

## **GCC Model: Conflict Management for the "Greater Albania"**

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### **ABSTRACT**

On the one hand Albanians desire Greater Albania, on the other hand they know it is very difficult in today's international circumstances. To say the least, Albania, Kosovo and Albanian part of Macedonia yearn for it according to the survey held in Albania in 2010. Macedonia will be an "Albanian majority country" in the next two decades. Albanians think to "eliminate the borders among them" with the mild way: becoming a member to the EU. "Removing the borders by being a member of the EU" is so optimistic idea that it will take at least 2-3 decades and Kosovo will be ambiguous; because five EU members will not recognize it due to their internal reasons. The mid-way for Albanians and regional countries could be an establishment of a mini-regional economic and political organization, at least among these three countries like GCC. This will not harm EU relations and membership like the Benelux countries within the EU today, but it will rather assist these countries to be more powerful on the negotiating table with the EU and in world affairs.

**Keywords:** *Greater Albania, Balkan Issues, Conflict Management, Gulf Cooperation Council, European Union, Minorities in the Balkans.*

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### **Introduction**

"Greater Albania" idea is not a new fashion. It was coined by Prizren League in Kosovo in 1878. This organization was established with the aim of unifying the Manastir, Skodra, Janina and Kosovo in an autonomous Albanian State within the Ottoman Empire. Albanians still come together to celebrate this event on its anniversary date. Many Albanians prefer to use "Ethnic Albania" instead of "Greater Albania", because the first, aims to form a national homeland, based on the current presence of Albanian populations in the Balkan region. In addition to Albania, the term encompasses Kosovo, south parts of Serbia (Presevo Valley), south Montenegro, West Macedonia and Northwest of Greece (Chameria). The idea has started to be discussed again before Kosovo's independence in 2007. At that time, Martti Ahtisaari's plan suggested that Kosovo could become independent, but only with one important condition: Kosovo will neither unite with Albania nor Albanian inhabited parts of Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> In 2005, a poll in Kosovo found that whereas around 90% support independence rather than union with Albania<sup>2</sup>. Since 1991 especially after Kosovo's independence, environ countries' fears and critics did not quit. According to them, Albanian communities in above mentioned countries will struggle to come together for "Greater Albania".<sup>3</sup> According to Blic newspaper in Serbia and Vijesti in

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<sup>1</sup> "What Happened to Greater Albania", *The Economist*, 18 January 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Albanian Leaders Prepare 'Greater Albania' Moves", *Defense and Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2008, p. 15.

Montenegro "'List of Natural Albania' calls on the international community to correct the mistake made by 1913 Treaty of London and Congress of Berlin<sup>4</sup> to detriment of Albanians and allow them to live in one Albanian state that would include parts of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Greece."<sup>5</sup> Again Serbian President Boris Tadic mentioned on the RTS-TV that Serbia had not given up its policy of both the European Union (EU) and Kosovo, warning against the danger of circumstances such as frozen conflicts, or the formation of a Greater Albania.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, the vast majority of Albanians would like to live together. A poll of Gallup in 2010 revealed that 81 % of Kosovo Albanians were in favor of a "Greater Albania".<sup>7</sup> Some of them pursue very courageous ways such as, "List of Natural Albania" in 2010, the others chose cautious way by trusting EU membership. One of the best examples was the 134<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Prizren League. Albanian Prime Minister Sali Berisha, Kosovo Prime Minister Hashim Thaci, and Macedonia's DUI (Democratic Union for Integration - BDI in Albanian) leader Ali Ahmeti brought fresh tones and were an attempt to mitigate fears about the redrawing of the borders for the establishment of some kind of a Greater Albanian state. Many of the Albanians believe it is not easy to unify directly, but it will be possible via being members of the EU. For them, Albanians' political orientation is the EU, and drawing closer to each other through the EU integration.<sup>8</sup>

In international politics and international law, unification between Kosovo and Albania is a democratic right in general. According to international law, "unification" could be applied by any two and/or more states, if both sides agreed upon it. Hatay unification with Turkey was achieved by acceptance of Hatay and Turkish Parliaments in 1939. In 1990 East and West Germany unified by negotiations with four occupying powers so-called "Two Plus Four Treaty" granting full sovereignty a one German state, although it had been forbidden to unify. Macedonia's majority is Macedon currently, but when we take a look at the birth rate of Macedon and Albanians in Macedonia, 20 years later Macedonia will be the third Albanian majority state in the region. If democracy is the best way to decide, and if Macedonia decides to do by voting, it will be very hard to stop Macedonia to unify with the Albanian state after two decades.

Among various ideas and paths, what does Albania think as a central/home country? Can EU be a problem solver for their mid-term plans? Is there or midway and practical solution for the Albanians and the region? This paper focuses on these three questions and strive to mediate on a third way for both sides.

## 1- Project, Methodology and Survey Findings about Greater Albania

To figure out Albania's (as central country of Albanians) foreign policy perceptions, a project group which consists of 47 people launched a survey in Albania in 2010 by the

<sup>4</sup> K. Sa, "There are no Radical Movements Among Us", *Vijesti*, Podgorica, 3 November 2010.

<sup>5</sup> T. Spaic, "Southern Serbia's Albanians For Change of Borders", *Blic*, Belgrade, 3 November 2010.

<sup>6</sup> *RTS SAT TV*, Belgrade, 16 June 2011; *BBC Monitoring European*, London, 16 June 2011.

<sup>7</sup> See Gallup polls about Kosovo: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/125978/two-years-kosovo-albanians-sober-independence.aspx>

<sup>8</sup> "Macedonian Paper Views Infrastructure Plans Replacing "Greater Albania" Idea" *Dnevnik*, Skopje, 15 June, 2012, p.5.

Center for European Studies. The questions between 10-20 are related with Greater Albania and the EU. The project employs a scientific methodology based on surveys carried out in May through July 2010, with a valid representation sample of 1084 people located in all districts of Albania. The survey consists of 27 questions in which eight independent variables are employed: gender, age, education, profession, political affiliation, religion, urban-rural status, application places. Although 10 percent of the randomly selected samples were double checked by the SPSS data coordinator, an error margin of 1.5% - 2% remains inevitable.<sup>9</sup> The initial target for the survey was 1200 people. In total 1180 responses were achieved. According to 2001 Census Albania has over 3 million inhabitants, with 1,530,443 (49.86%) of the population being male and 1,538,832 (50.14%) female. Therefore, to match this gender ratio in Albania, some of the surveys were randomly discarded in accordance with the population rates of participant cities and regions.<sup>10</sup>

Another peculiarity of Albanian foreign policy is that it has to face the fact that almost as many Albanians live in neighboring countries as in Albania itself. In particular, the events following the Kosovo War in 1999—as well the subsequent establishment of international administration in Kosovo, followed by the declaration of independence in 2008 and its recognition by the U.S. and most of the EU and neighboring countries—enabled the emergence of a second Albanian-majority state in the Balkans. These developments, as well as the improvement of the political position of Albanians in Macedonia, particularly after the 2001 Ohrid Framework Agreement, have led to an increasing role of the Albanian populations in the Balkans. In this context, the opinions of Albanian society concerning foreign policy, which Albania should pursue towards other existing Albanians in the region, represented another very interesting area of inquiry for this survey.<sup>11</sup>

The survey focused on Albania and Kosovo and Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia in four questions regarding Ethnic Albania. Albanians on the one hand, are very romantic about unifying these three regions; but on the other hand, they are very realistic about the implementation of this dream. Desire of the people about unifying these three lands (Albania, Kosovo and part of Macedonia) is (69.90 %) less than unifying Albania and Kosovo (73.13 %). However when it was asked that "Do you think that Albania and Kosovo will unite in next ten years?" although the desire is around 73 %, they do not think that Kosovo and Albania will be unified; the answers of "yes" and "most probably yes" come to 40% altogether.

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<sup>9</sup> Cüneyt Yenigun, Salih Ozcan and Cemal Baltaci, *Albanian Public Perceptions of Socio-Cultural and Foreign Policy Issues*, (Tiran, Epoka University Press, December 2011), p.1, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

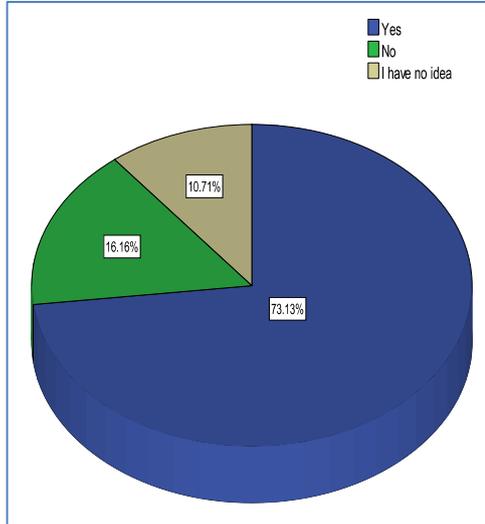


Figure 1: "Do you want Albania & Kosovo be united?"<sup>12</sup>

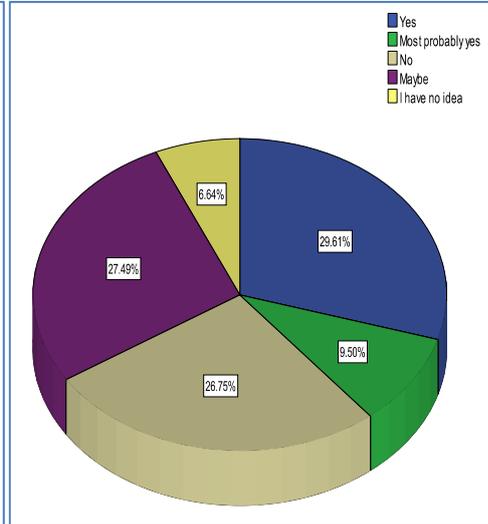


Figure 2: "Do you think these will unite in the next decade?"<sup>13</sup>

The same desire and expectation differences in Albania are seen about the unification of Albania, Kosovo and part of Macedonia. Although they want to unify these lands with around 70%, just 25% of Albanians believe that they will unite in the next decade.

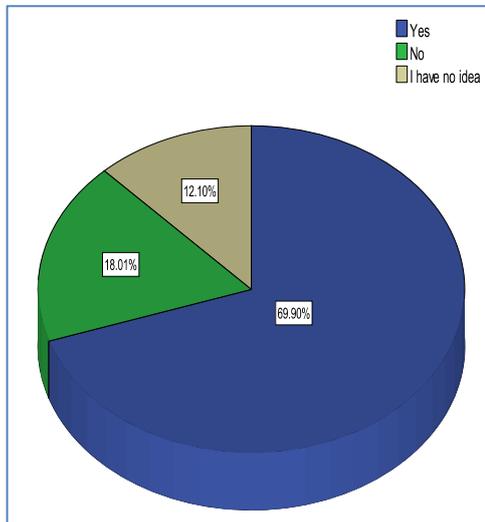


Figure 3: "Do you want Albania, Kosovo and Albanians in Macedonia be united?"<sup>15</sup>

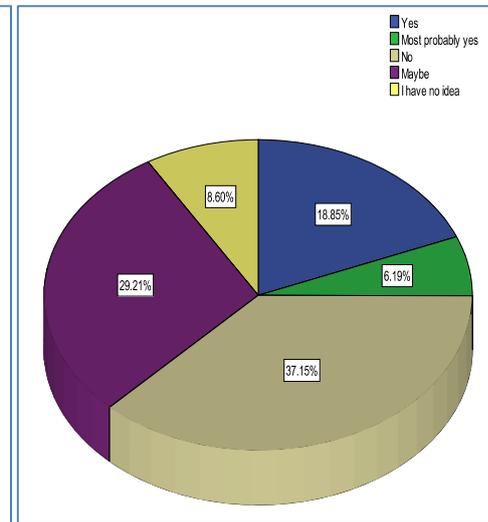


Figure 4: "Do you think these lands will unite in next decade?"<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 55.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 62.

Very interestingly and in contrast to socio-politics, the young generation between 18-25 ages do not believe in "Greater Albania". Normally, these ages are called "extreme", or "rigid" years. But the vast majority of the young corresponds (134) think very realistically in Albania about "Greater Albania". In addition, It is noted that the vast majority of those who oppose this merge belong to the group of 18- 55- year olds (90% of 401 "no" respondents).

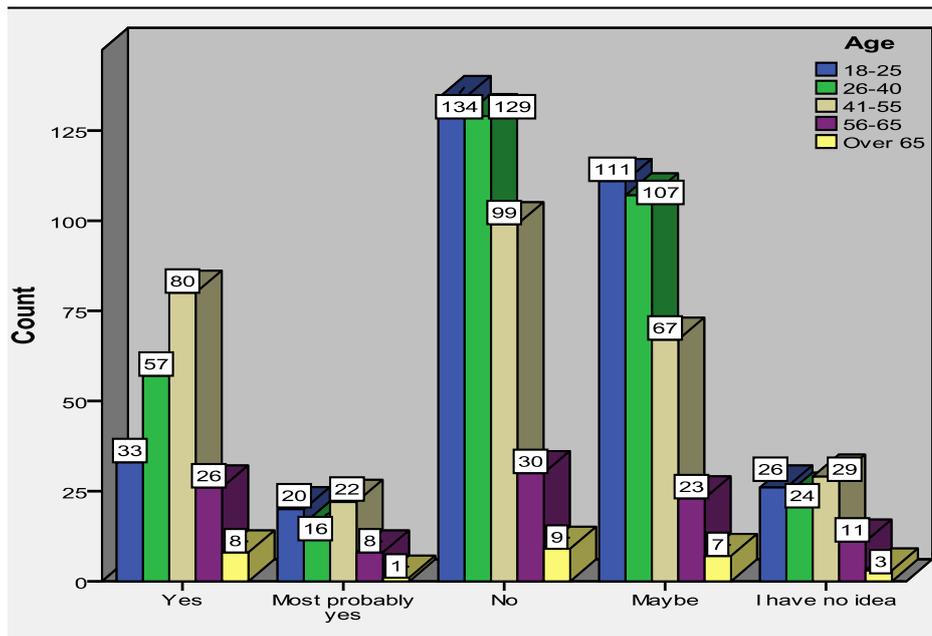


Figure. 5: Do you think that Albania, Kosovo and the Albanians in Macedonia will unite in next ten years? (Age Distribution) <sup>16</sup>

Although there are some institutions such as, Tirana Regional Forecast Institute, that a new Albanian state would be created by unification without wars, but by negotiations with the neighboring states and international community's support<sup>17</sup>; Albania citizens and Albanians in the Balkan area think with the different ways of unification in practice. Some argue that "Albanians should emulate German-Speakers, who have built separate identities in Germany, Switzerland and Austria while continuing to belong to the same German culture"<sup>18</sup> The majority of Albanians in the region, including in Albania, believe that "Natural Albania" will be reached "by becoming a member of the EU, where there are no borders. According to them, Albanians will be united in this way, which is a cultural-spiritual ambience that would be created and would not require any redrawing of borders."<sup>19</sup> In other words, they

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 64.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 63.

<sup>17</sup> Goce Trpkovski, "Greater Albania Supporters Eye 2013", *Nova Makedonia*, 2 November, 2010, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> "What Happened...", *ibid*.

<sup>19</sup> Trpkovski, *ibid*, pp. 3 - 4

believe that they will live in a union with their compatriots with a state that does not recognize borders, EU.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, according to the survey, two third of Albanians (68%), consider the relations with the EU as the most important. The relations with the US are ranked in the second place, with only approximately 14 percent.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the overwhelming majority in Albania (92%) support Albania's EU membership. Those who are against the EU membership, remain at a fairly low level with only 5 percent, or 54 out of 1084 respondents.<sup>22</sup> According to the survey, Albanians' desire for their country's EU membership, and according to what they value most, depends on two important reasons: The expectations for economic improvement (49%); and that membership will affect the development of democracy (33%). (The survey did not include the "unification option" among the answers, but "other" about desiring of being a member to the EU)

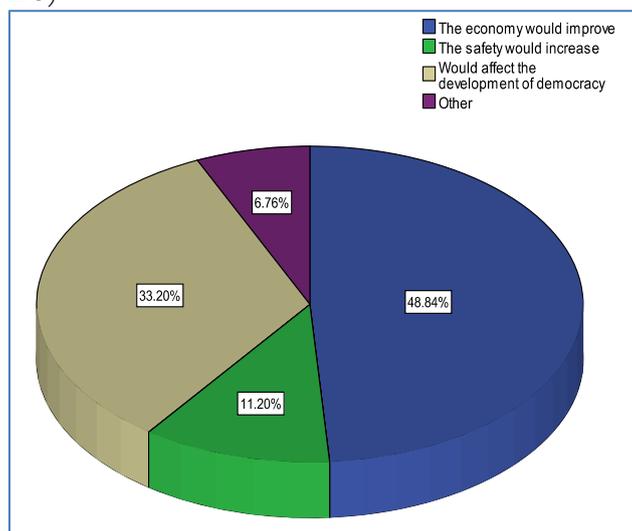


Figure. 6: Why should Albania become a member?<sup>23</sup>

With a closer look to the supporters, especially according to age distribution, the largest group of those who think that the EU membership will affect economic development belong to the age group of 26- to 40-year-olds (31% or 151 out of 483 respondents). The same age group of 26- to 40-year-olds (32% or 104 out of 328 respondents), are the largest group of those who support the EU membership thinking that it will affect the development of democracy in Albania.<sup>24</sup>

However, it needs careful analysis of that EU will be a real problem solver, "economic igniter" and specifically, real eraser of the borders among the Albanians in the region as Albanians think.

<sup>20</sup> Sa, *ibid*, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Yenigun, Ozcan and Baltaci, *ibid*, p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p. 42.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 42 – 43.

## 2- Is EU A Real Problem Solver?

Almost all Balkan countries have been dreaming of becoming members of the EU because of economic reasons. It is understandable in such countries with high unemployment rates. But expectations and misunderstandings from the EU among working class and youths is highly exaggerated. It is expected that unemployment rate will fall down quickly, new business sectors will open up, and the workers can go to Europe to work in the next day of accession.<sup>25</sup> Definitely, these will not happen in a short time, under today's economic depression in the EU countries even it is impossible in a long time. EU only guides the way of democracy and economic development by funds. Indeed, EU assists its members and nominees, but it does not assist as unrequited. It normally, takes the interests and also part of sovereignty in response to its help on the way of supranationalism. Actually, the formula of development is hidden in the countries themselves and it their own nation's spirit and strives on the way of economic development.

EU's assistance to the Balkan area cannot be ignored or rejected; it has been continuing but with the economic and political conditions.(Maastricht, Copenhagen criteria and Commission and European Court of Justice's binding decisions) In May 1999, the EU launched the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) for the five Western Balkan states. The SAP has been using it as a tool to reinforce the region's countries' economic and political reforms on the way of the EU. Under the SAP, Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) was put into force in the last decade. The SAA's purpose is to provide technical and financial assistance and trade preferences to the Western countries to get them close to the EU's legal and economic system on bilateral, regional and multilateral levels. The SAA is a key for the region's states right now. Albania has signed the SAA in 2006. It progressed very well on cross-border inspections and international cooperation. Albanian perspective and working together with Europe on Kosovo's independence was/is very constructive.<sup>26</sup> In addition, she has hesitated from escalation with Serbia and unification with Kosovo. Unlike her neighbors there is no internal conflict in Albania, and she has more stable environment compared with other regional countries.<sup>27</sup>

But on the other hand, EU sometimes creates problems in domestic politics and international affairs. For example, economic and social demands of the EU in the last two years in Greece, Spain, Romania and Italy caused social unrest, riots and turmoil, especially among/from the middle class. Indirectly, this caused the fall of governments and big clash between governments and civil society groups as well as labor unions. According to the EU Charter, if a country's law contradicts with the EU's law, relevant state is entitled to change its constitution and regulations in accordance with the EU law. Definitely, this is a partly transfer of authority and sovereignty from the state to the EU. Maybe federal states such as Spain and Germany can digest it easily; however, this is a very hard to accept for new and

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<sup>25</sup> Cüneyt Yenigun, "EU's Role on the Western Balkan Democratization", *First International Conference on Balkan Studies*, Tiran, 7-8 November 2008, p. 105.

<sup>26</sup> European Commission (2007), "Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges", 2007-8 COM (2007) 663.

<sup>27</sup> Yenigun, "EU's Role...", pp. 106, 107.

nationalist states in the Balkans. In International arena, although EU has accomplished several successful stories such as Kosovo EUlex and Bosnia Peacekeeping missions, it has done unlawful initiations and wrong policies such as Cyprus' accession to the EU which was/is completely violation of international law and establisher agreements of Cyprus, London and Zurich Treaties. According to these treaties Cyprus cannot be a member of any international organization which Turkey and Greece are not members. The issue still continues without any solution today, and the EU has just noticed that Cyprus carried its long lasting issues to the EU. The main purpose of the EU is to become powerful supranational organization and if possible the first important actor in the international arena. This is understandable and normal in international relations, but the question focuses on "are proud and vainglorious Albanians ready to relinquish a part of their sovereignty?" If we hold a survey about satisfaction level of being a member of the EU in Greece, is there any possibility to reach a positive result? Does the EU or "non-member" Turkey more successful in economic development in the last decade at all?

Another important point is misunderstanding of free workers mobility in the EU. The average public think in the Balkan area, that they will pass to Europe in the next day of membership. Definitely it is not. There are economic, political and socio-cultural transition terms and years for accessing to free mobilization in the EU. Indeed, borders are still continuing unlike some politicians and the majority of Albanians think.

Another problematic point for the Albanians is the "European culture". Because there is no common European culture, although EU has been struggling to create it in the last two decades. Sweden, Norway and Denmark claim of being "Nordic"; Italia, Greece, Spain and South France allege they are "Mediterranean" and so on. But most importantly, the core of the EU is not based on multiculturalism, especially is not multireligious. They are not ready to accept Muslim countries like Turkey, which has been waiting for 50 years in front of the EU door; they have not given free passing right to Muslim Bosnians, although it was given to Macedonians, and Croatians. For the new accessions, EU has put transition processes even after becoming a full member to the EU.

### **3- Albanian GCC-like Mild Integration**

Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf is generally known as Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). It could be a sample for the Albanians as practical solution in the Balkan region. The GCC was established as an economic and political intergovernmental organization among the Gulf countries<sup>28</sup> (except Yemen) in 1981. The highest decision-making entity of the GCC is the Supreme Council, which meets on an annual basis and consists of GCC heads of states. Decisions of the Supreme Council are adopted by unanimous approval. The Ministerial Council, made up of Foreign Ministers, or other government officials, meets every three months to implement decisions of the Supreme Council and to propose new policies

The GCC's main objectives are formulating similar regulations in economy, finance, trade, customs, tourism, legislation, and administration; fostering scientific

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<sup>28</sup> The members are Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain and Oman.

and technical progress in industry, mining, agriculture, water and animal resources; establishing scientific research centers; setting up joint ventures; unified military presence (Peninsula Shield Force); encouraging cooperation of the private sector; strengthening ties between their peoples; and establishing a common currency by 2010. In 2003, GCC members eliminated tariffs on trade internally and established common external tariffs. They have agreed to establish a broader economic union (including a single market and currency) by 2010 and a common market was established in 2008. On 6 March 2012, the six members of the GCC announced that it would be evolving from a regional bloc to a confederation in possible response to Arab democratic unrests and increased Iranian influence in the region.<sup>29</sup>

Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Qatar in 2009 announced the creation of a Monetary Council, a step toward establishing a shared currency. The board of the Council, which will set a timetable for establishing a joint central bank and choose a currency regime. It is estimated single currency may take up to 10 years to implement.

One of the most important achievements of the GCC was to create a joint military force of 10,000 soldiers divided into two brigades called the Peninsula Shield Force (PSF), based in Saudi Arabia in 1984. The PSF is composed of infantry, armor, artillery, and combat support elements from each of the GCC countries. As of late 2006, the PSF had 7,000 personnel and functioned as a joint intervention force to defend the joint border of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iraq. In the same year, the GCC Joint Defense Council considered a Saudi proposal to expand the capabilities of the Shield and establish a joint command and control system. In 2011, PSF requested by the Bahraini government, entered Bahrain via the causeway from Saudi Arabia. This was the first GCC deployment in relation to an internal threat.<sup>30</sup> The Council has political initiatives in the Peninsula. For example although Yemen is not a member, The Council affirmed keenness of the GCC countries to reach a consensus for immediate and honest implementations of the peaceful transition of power in order to preserve Yemen's security, stability and territorial integrity.<sup>31</sup>

The GCC is established on common culture, almost same ethnicity and religion in the Arab Peninsula and could be a current example to the Albanians. Establishing an international organization does not mean Albanians cannot enter to the EU. In contrast, this potential organization (can be called "Albkomac") can make the Albanians more powerful in the world affairs. Because it should not be forgotten that only 22 of the 27 EU members recognized Kosovo until now. These five countries will not recognize Kosovo for a long time (maybe forever). Greece and Cyprus oppose, because of fear of "Greater Albania"; Romania, Slovakia and Spain are also against Kosovo recognition, because they believe it will be a stereotype in their own countries by Catalan, Basque and Hungarian minorities. Tirana has been granted "potential candidate" status in 2003, but it submitted its membership application in 2009. Since that time, the process moved slowly, and will continue most

<sup>29</sup> This proposal is strongly backed by Saudi Arabia, but some doubts have been raised by the other countries.

<sup>30</sup> Ethan Bronner, Michael Slackman, "Saudi Troops Enter Bahrain to Help Put Down Unrest", *The New York Times*, 14.03.2011.

<sup>31</sup> "GCC Rap Situation in Yemen", BBC Monitoring Middle East, London, 26 September 2011 (Quoted from) SPA News Agency, Riyadh, 24 September 2011.

likely very slow. Even if Albania and Macedonia will be accepted into the EU, this will not remove the boundaries of Kosovo to these countries until Serbia becomes an EU member. Because according to the mentioned five EU members, Kosovo is still under the sovereignty of Serbia. And Serbia's membership will be the last in the region, if it happens. So Albanians (will) need to be powerful in negotiations like the other countries. And they will need a powerful and effective organization until and after EU membership.

The Benelux Organization had/has the same situation in the EU. They had already established an economic organization in 1944. Even though after their membership to the EU; they have developed Benelux's structure and deepening. Today the Benelux has economic union (Free movement of capital, workers, services and goods), Parliamentary Assembly, composed of 21 members of Dutch and Belgian and 7 members of Luxembourgish. Even, in 2008, Benelux Economic Union was proposed to transform a Benelux Union. Now, the Benelux is a sort of more powerful negotiator than being one by one in international affairs and within the EU.

### Conclusion

When it is looked at the population growing rates in the country, it is seen that Macedonia will be an "Albanian majority" country within next two decades. Instead of resisting this fact, a peaceful, useful and beneficial way should be found in/for Macedonia. Today's biggest problems of Macedonia are economic issues, like other Balkan countries. At least, these three countries can come together and establish a small organization to work together for the horizontal projects of economic growth, peace and prosperity. It will not harm relations with EU, on the contrary it will be more useful and helpful. Today, the Benelux and GCC countries are more powerful in negotiating with the world affairs than being alone, because of having a regional organization. One of the biggest shortness of the "Albkomac" in comparison with the Benelux or the GCC is the lack of capital. Turkey can be "output port" at this point. On the one hand, Turkey is the biggest 16<sup>th</sup> economy and second highest growing country in the world, on the other hand Turkey contains 5-6 million Albanians (more than in the Balkan area). Turkey has deep relations with Albanians in history, culture, religion and in general. She can be the main economic funder, but equal actor of this organization. Turkey has an excellent governmental relations with Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia more than any other countries. She worked hard in recognizing Kosovo; Macedonia was recognized with its original name by Turkey uniquely for 15 years and it has been supported in all means by Turkey; Albania is the main undoubted friend for Turkish Government and people. Turkey is the most powerful regional power and became a "mediator" in several issues in the Balkans such as, Bosnia - Serbia issue, Macedonia and Greece Issue, Croatia and Serbia issue. As stated by Serbian President Boris Tadic in Istanbul Summits "Turkey is the most important player and peace can be reached"<sup>32</sup> with its help and initiations.

Albanian people can learn a lot from GCC or Benelux; actually GCC is more useful for them because of cultural, religion and historical background. Even, more

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<sup>32</sup> Erhan Turbedar, "Turkey's New Activism in the Western Balkans: Ambitions and Obstacles", *Insight Turkey*, Vol: 13, No: 3, pp. 141, 146.

importantly, Albanians can work together with the GCC. Turkey has long-lasting cultural, religion, economic and historical ties with both regions and also, could be a bridge between these two entities from East to West. Turkey is still on a level of mediator between NATO and GCC. By its efforts, political dialogue and cooperation between Arab and GCC countries and NATO were established within Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) to create a basis for maintaining the region's security and stability in 2004.<sup>33</sup> A memorandum of Understanding (MoU) has been signed between Turkey and the GCC heralded possible contributions in GCC's possible security issues in 2008. The mentioned MoU made Turkey the first country outside the Gulf to be given the status of a "strategic partner".<sup>34</sup> After the memorandum both sides agreed to meet regularly in the platform of "Turkey - GCC Strategic Dialogue"<sup>35</sup>. Turkey has increasing economic ties with the GCC in the last decade. In 2004, Turkish companies were the seventh largest in terms of contracts awarded at the annual Gulf International Trade Show in Dammam, Saudi Arabia. GCC countries have willing to connect with the Balkan area too. They have the most important shortness of the Balkan countries (even more than the EU): Capital. The GCC is the 10<sup>th</sup> largest economic power in the world<sup>36</sup> and it has been looking arable lands, credible projects, investable regions and good relations with Balkan area. If Albanians can produce credible projects and take Turkey's support, working with GCC and taking them as sample, could be very useful not just for Albanians but for the peoples in the region.

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<sup>33</sup> "Gulf Cooperation Council – NATO Conference Urges Cooperation", *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, London, 12 December 2006.

<sup>34</sup> F. Stephen Larrabee, "Turkey and the Gulf Cooperation Council", *Turkish Studies*, Vol: 12, No: 4, December 2011, p.689.

<sup>35</sup> Lenore G. Martin, "Turkey and Gulf Cooperation Council Security", *Turkish Studies*, Vol: 10, No: 1, March 2009, pp. 77-79.

<sup>36</sup> Moin Siddiqi, "Gulf Cooperation Council Goes for Growth", *Middle East*, Issue: 373, December 2006, p.43.

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