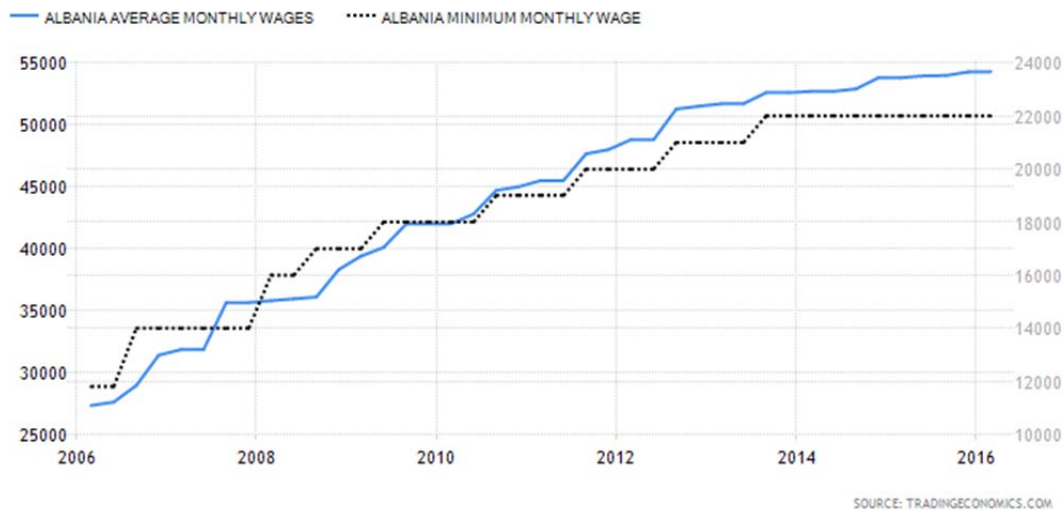
At the macro level, Albania is also falling behind every Alliance member in terms of real GDP. In 2015, its reported GDP was $13 billion. Iceland and Estonia, the nations closest to Albania, had GDPs of $15 and $23 billion, respectively. In terms of GDP per capita, Albania has the lowest reported numbers at $4,500 in GDP per person. Iceland and Estonia separated themselves in this measure, with $47,300 and $18,100 per capita, respectively. Albania is in essence the least prosperous Alliance member at both the national and individual level. This limited cash flow restricts what the nation can do. The

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[122] "Albania Average Monthly Wages," Trading Economics, accessed August 8, 2016, http://www.tradingeconomics.com/albania/wages.

[123] Source: Ibid.

good news for Albania is that its annual GDP has continued to rise since its accession to NATO in 2009, just as the average salary for workers, as depicted in Table 3.[124]

Table 3.   Albanian Real GDP from 2009 to 2016.[125]
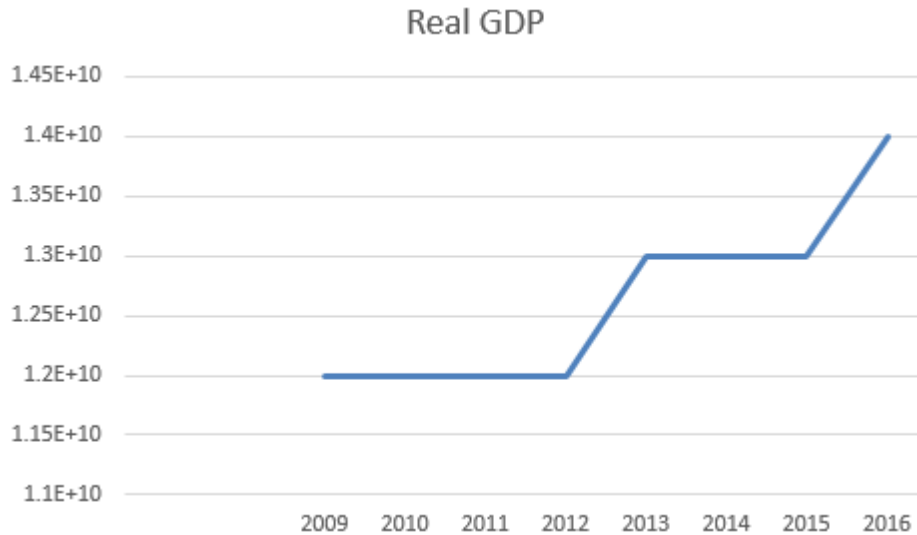
B.   DEFENSE SPENDING AND LONG-TERM PLANNING

Economically, Albania is clearly behind the rest of the Allies in its ability to generate revenue and pay its workers. Despite this weak economic position, Albania manages to outspend about half of the Alliance members in terms of military spending as a percentage of its GDP. For example, Canada, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands all spent less than Albania as a percentage of their GDP as of July 2016. Since 2009, Albania's expenditures as a percentage of GDP have decreased, as depicted in Table 4, but its rate of spending is still competitive among the Allies.[126] Moreover, the amount of
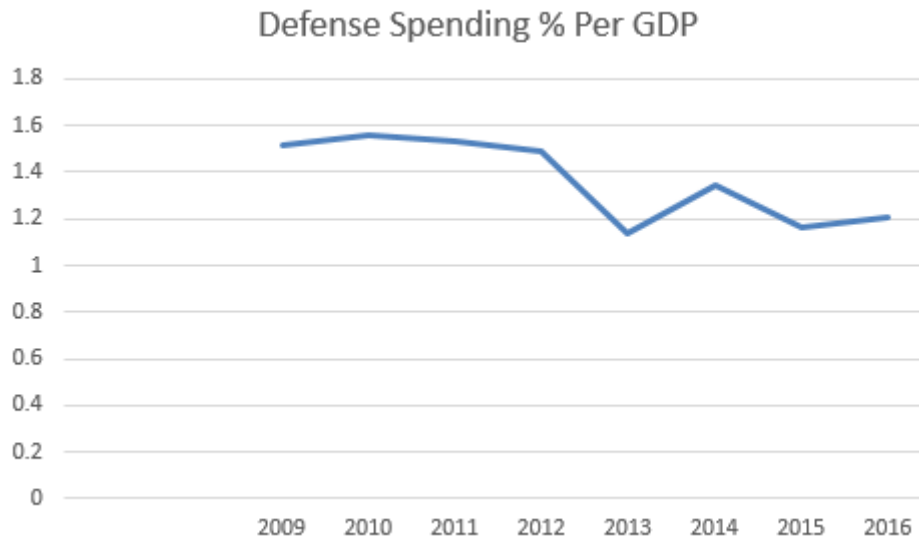
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[124] "Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries (2009–2016)."

[125] Adapted from Ibid.

[126] Ibid.

defense spending per capita in Albania has risen steadily since 2009 through 2016 from $3,900 to $4,700.[127]

Table 4.   Albanian Defense Spending from 2009 to 2016[128]

Defense Spending % Per GDP

Albania demonstrates that a small and economically weak state can choose to outperform many stronger and richer Alliance members in terms of defense spending. Every year, all NATO members report their national GDPs along with the amount of amount of money they spent on defense. The consistent defense spending by small countries with weaker economies like Albania, in accordance with their GDPs, is notable due to how much each dollar means to its economy. For example, Albania's GDP is less than 1 percent of the U.S. GDP.[129] Albania is not in absolute terms contributing a large sum of money through this effort, but it is making a substantial effort by its percentage of GDP. Albania intends to increase its spending to 2 percent of GDP by 2025 in order to

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127 Ibid., 6.

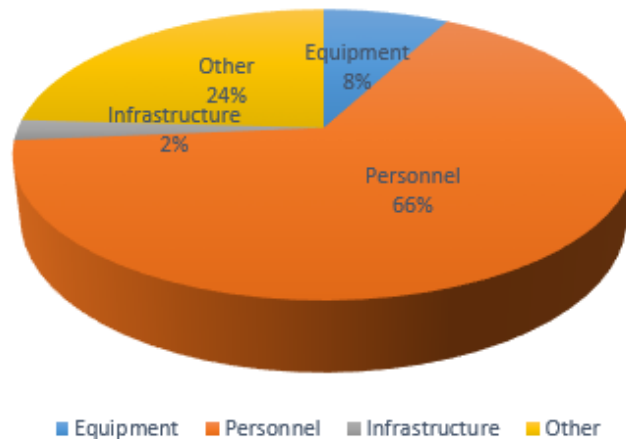128 "Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries (2009–2016)."

129 Ibid.

meet modernization goals as well as Alliance defense spending goals for members.[130] This vigorous effort to allocate resources for defense has been consistent from Albania's PfP days through its accession to NATO in 2009 and on to the present.

The current balance of the categories the Albanian Armed Forces (AAF) spend their money on is heavily weighted on personnel, which restricts their ability to modernize equipment and facilities. Albania plans to change this balance significantly by 2025, getting personnel spending down to 35 percent from the 66 percent spent in 2016, as reflected in Table 5, so that it can open up room for infrastructure improvements and NATO-compatible equipment procurement. Albania also intends to use part of the reconfigured defense budget to invest in scientific research for defense with funding expected after 2020.[131] This is an ambitious plan that is dependent on proper execution of the budget.

Table 5.   Albanian Military Spending in 2016 [132]

2016 Military Expenditures Breakdown

Equipment 8%
Other 24%
Infrastructure 2%
Personnel 66%

■ Equipment ■ Personnel ■ Infrastructure ■ Other

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130 "The Armed Forces Long-Term Development Plan 2016–2025," Republic of Albania, Ministry of Defence, 38, accessed September 12, 2016, www.mod.gov.al.

131 Ibid.

132 Adapted from "Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries (2009–2016)."

The rest of the proposed use of Albania's defense spending is outlined in its Armed Forces Long-Term Development Plan (AFLTDP 2016–2025). The plan focuses on meeting needs and building capabilities based on objectives found in the country's Military Strategy and National Security Strategy. Built into these strategies are the means to meet the needs of Albania as well as its obligations to the Alliance.[133] Specific goals are broken down within the AFLTDP 2016–2015 by category into varying year segments.

Under the training category, for example, during the first three years the plan calls for infrastructure improvements for three of its firing ranges and training facilities. In the following three years, it plans to open a new range and training center in the city of Zall-Her. Then, in the last four years of the plan's timespan, Albania intends to improve another training facility. All of these ranges and facilities are intended to follow NATO standardization guidelines and agreements to improve the integration ability of the AAF for NATO operations.[134]

Land forces are another area planned for future defense spending. The first three years of this development is expected to produce a battalion size force of 1,000 soldiers able to deploy for a six-month period with combat service support from NATO. Albania also expects to have a Special Operations Target Unit/Group operating at NATO standards. In the following three years, an infantry battalion is forecast, with the ability to fulfill NATO assignments for a sustained six-month period. Finally, between 2022 and 2025, land forces are expected to be operating unmanned aerial vehicles and unmanned ground vehicles. They also plan to have a functioning tactical air control party capability that will enable ground forces to effectively call in air support to ground units as needed.[135]

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[133] Ibid., 1–3.

[134] Ibid., 33–34.

[135] Ibid., 17–19.

These goals, along with the remaining ones outlined in the AFLTDP 2016–2025, provide a road map that leads to a modernized and capable military force. Some of these goals are highly ambitious, while others are more easily achievable. The key to accomplishing them as a whole is proper funding and resource allocation. Defense spending as of 2016 is not at the level expected by NATO, but through this plan Albania does expect to be spending 2 percent of its GDP on defense by 2025.[136] Finances alone will not guarantee the fulfillment of the plan, but they constitute a key factor.

C.   CONTRIBUTIONS AND COMMITMENTS TO NATO

Small countries within the Alliance are willing and able to contribute in big ways. The Albanian commitment to being a security provider in the Alliance is not only represented in how the country spends its money, but also in how it takes action in support of NATO's core tasks of collective defense, cooperative security, and crisis management. This section reviews the Force Goals (FG) Albania agreed with NATO to pursue and then examines in detail the ways in which Albania's commitments to NATO's core tasks have been fulfilled, using examples from Albania's PfP membership and NATO membership through 2016, such as the Direktiva E Mbrojtjes (Defense Directive) for 2016. This overview of Albania's contributions and commitments to the Alliance demonstrates the country's level of involvement.

1.   Force Goals

In 2008, as Albania prepared to enter the Alliance via an accession protocol, a review of its Partnership Goals (PG) commenced—laying the groundwork for Force Goals to be created. The difference between PGs and FGs is that PGs are specifically for NATO Partners. "[Albania's] Force Goals are an advanced status of Partnership Goals in the sense of accountability of development of military capabilities for the collective defense of the Alliance."[137] The 2007 Planning and Review Process (PARP) of Albania

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136 Ibid., 38.

137 "NATO Force Goals," Atlantic Council of Albania, accessed July 6, 2016, http://atlantic-council-al.com/ACA/NATO_Force_Goals.html.

was one source used to aid in the preparation of the goals, which focused on Albania sharing roles, responsibilities, and burdens within the Alliance for a 10-year period—2008–2018. Previous PG packages were developed in 1999, 2002, 2004, and 2006.[138] "NATO International Staff proposed the target FG package 2008 for Albania which had a final approval in [on] 22 July 2008 under silent [that is, silence] procedures with the Alliance."[139] The FGs are milestones that Albania accepted in its pursuit of greater compatibility and performance as an Alliance member in Article 5 and non-Article 5 operations.

There were a total of 49 Force Goals set in 2008 for Albania to accomplish in 10 years. The breakdown of the goals is as follows: "26 of them are general and applied to the entire Armed Forces; 14 others are dedicated only to Land component units; 4 to Maritime and 5 to be applied to the Air Component."[140] Highlights of these goals include a 1,000-person motorized battalion group, tactical air lift to support the battle group, niche capabilities to support NATO operations, human intelligence and psychological operation capability to support the Alliance, various extreme weather uniforms, ability to operate in WMD-contaminated locations, and strategic and tactical cyber capabilities.[141] Most of the goals either overlap or complement the goals set forth in the AFLTDP 2016–2025 previously mentioned.

The modernization goals are among the key challenges faced by the Albanian military forces. The FG program was built with the expectation of at least 2 percent of the nation's GDP being allocated for defense and 20 percent of this amount being focused on equipment and systems.[142] Since this plan's initiation, Albania has met neither the 2 percent of GDP mark for the budget nor the 20 percent of defense spending mark for

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138 Ibid.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid.

142 Ibid.

equipment.[143] Albania set these goals at realistic levels as they are proportionate to other countries' FGs. Croatia, for example, is a larger country and therefore has committed to a 4,000-person battle group versus the 1,000-person battle group of Albania.[144] Proper funding in accordance with the FG package is vital to the successful implementation of this plan, even though Albania's FGs are scaled to its size and potential.

2.   Collective Defense

Article 5 states "[t]he principle of collective defense is at the very heart of NATO's founding treaty. It remains a unique and enduring principle that binds its members together, committing them to protect each other and setting a spirit of solidarity within the Alliance."[145] To quote a recent study, "[c]ollective defense is the ultimate reason why the founding members formed the Alliance in 1949, and it remains NATO's cornerstone, even as the Alliance has taken on additional roles and responsibilities."[146] Collective defense is the most notable and fundamental of the three core tasks, but all of them have a necessary function. Along with a pledge to support fellow Allies, actions are required to show support. The NATO collective defense principle stood up against the Warsaw Pact from 1955 to 1991 and endures today. As the Iron Curtain collapsed in Eastern Europe, collective defense provided the protection and security needed for former Soviet and satellite states to transition and open up to Western Europe, and for nations such as Albania to set a new course toward democracy.

After the fall of Communism, Albania became involved in collective defense as a demonstration of the government's willingness to reciprocate the benefits it was receiving through its participation in these efforts. The best example of its participation is the deployment of troops into Afghanistan on September 11, 2001.

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[143] "Defence Expenditures of NATO Countries (2009–2016)."

[144] Atlantic Council of Albania, "Albania's Force Goals."

[145] "Collective Defence—Article 5," 31.

[146] Yost, *NATO's Balancing Act,* 31.

The first time in the Alliance's history that Article 5 had been invoked was in response to the 9/11 attacks. This call was answered by many members, including Albania after it joined the Alliance. Albania deployed 3,041 troops with the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which completed its mission in 2014. Although ISAF was established and maintained by UN Security Council resolutions—and not by Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty—it was widely recognized as consistent with NATO's collective defense mission. Albania has also allowed combat aircraft to fly through its air space in support of Operation Enduring Freedom.

Except for the NATO training mission in Iraq, Iraq was not a NATO operation but an operation led by the United States. Albania's contribution of troops to Operation Iraqi Freedom totaled 1,342 persons between 2003 and 2008.[147] These force numbers in Afghanistan and Iraq are small compared to the tens of thousands of troops deployed to those countries by the United States, but they represent a significant contribution for a country the size of Albania, which has only approximately 14,000 active troops and 5,000 reserve forces.[148]

The size of its military has led to specialization, and Albania's battalion of special forces has operated in Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chad, and Iraq.[149] In Afghanistan and Iraq, Albania showed its willingness to contribute to an enduring presence as well as to offer support in combat operations. Overall, in comparison to larger Alliance members, the contributions to collective defense by Albania are relatively small, but the state's interest in extending its limited resources and capabilities to support NATO's objectives has been clearly demonstrated. Moreover, Albania is contributing to NATO's post-ISAF Resolute Support mission in Afghanistan.

[147] USCENTCOM, "U.S. Central Command: Albania," USCENTCOM, accessed March 12, 2016, http://www.centcom.mil/en/about-centcom-en/coalition-countries-en/albania-en.

[148] "Albania Military Strength," Global Fire Power, accessed March 12, 2016, http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=albania.

[149] "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Albania," Providing for Peacekeeping, March 30, 2015, http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2015/03/30/peacekeeping-contributor-profile-albania/.

3. Cooperative Security

Albania is better equipped to contribute to the mission of cooperative security than that of collective defense. The Balkan Peninsula, where Albania is situated, is widely known for its long history of fighting and unrest. Stability in this region is important to NATO, as demonstrated by its interventions in Kosovo and Bosnia. NATO works with its partners and member states to promote regional security and collective efforts to face new security challenges as they arise.[150] Albania faced regional security challenges in the Bosnian and Kosovo conflicts in the 1990s, and today faces a different set of challenges in the war on terrorism.

Albania's participation in PfP aided significantly in the stabilization of the Balkans. In 1994, the policy of the North Atlantic Council with regard to cooperative security was that partners that felt their security was threatened could reach out for help.[151] David Yost notes that "the significance of NATO's commitment became apparent on March 11, 1998, when Albania became the first partner to exercise its PfP emergency consultation rights."[152] Partnership for Peace is among the most notable means by which cooperative security is facilitated by NATO because partnerships are important to the Alliance's strategic objectives. During the late 1990s, Albania benefited from this NATO security objective, as the nation was still transitioning from decades of being closed to the West.

Since its days in PfP, Albania has become more active in cooperative security and is currently involved in working against Islamic terrorist threats. It has been an active supporter of the campaign against terrorism since 2001, and continues its participation in the face of new and emerging threats such as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

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[150] Copani, "Partnership for Peace and New Dimensions of Albania's Security Posture."

[151] Yost, *NATO's Balancing Act,* 202.

[152] Ibid., 202.

(ISIL), also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).[153] The threats present within Albania's borders include foreign fighters for ISIS; arms supplies, financial support for terrorism; and ease of passage for terrorists moving through the Balkans. Albania is working in collaboration with other Allies to counter these activities and increase support for Allies in the region. This effort is in line with the enhancement of international security, a key element to cooperative security.[154]

The attack that occurred in Paris in November 2015 prompted states across Europe to examine their security protocols, and Albania was among those with serious concerns associated with terrorist-related activities. Considering the strict gun control measures in many European states, the source of the weapons used by terrorists is still hotly debated. A major source is attributed to the raiding of weapons storage facilities throughout Albania following the uprising in response to the domestic crisis of 1997, which led to the theft of an estimated 100,000 weapons.[155]

The Flemish Peace Institute released a study indicating that most firearms used in such violent attacks as the Paris shootings reach Europe via groups in the western Balkans, which rely on the same routes used in drug trafficking and other criminal activities.[156] Albania has joined forces with Italian officials to interdict such activity in the interest of regional security,[157] and the Albanian government raised the national threat level and deployed over 1,500 security forces domestically following the

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[153] Ebi Spahlu, "Ethnic Albanian Foreign Fighters and the Islamic State," *Jamestown Foundation*, May 15, 2015,
http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Bswords%5D=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=albania&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=43917&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=dec23b809c0ae81f9212cbe0c28e3092#.VuWiDRhTPJy.

[154] "NATO's Strategic Concept."

[155] Ebi Spahlu, "Militant Islamists, Organized Crime and the Balkan Diaspora in Europe," The Jamestown Foundation, December 2, 2015,
http://www.jamestown.org/single/?tx_ttnews%5Bswords%5D=8fd5893941d69d0be3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=albania&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=44849&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=4eddb6d360009358d56457f127aa9a14.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

November 2015 Paris attacks.[158] Such responses are a prime example of cooperative security execution, as the availability and transport of weapons out of Albania are of great concern both domestically and internationally.

Along with weapons originating in Albanian territory, there is also the problem of terrorist funding and a contingent of foreign fighters, numbering an estimated 500 ethnic Albanians and including 150 Albanian nationals, who left the Balkans to join and fight alongside Islamic extremists in Iraq and Syria.[159] The ideology driving these fighters is believed to be rooted in the Balkan Wars, which were widely perceived as anti-Muslim. According to Epi Spahiu, the war in Bosnia resulted in the movement of several hundred individuals from Algeria, Egypt, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia and elsewhere, including veterans of Afghan jihad, into the western Balkans.[160] The wide variety of ideological beliefs espoused by these diverse foreign fighters continues to influence the politics of Albania and neighboring states, and to counter these foreign fighters, Italian and Albanian authorities have executed operations to intercept and arrest them.[161] In one domestic operation, Albanian officials arrested 13 people from two mosques who were suspected of recruiting up to 70 foreign fighters near the capital city of Tirana.[162] This collaborative and proactive approach helps to strengthen regional security.

Along with supplying fighters for ISIS, the financial backing of extremists is also found in the Balkans. Heroin alone from the Balkans is the source of over $20 billion annually, and proceeds from drug sales are widely known to supply terrorist organizations such as Hezbollah and al-Qaeda.[163] One well-known example of illegal drug activity in southern Albania is the village of Lazarat, once known for legitimate agriculture, which is now estimated to produce over $6.1 billion worth of marijuana per

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[158] Ibid.

[159] Spahlu, "Ethnic Albanian Foreign Fighters and the Islamic State."

[160] Ibid.

[161] Spahlu, "Militant Islamists, Organized Crime and the Balkan Diaspora in Europe."

[162] Spahlu, "Ethnic Albanian Foreign Fighters and the Islamic State."

[163] Spahlu, "Militant Islamists, Organized Crime and the Balkan Diaspora in Europe."

year,[164] and where, in a single operation, federal agents burned over 11,000 cannabis plants in an effort to slow the production of drugs.[165] The increase of counter drug operations not only slows the funding to terrorists, but reinforces the rule of law in Albania, which is vital to its status as a NATO member state.

4.   Crisis Management

The last of the three core tasks and principles of NATO discussed in this section is crisis management. This core task is a major strength of NATO, as exemplified by its ability to employ a mixture of political and military tools before, during, and after a conflict or other crisis. Associated activities include conflict prevention, peacekeeping, peace building, peace enforcement, and humanitarian operations.[166] The turning point in Albania's involvement in crisis management operations came after the domestic crisis in 1997, at which point Albania urgently sought to demonstrate its commitment to NATO's objectives.[167]

The first large-scale humanitarian crisis faced by Albania during its NATO PfP affiliation came from its neighbor, Kosovo. The 1998–1999 war inflicted on the residents of Kosovo led to a dire refugee situation involving over 600,000 people, of whom an estimated 375,000 traveled to Albania for help. At the time, the total population of Albania numbered only 3.2 million, but the country still assisted in setting up camps to care for the massive numbers of refugees.[168] Albania's willingness to help during the crisis was motivated by its partnership with NATO as well as its ethnic ties to many of the Kosovars, and the country's efforts aided significantly in the humanitarian crisis, contributing strongly to regional stabilization efforts.

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[164] Jill Reilly, "The Day Europe's 'Marijuana Mecca' Went up in Smoke," *Mail*, June 16, 2014, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2658903/Albanian-police-storm-lawless-marijuana-village.html.

[165] Ibid.

[166] "NATO—Topic: Crisis Management," North Atlantic Treaty Organization, January 29, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49192.htm#.

[167] "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile."

[168] "Kosovar Refugees," *Migration News* 6, no. 5 (May 1999), https://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=1801.

Another large crisis-management operation to which Albania has committed support is in Afghanistan, contributing to combat operations in the country even after the downsizing of ISAF forces. In support of the ISAF mission, Albania deployed 330 forces to Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar.[169] After decades of war and internal strife, Afghanistan is a war-torn country in which NATO efforts are vital to achieving stability.

Once again, the number of troops provided by Albania to this NATO mission is small in absolute terms in comparison with larger Allies, but the effort on a proportional basis has been sincere, constant, and significant. A recent survey found that 89 percent of Albanians support their country's allegiance to NATO and its operations.[170] This amount of public support for NATO is consistent with the government's interests. The number two priority of the Albanian Ministry of Defence's 2016 strategy, second only to improved operability and interoperability, is fulfilling the country's commitments within the Alliance.[171] Crisis management is certainly one of the areas of support to which Albania has demonstrated its willingness and ability to commit its resources.

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[169] "History of NATO-Albania Relations."

[170] Ibid.

[171] "Direktiva E Mbrojtjes," (National Defense Strategy) Republic of Albania, Ministry of Defence, 2016, http://www.mod.gov.al/index.php/aktivitete-analize/51-direktiva-e-mbrojtjes-2014.

V.   CONCLUSION

The core of many of the limiting factors to Albania's performance is economics. Albania suffers from a weak economy, leaving it far behind western European nations. Even though Albania has closed the gap in recent years, since 2011 its progress has slowed. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) reports that other factors holding Albania back include infrastructure gaps, unreliable energy supplies, low levels of physical and human capital, weak institutions, weak enforcement of the rule of law, and corruption. The last three factors contribute to a breakdown in property rights protection.[172] The macro- and microeconomic conditions also represent major constraints on Albania's long-term ability to increase its contributions to NATO efforts and core tasks. All of these areas must be addressed in order for Albania to meet its committed FG program and its obligations to the Alliance.

One indirect implication of the strained economic condition of Albania is its low compensation of its military members. Salaries for soldiers are low in comparison to the average worker in the country, to say nothing of comparisons with other Alliance members' militaries. This limits the government's ability to recruit and retain high-quality personnel. Albania's soldiers fight side by side with their Alliance counterparts, but face an apparent deficiency in compensation. This is one of many drawbacks to the low, but steadily growing, economic performance in Albania.

Military pay along with all of the areas discussed in the beginning of this chapter must be addressed in order for Albania to meet its committed FG program and its obligations to the Alliance. Continued efforts help in showing the Alliance that Albania is capable of performing as a security provider and not just a security consumer. In 2016, the Albanian Ministry of Defence directed implementation of several strategic initiatives to accelerate the nation's military transformation as well as the various modernization

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[172] International Monetary Fund "Albania Selected Issues," International Monetary Fund, June 2016, 20, https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2016/cr16143.pdf.

programs. Albania is on an ambitious but achievable course to continue increasing and improving its capabilities within the Alliance for decades to come.[173]

As noted in the Chapter I, Ivo Daalder argued in 1999 that the inclusion of more members could weaken the Alliance's ability to fulfill its ultimate role of collective defense.[174] In Daalder's words, "an expansion of NATO's purpose and membership risks not only increased dissension among the allies but also dissipation of the Atlantic Alliance's ability to meet its fundamental collective defense tasks."[175] This thesis, through the study of Albania, demonstrates that a small and economically challenged country can still manage to become a productive member of NATO.

The most important contribution that Albania makes to the Alliance is its key role in regional security and stabilization. Scholars and policymakers have widely credited Albania with playing a crucial role in the maintenance of peace in the Balkans, as exemplified by its involvement in supporting Kosovo's independence (without irredentism or interference in local politics) and in building and consolidating multiethnic states in Macedonia and Montenegro.[176] As Albania continues to strengthen politically, economically, and militarily, the country will progressively expand the scope of its participation in NATO activities and operations. This case study provides evidence that justifies confidence in the larger Alliance members that the smaller Allies are genuine assets upon which the Alliance can call and depend on when needed.

A.   NATO ENLARGEMENT DISCUSSION

Enlargement is an ongoing topic of debate among experts, and it includes the question of adding small states to the Alliance. The arguments concern whether to enlarge the Alliance or to keep the current membership configuration. While some

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[173] "Direktiva E Mbrojtjes."

[174] Daalder, "NATO in the 21st Century," 11.

[175] Ibid.

[176] Buschati quoted in "Albania–U.S. Strategic Partnership." NOA, accessed January 20, 2016, http://www.noa.al/artikull/albania-u-s-strategic-partnership/487738.html.

scholars debate the functions and even the existence of the organization as a whole, this thesis focuses on whether to enlarge the Alliance through additional small states.

The pro-enlargement side of the debate believes that small states provide advantages to NATO, which differ with each nation. These advantages include geographically important locations, regional expertise in dealing with crises, niche capability specializations, vigorous participation and spending, and extending the borders of the Alliance, aiding in more rapid responses to crisis situations. Large and wealthy states such as France, the United Kingdom, and the United States are easily able to show their significance as Alliance members, but the contributions of small states are debated.

The side of the debate critical of enlargement is focused on the negative effects that new Allies could have and have had on the Alliance and the negative effects on the new Allies themselves due to joining NATO. Some observers have argued that one of the negative effects consists, of potential political strains in states seeking EU membership, obliging them to choose between the varying agendas of these two international organizations. As the Alliance pushes farther east, some experts are concerned about the potential provocation of Russia in the Baltic region and Ukraine.

Finally, the most common argument against further enlargement is that, according to some experts, small states are more likely to be security consumers than providers due to the small size of their militaries and their inability to properly protect themselves. This imbalance in capabilities is partially due to larger and wealthier states having large militaries and GDPs that enable them to project power globally as Alliance members. The genuine contributions of small states such as Albania are easily overlooked due to the size and scope of their capabilities.

B.   NATO AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY EXAMINATION

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization includes states of all sizes and levels of economic and military power. The North Atlantic Treaty is the document that binds these states together, providing a guidebook on what is expected of each member. The Alliance itself is constantly transforming through the accession of new members and the onset of

new security challenges. Each article of the treaty is important in the shaping of additional guidance while keeping all members on the same course.

The Alliance relies not only on the treaty; it also relies on the 2010 Strategic Concept and the core tasks specified in that document to guide its focus, which is ultimately derived from the treaty. Collective defense is one of those core tasks and is NATO's fundamental purpose, but since the early 1990s day-to-day operations have involved the other core tasks more prominently. The Allies have re-emphasized collective defense since Russia's aggression against Ukraine in 2014. The addition of new members and partners continually changes the territory and responsibilities of the Alliance while simultaneously increasing its capabilities. Small members have proven able and willing to stand up as needed to fulfill the objectives of the Alliance.

C.   SUMMARY

Albania's contributions to NATO are growing stronger in the face of new threats. The country's location in the Mediterranean region provides a strategic position from which to address terrorist activities there. In a 2015 meeting with U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, Ditmir Buschati—the Albanian Minister of Foreign Affairs—"reiterated the commitment of the Albanian government to continue being a strong partner of the U.S., in terms of stability, peace, and prosperity in our region and beyond, as well as in the fight against terrorism, violent extremism, and protection of human rights."[177] Albania backs up its message with action, as seen in anti-terrorism activities such as intercepting foreign fighters and shutting down networks of arms supplies and financing for terrorism domestically.

D.   LIMITING FACTORS

In order to completely meet the goals set forth by Albania and the promises it has made to the Alliance, Albania will need to address a few issues that are mostly connected

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[177] Ibid., See also Mirela Metushaj. "Geopolitics of Albania in the Balkans after NATO Membership." *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* vol. 4, no. 3 S1 (December 2015, Special Issue). http://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/ajis/article/view/8407/8069.

with financing. Albania has by far the weakest economy among the Allies. The limited amount of money going toward defense spending is a result of several limiting factors that hinder Albania's economic performance. Albania's economy is steadily increasing, but it has a long way to go to catch up to the rest of the Alliance. Key areas that need to be addressed to aid in this performance improvement include infrastructure shortfalls, unreliable energy supplies, low levels of physical and human capital, weak institutions, uneven enforcement of the rule of law, and corruption.[178] Once some of these issues are improved and the economy progresses, more money will be available to further aid Albania in its ability to contribute to the Alliance.

Moreover, the Albanian authorities intend to address the distribution imbalance in funds already allocated for defense spending. As of 2016, the majority of the budget was going toward personnel rather than to equipment, training, research and development, and infrastructure. In order to fix the imbalance, there needs to be more overall funding for the military.

Although the higher percentage of funds is going toward personnel, which includes the paying salaries and pensions, it is too low, resulting in low salaries paid to military members. As noted previously, a soldier's salary is lower in comparison to even the average worker's pay in the country. An Albanian soldier's pay does not compare to that of many other Alliance members' militaries. This deficiency is more apparent the more Albanian forces participate in Alliance operations and fill the same roles as their better-compensated counterparts. This barrier limits the government's ability to recruit and retain high-quality personnel. Albania is at risk of recruiting and retaining less-qualified people while the better-qualified citizens look for civilian work domestically and abroad. This is one of many drawbacks to the poor economic performance of Albania, despite its steady growth.

Addressing these economic and domestic issues is crucial for Albania to meet its set Force Goals and obligations to the Alliance. Failure to make improvements will lend

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[178] "Albania Selected Issues," 20.

fuel to the argument that small states are consumers of security more than providers. To meet its set goals, defense spending must reach a minimum of 2 percent of Albania's GDP. Also, improvements are needed to increase the country's GDP.

Albania has a solid plan in place to improve its position through various strategies and initiatives. If Albania continues domestic improvements and sticks to funding and fulfilling its plans, such as the Armed Forces Long-Term Development plan 2016–2015, it will continue to be a positive contributor to the Alliance.

E.   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Further research on this topic would be most effectively conducted through individual interviews of Albanian military members and government officials. The ability to retrieve first-hand accounts regarding the Albanian Armed Forces (AAF) from officials at various levels would strengthen future research efforts. The AAF is a small community of fewer than 15,000 active troops and it would not take a large pool of people to design a sound research effort to derive new insights on this topic. This research also could be broadened to other small Allies such as Croatia, which also entered the Alliance in 2009. At the time of this writing, Montenegro is still scheduled to enter the Alliance. This would also constitute an apt case to examine in the future. Performing a two- or three-member comparison could be fruitful in an effort to assess the value of small states in the Alliance.

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