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1.02 Pregledni naučni rad/Review scientific article

UDK/UDC: 94:314.7:323.1(497.11:496.5:497.115)"1918/1941" (093)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2025.8.13.123>

**THE RESISTANCE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE
AGAINST VIOLENT DISPLACEMENTS DURING
THE YEARS 1918-1941**

Abstract: *This paper aims to elucidate the resistance of the Albanian people against the violent measures undertaken by Serbian political circles towards the Albanian population in Kosovo since the reoccupation of Kosovo by Serbian authority in 1918 and throughout the years leading up to the beginning of the Second World War. The reoccupation of Kosovo was accompanied by the reinstatement of military, civil, and administrative authority, and immediately initiated a policy that had been left unfinished from the Balkan Wars, which was based on the doctrine of ethnic cleansing. This policy had been inherited from the Načertanija of 1844, whose goal was the establishment of Serbian homogeneity and the creation of the so-called Greater Serbia. The continuation of this policy aimed to break the ethnic cohesion, especially of the Albanian people, through the introduction of Slavic colonists and the displacement or complete assimilation of the Albanian population.*

The re-establishment of Serbian authority in Kosovo was accompanied by a widespread wave of violent measures against the Albanian population, aiming, according to Serbian plans, to achieve their complete assimilation within a span of 20-25 years or to forcefully displace them. One of the methods was the confiscation of immovable properties, considering that the Albanian people relied on agriculture for their livelihood, and the forcible seizure of land without compensation meant that they had no other source of income besides agricultural. Hence, Slavic settlers began to be placed in their stead. The colonization of Kosovo continued throughout the existence of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and Yugoslavia, from 1918 until 1941. To achieve these goals, Serbian authorities employed various violent methods such as killings, imprisonments, beatings, property seizures, tax penalties, etc.

The Albanian people never accepted subjugation by the occupiers, thus opposition to this policy was inevitable. From the moment of occupation, the resistance of the Albanian people began. Initially, the leaders of the Albanian

National Movement, their families, and their properties were targeted, prompting them to react with armed resistance against the authorities. Throughout Kosovo, and in other Albanian-inhabited areas, various violent actions were undertaken. One form of institutional terror by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was the disarmament of the Albanians and these caused the reaction of the people to be great.

During this period, a significant number of Albanian activists stood out for their organization and leadership of the liberation movement and resistance. The „National Defense of Kosovo” Committee, based in Shkodër, and the Muslim Political Party, or „Xhemijeti” (Union), based in Shkup, played a special role. The main burden was carried by the Committee, which became the principal voice of Albanians outside the borders of the Albanian state. Its role was extraordinary in two directions: organizing armed resistance and diplomatically influencing the prevention of displacements, as well as raising awareness among the international opinion and the Great Powers about the Serbian crimes and massacres against Albanians.

Key words: *Resistance, armed, displacement, measures of violence.*

OTPOR ALBANSKOG NARODA PROTIV NASILNIH RASELJAVANJA U PERIODU 1918-1941. GODINE

Apstrakt: *Ovaj rad ima za cilj da pojasni otpor albanskog naroda protiv nasilnih mjera koje su preduzele srpske političke strukture prema albanskom stanovništvu na Kosovu od ponovne okupacije Kosova od strane srpskih vlasti 1918. godine do početka Drugog svjetskog rata. Ponovna okupacija Kosova bila je praćena vraćanjem vojne, civilne i administrativne vlasti, a odmah je započela politiku koja je ostala nedovršena iz Balkanskih ratova, a koja se zasnivala na doktrini etničkog čišćenja. Ova politika naslijeđena je iz Načertanija iz 1844. godine, čiji je cilj bio uspostavljanje srpske homogenosti i stvaranje tzv. Velike Srbije. Nastavak ove politike imao je za cilj razbijanje etničke kohezije, posebno albanskog naroda, kroz uvođenje slavenskih kolonista i preseljenje ili potpunu asimilaciju albanskog stanovništva.*

Ponovno uspostavljanje srpske vlasti na Kosovu bilo je praćeno širokom silovitom mjerom protiv albanskog stanovništva, koja je, prema srpskim planovima, imala za cilj njihovu potpunu asimilaciju u periodu od 20-25 godina ili prisilno preseljenje. Jedna od metoda bila je konfiskacija nepokretnosti, s obzirom na to da se albanski narod oslanjao na poljoprivredu za svoj opstanak, a prisilna otmica zemljišta bez naknade značila je da nisu imali drugi izvor prihoda osim poljoprivrede. Stoga su slavenski doseljenici počeli biti postavljeni umjesto njih. Kolonizacija Kosova nastavila se tokom postojanja Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca i Jugoslavije, od 1918. do 1941. godine. Da bi postigli

ove ciljeve, srpske vlasti su primjenjivale razne nasilne metode kao što su ubistva, zatvaranja, premlaćivanja, otmice imovine, porezno kažnjavanje itd.

Albanski narod nikada nije prihvatio potčinjenost okupatorima, pa je otpor ovoj politici bio neizbježan. Od trenutka okupacije, otpor albanskog naroda je počeo. U početku su na udaru bili vođe Albanskog nacionalnog pokreta, njihove porodice i imovina, što je podstaklo reakciju u obliku oružanog otpora protiv vlasti. Kroz Kosovo, i u drugim područjima naseljenim Albancima, preduzimane su razne nasilne akcije. Jedan oblik institucionalnog terora Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca bio je demilitarizacija Albanaca, što je izazvalo veliku reakciju naroda.

Tokom ovog perioda, istaknulo se značajan broj albanskih aktivista koji su organizovali i vodili pokret za oslobođenje i otpor. Komitet „Nacionalna odbrana Kosova“, sa sjedištem u Škodru, i Muslimanska politička stranka, ili „Xhemijeti“ (Savez), sa sjedištem u Skoplju, odigrali su posebnu ulogu. Glavni teret nosio je Komitet, koji je postao glavni glas Albanaca izvan granica albanske države. Njegova uloga bila je izuzetna u dva pravca: organizovanju oružanog otpora i diplomatskom uticaju na sprečavanje preseljenja, kao i podizanju svijesti među međunarodnom javnošću i velikim silama o srpskim zločinima i masakrima protiv Albanaca.

Ključne riječi: Otpor, oružani, raseljavanja, mjere nasilja.

The Albanian resistance against the Serbo-Montenegrin power

Throughout Kosovo, a widespread massacre against Albanians commenced, which sparked a determined resistance against the resurgence of known methods of Serbian rule. This resistance swiftly spread across the entire territory of Kosovo. Serbian authorities began to persecute Albanian leaders who had been prominent in the Albanian National Movement, forcing them to flee their homes to escape death and torture. The majority were compelled to relocate to Albania.¹

Upon the establishment of Serbian power, the Albanian population immediately countered with armed resistance, yet its strength was insufficient to expel Serbia from Albanian ethnic lands. With the aim of quickly subjugating the Albanians, the Serbian government deployed large military and police forces, including gendarmerie units and Serbian population, accompanying this deployment with criminal actions, mass killings, imprisonments, and internments of the families of those who did not submit or surrender to Serbian authority. In Kosovo, the armed resistance of several leaders of the detachments continued, attempting to withstand and oppose the oppressive policies of Serbian forces

¹ Izber Hoti, *Konferenca e paqes në Paris (1919-1921) dhe çështja e viseve të pushtuara shqiptare*, Artini, Prishtinë 2012, 122.

against the innocent population, working to thwart the policy of forced displacement implemented by the Serbian occupiers.²

To increase pressure, insecurity, and to facilitate the further displacement of Albanians in Kosovo and other regions, various punitive actions were organized and implemented. These punitive operations, conducted on a large scale only in regions with Albanian populations within the Kingdom, and accompanied by countless massacres, were justified in public opinion under the pretext of „public insecurity in these areas not being good“.³ Following the reoccupation, physical violence, forced labor, and other forms of persecution began against the Albanians. This further incited Albanians to fight, to liberate themselves from Serbia, and to unite with Albania.⁴

Initially, the properties of the Kachaks and „abandoned“ properties were confiscated, on which police and military authorities would settle Slavic colonists from within Serbia or from the country itself. The Albanian population strongly resisted efforts at disarmament by the Serbian army.⁵ A permanent terror was imposed on the Albanians, manifested in frequent arrests, killings, and extrajudicial executions. Albanians faced continuous economic pressure through unjust agrarian and tax policies. In order to break the resistance of the kachak, the authorities implemented harsh measures.⁶

The plans for the eradication of Albanian tribal leaders followed their complete targeting immediately after the establishment of the state SKS and the implementation of the iron-fist policy in Kosovo and other occupied Albanian territories. Consequently, the list of Serbian crimes began with the representatives of the people who denounced the harsh policies of colonization and national oppression.⁷

² Limon Rushiti, Krimi – Gjenocidi ndaj shqiptarëve 1912-1915, *Gjenocidi dhe aktet gjenocidiale të pushtetit serb ndaj shqiptarëve nga Kriza Lindore e këndeje*, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë 1995, 92-93; Limon Rushiti. Komiteti “Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës” dhe lëvizja kaçake në Kosovë si formë e luftës për çlirim dhe bashkim kombëtar (1918-1925), *Çështja e Kosovës – Një problem historik dhe aktual*, Instituti i Historisë Prishtinë – Tiranë, Tiranë 1996, 147.

³ Zamir Shtylla, Shpërngulja me dhunë të shqiptarëve në vitet 1912-1941, *E vërteta mbi Kosovën dhe shqiptarët në Jugosllavi*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1990, 262; Hakif Bajrami, *Rrethanat politike e shoqërore në Kosovë 1918-1941*, Prishtinë 1981, 97.

⁴ Lush Culaj. *Sfida historike*, Instituti Albanologjik, Prishtinë 2020, 63.

⁵ Ramiz Abdyli. Shpronësimi i fshatarësisë dhe kolonizimi serbomalazez i trojeve etnike shqiptare (1912-1941), *Gjenocidi dhe aktet gjenocidiale të pushtetit serb ndaj shqiptarëve nga Kriza Lindore e këndeje*, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë 1995, 119; Stefan Karastojanov. *Kosova (Një analizë gjeopolitike)*, Sermbe, Shkup 2007, 131.

⁶ Ali Hadri. *Marrëdhëniet shqiptaro – jugosllave*, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë 2003, 309; Ali Hadri. Jehona dhe ndikimi i revolucionit të madh socialist të tetorit në Kosovë e Metohi me 1917-1941, *Përparimi*, Nr. 9-10, Prishtinë 1967, 1109; Ali Hadri, Rrethanat ekonomike, shoqërore, politike, nacionale dhe kulturore në Kosovë – Metohi në kohën e Jugosllavisë së vjetër II, *Përparimi*, Nr. 3-4, Prishtinë 1965, 175-176.

⁷ Zekirja Cana. Planet e Serbisë për ndezjen e luftës vëllavrasëse, *Gjenocidi dhe aktet gjenocidiale të pushtetit serb ndaj shqiptarëve nga Kriza Lindore e këndeje*, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë 1995, 64.

On February 7th, this action continued in the Albanian territories that had been annexed, concluding in May of 1920. This operation was led by figures such as Kosta Peqanac, Miliq Kërstiq, Vasilije Tërbiçi, and other recognized Chetnik leaders.⁸ They committed massacres and serious crimes against Albanians in the regions of Llap, Peja, Ferizaj, Shtimja, Plav and Guci, and many other areas, forcing the inhabitants of these regions to flee. The burning of villages aimed at the eradication of the Albanian population and to instill fear, thus facilitating their displacement.⁹ During these actions, villages were destroyed, numerous victims fell, and mass arrests were made. Another form of persecution was the deportation of Kachak families to concentration camps, where many of them never returned. Additionally, Serbia devised a plan to defeat the Kachaks by blocking the routes coming from Albania.¹⁰

The process of disarmament continued through requisitions, looting, forced labor, and the suppression of local village self-governance, further strengthening the population's resistance. Above all, it was characterized by the aim to liberate themselves from Serbia and unite with the independent Albanian state. This is evidenced by the demands of the time, expressed in the form of memoranda addressed to the Great Powers, such as that of the allied armies, led by French General Louis Franchet d'Esperey. This is also evidenced by the reports of „naçallniks“ (local chiefs) and officials from the field.¹¹ The Command of the Third Army, based in Skopje, ordered its divisional units to disarm the Albanians. This is evident from Order No. 5043 dated December 31, 1920, issued by this Command to the Kosovo Division Command.¹²

The Kosovo Committee maintained connections with the French Parliament deputy Justin Godard and European chancelleries, and precisely for this purpose, they prepared a detailed report where they provided statistical data on the inhumane massacres committed by Serbian chauvinists against the population of Kosovo and its condition. For the mistreatment and looting, not only of Albanians but also of some Serbs and Montenegrins, primarily prominent

⁸ Mikel Ndreca, *87 vjet terror dhe gjenocid shtetëror (1912-1999)*, Prishtinë 2001, 51-52; Ramiz Abdyli. Shpronësimi i fshatarësisë dhe kolonizimi serbomalazez i trojeve etnike shqiptare (1912-1941), në *Gjenocidi dhe aktet gjenocidiale të pushtetit serb ndaj shqiptarëve nga Kriza Lindore e këndeje*, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë 1995, 165.

⁹ Viron Koka, et al, *Historia e popullit shqiptar; V. III, (Periudha e Pavarsisë 28 nëntor 1912 – 7 prill 1939)*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Toena, Tiranë 2007, 483; Hakif Bajrami, *Shqiptarët dhe Kosova në rrjedhat tragjike të historisë (1878-1999)*, Faik Konica, Prishtinë 2019, 125-126; Jusuf Buxhovi. *Kosova, Libri i tretë*, Faik Konica, Prishtinë 2012, 138.

¹⁰ Oliver J. Schmitt, *Kosovia: histori e shkurtër e një treve qendrore ballkanike*, Koha, Prishtinë 2012, 149; Ramiz Abdyli. Faktorët që ndikuan në ndryshimin e strukturës socialiste në fshatin e Kosovës (1918-1941), në *Kosova*, Nr. 15, Instituti i Historisë, Prishtinë 1986, 160-161.

¹¹ Beqir Meta, et al, *Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX (1912-1920)*, Vëllimi I, Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike – Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2017, 513.

¹² Shaban Braha, *Gjenocidi serbomadh dhe qëndresa shqiptare*, Lumi-T, Gjakovë 1991, 286.

was the chief of the Eastern District in Dukagjin, Dragomir Mihailović, along with his secretaries and gendarmes.¹³

Furthermore, the „MKK“ Committee, besides diplomatic efforts, also initiated activities on the ground to organize the people to withstand violence and liberate the enslaved territories. It took the lead in organizing armed popular resistance, namely the National Liberation Movement - Kachaks, which represented the most significant form of armed struggle of the Albanian people. Since the second half of October 1918, it had opposed the Serbian army's reoccupation of Albanian territories. The Albanian population of Kosovo immediately took up arms against the military-police violence of the Serbian authorities. The Committee organized the uprising against the terror that this authority exerted over them through so-called disarmament, forced recruitment into the army, internment of entire Albanian families in concentration camps, and more. This organization of the Albanian population caused difficulties and delays in establishing Serbian military and civil power due to resistance.¹⁴ The armed movements in Kosovo were more of a local and self-defense character (Kachak movement) without any proper military structure, as the circumstances in which the Albanian insurgents operated were difficult.¹⁵

Following the conclusion of the First World War and the reoccupation by Serbian forces with the assistance of the French army, the Albanian people rose up in armed resistance. However, their forces were not sufficient to expel Serbia from Albanian ethnic lands. State repression against Albanians was ongoing, and the adoption of the Law on State Protection and Security, passed on August 2, 1921, aimed to persecute Albanian nationalist elements perceived as destabilizing by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.¹⁶

In such conditions, the Albanian population engaged in unarmed resistance, retreating to their homes, but also with armed resistance personified by the Kachaks Movement or the Liberation Kachaks Movement. During the authorities' actions to disarm and capture Kachaks, indiscriminate killings and

¹³ Lush Culaj, Veprimtaria e Komitetit „MKK“ për ndërkombëtarizimin e çështjes shqiptare, *në Komiteti „Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës“*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë Tiranë, Instituti i Historisë Prishtinë, Tiranë 2004, 60; Limon Rushiti. Komiteti „Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës“ dhe lëvizja kaçake në Kosovë si formë e luftës për çlirim dhe bashkim kombëtar (1918-1925), *Çështja e Kosovës – Një problem historik dhe aktual*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1996, 149; Petrit Imami. *Serbët dhe shqiptarët ndër shekuj*, Vëllimi I, Samizdat, Beograd 2016, 442.

¹⁴ Limon Rushiti, Lëvizja Kaçake dhe Komiteti „Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës“, *Komiteti „Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës“*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2004, 95; I. Hoti, *Konferenca e paqes në Paris (1919-1921)*, 123; V. Koka, et al, *Historia e popullit shqiptar, V. III*, 462; Hakif Bajrami. *Si e riokupoi Serbia Kosovën me 1918*, Libri 2, Prishtinë 2012, 21.

¹⁵ Veli Kryeziu, Bujar Dugolli. The armed resistance movement in Kosovo 1918-1928 according to the albanian press, Nr. 11, *Historia i Świat*, Siedlce, Uniwersytet Przyrodniczo – Humanistyczny, 2022, 247.

¹⁶ Lush Culaj. *Shqiptarët në gjysmën e parë të shekullit XX*, Instituti Albanologjik, Prishtinë 2005, 85; Culaj, *Sfida historike*, 131-132.

burnings occurred regardless of age, gender, or guilt.¹⁷ According to secret reports of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes police, from 1918 to 1924, around 2,000 Albanian patriots were killed in Kosovo, while from 1924 to 1927, this number increased to 3,000. Reports from local authorities sent to the center in Belgrade reported on the violence and organized terror inflicted upon displaced Albanians.¹⁸

Based on official Serbian records, the „MKK“ Committee, and field notes, it appears that during the period from October 1918 to 1921, the number of individuals beaten, imprisoned, killed, massacred, houses looted, and burned, by region, was as follows:

Regions	Dead	Prisoners	Beaten	Burnt houses	Looted houses
Luma of Prizrenit	836	2.700	130	770	1.562
Gjakova	68	200	25	56	78
Peja	1.560	3.800	240	714	1.970
Mitrovica	133	1.700	30	42	104
Vushtrria	2.179	2.940	215	1.463	2.431
Prishtina	4.600	3.650	350	1.340	2.190
Ferizaj	1.690	3.400	190	720	960
Kaçanik and Elez Han	340	1.300	160	290	350
Gjilan	680	2.400	220	450	630
Presheva	260	970	85	180	240
In total	12.346	22.160	1.635	6.125	10.515

Table 1. *List of Serbian atrocities based on the official records of the „MKK“ Committee.*¹⁹

The uninterrupted and diverse resistance of the Albanians contributed to maintaining the morale of the people to face the severe situation, violence, and terror. It was the primary factor that hindered the nationalization of Kosovo and other Albanian regions during this period.²⁰

¹⁷ Rustem Buzhala, *Shqiptarët në Turqi*, Instituti Albanologjik, Prishtinë 2011, 21-22.

¹⁸ V. Koka, et al, *Historia e popullit shqiptar*, V. III, 483.

¹⁹ *Agjencia Shtetërore e Arkivave të Kosovës* (më tej: *ASHAK*), Viti (më tej V.) 1921, Fondi (më tej F.) Komiteti Mbrojtja Kombëtare e Kosovës, Dosja (më tej D.) 35-1-51, Numër (më tej Nr.) 35/3, fleta (më tej Fl.) 201; Limon Rushiti, *Krimi – Gjenocidi ndaj shqiptarëve 1912-1915, Gjenocidi dhe aktet gjenocidiale të pushtetit serb ndaj shqiptarëve nga Kriza Lindore e këndeje*, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë 1995, 93-94; Lush Culaj, *Komiteti Mbrojtja Kombëtare e Kosovës 1918-1924*, Instituti Albanologjik, Prishtinë 1997, 171.

²⁰ Marenglen Verli, *Kosova sfida shqiptare në historinë e një shekulli*, Botimpex, Tiranë 2007, 74.

Measures of violence and terror for the displacement of the Albanian population

Due to violence, Albanians were forced either to fight for their existence or to be displaced.²¹ As a result of discriminations and persecutions by Yugoslav governments and the entire state apparatus of King Alexander, Albanians from Kosovo were compelled to emigrate to Turkey and Albania. Meanwhile, the policy of the Albanian government regarding the displacement of Albanians from Kosovo was for them not to be displaced either to Turkey or Albania, but to remain in places as compact populations.²²

The policy of displacement and colonization, massive expropriation, and denial of basic national rights pursued against the Albanian people and Albanian territories made the Serbian monarchy and later the Yugoslav one symbolize the eternal enemy, synonymous with evil, in the consciousness of the Albanian people.²³ Considering all subsequent events within the framework of this policy, all Serbian authorities undertook continuous actions to undermine the ethnic homogeneity of Albanian territories, alter the ethnodemographic composition, and weaken the population through various measures of pressure and terror.²⁴

In addition to these actions, the Belgrade government denied Albanians the right to education in the Albanian language. To coerce them into emigration or assimilation, it exercised police violence. The inhumane policy pursued by the Belgrade government towards the Albanian population forced Albanian intellectuals to seek assistance from international institutions.²⁵

The looting in every form, heavy fines without criteria, repeated campaigns of devastation, massive terror in areas where armed resistance was taking place or the existence of Kachaks bases was suspected, were also continuous occurrences. From this state of terror only in the years 1918-1921, according to data from the „Committee of Kosovo,“ over 12,000 Albanians lost their lives due to the aforementioned actions, 22,000 others were imprisoned and interned, about 6,000 homes were burned, and immeasurable material values were destroyed and looted.²⁶ The true purpose was clearly evident by the Serbian local authorities themselves, emphasizing that such operations were necessary

²¹ Liman Rushiti, *Lëvizja Kaçake në Kosovë (1918-1928)*, Instituti i Historisë, Prishtinë 2016, 49.

²² Sabit Syla, *Shteti shqiptar dhe çështja e Kosovës 1939 – 1981*, Instituti i Historisë, Prishtinë 2017, 25.

²³ Lefter Nasi, *Ripushtimi i Kosovës (Shtator 1944 – Korrik 1945)*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1994, 17.

²⁴ Hivzi Islami, Lugina e Preshevës: Përbërja etnike dhe evolucioni i saj, *Studime shoqërore*, Nr. 2, Akademia e Shkencave dhe Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë 2015, 13.

²⁵ Vullnet Ameti, Fehari Ramadani, Luftërat ballkanike dhe pasojat e tyre në ballkan, *në Revistën Diskutime*, Nr. 6, Qendra për marrëdhënie ndërkombëtare dhe studime ballkanike, Tetovë 2013, 23.

²⁶ M. Verli, *Kosova sfida shqiptare në historinë e një shekulli*, 69; Tajar Zavalani, *Histor e shqipnis*, Phoenix & Shtëpia e librit, Tiranë 1998, 267; Shyqyri Hysi, *Histori e trojeve dhe diasporës shqiptare*, Shtëpia botuese e librit universitar, Tiranë 2007, 66.

regardless of whether arms were present or not because they were effective in terrorizing and demoralizing the Albanians and played a significant role in encouraging their mass displacement.²⁷

According to the scholar Limon Rushiti he say: *Engaging in defensive warfare, Albanian insurgent bands in the fall of 1919, during the winter and spring of 1920 in Kosovo, would primarily fight against the first wave of colonists who were forcibly settling in Albanian homes. The Serbian authorities, in this regard, attempting by all means to expel Albanians from their lands, would impose a state of martial law.*²⁸

The Serbian military circles were realizing that they would not be able to displace the Albanian population solely through violence, so they encouraged the Montenegrins, who were in difficult economic situations, to engage in direct attacks and plunder of Albanian properties. The plundering would become a daily occurrence, especially in the districts of Peja, Istog, and Gjakova. Therefore, the „National Defense Committee of Kosovo“ would organize and take a stand to resist the Serbian occupying power.²⁹

The „MKK Committee“ had undertaken the movement in Kosovo, which it commanded through leaders of the guerrilla groups, directed by Hasan Prishtina, Bajram Curri, and others. Besides engaging in military activities, these guerrilla groups were tasked with politically raising awareness among the population not to abandon their lands; thus, they were against displacement. Additionally, through concrete actions, the groups opposed colonization and denounced collaborators of the authorities.³⁰

In an instructional letter from Hasan Prishtina, on behalf of the Kosovo Committee, sent to Azem Bejta in Kosovo in the summer of 1919, it is written: *Remain in place until you perceive yourself in danger; maintain the morale of the people high; guard against provocations; make every effort to sustain the armed movement of the guerrilla groups; prevent the people from emigrating, and inform us of any incidents so that we can utilize them for our protests before the international community.*³¹

One of the forms of institutional terror by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was the disarmament of Albanians. On March 2, 1920, the Yugoslav Minister of War ordered preparations for a large-scale joint operation of gendarmerie and military forces to „collect arms“ from the Albanian population. This action had significant consequences for the Albanian population

²⁷ Beqir Meta, et al, *Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX (1920-1924)*, Vëllimi II, Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike – Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2019, 593.

²⁸ Limon Rushiti, Dëbimi i shqiptarëve nga qarku i Prizrenit 1919-1923, *Vjetari*, Nr. 27-28, Arkivi i Kosovës, Prishtinë 2002, 312.

²⁹ H. Bajrami. *Si e riokupoi Serbia Kosovën me 1918*, 38.

³⁰ L. Rushiti, *Lëvizja Kaçake dhe Komiteti “Mbrotja Kombëtare e Kosovës”*, 100.

³¹ Xheladin Shala, Roli i Komitetit “Mbrotja Kombëtare e Kosovës” në luftërat shqiptaro – serbe gjatë viteve 1918-1921, *Komiteti “Mbrotja Kombëtare e Kosovës”*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2004, 117.

in the areas where the expeditions were conducted, resulting in reprisals, looting, and internment of Albanian families.³² On March 25, 1920, the Command of the Division of the Kosovo district informed the Army Command III that the disarmament action in the Lepenc-Sitnica-Ibër line had been completed, and measures had been taken for the disarmament of other territories as well.³³ Only during the years 1919-1921, in the villages of Peja, during the „arms collection operation,” Serb-Montenegrin armies burned 420 homes and massacred 231 residents; in Rugova, they looted and burned its 13 villages with over 410 homes.³⁴

In January 1921, the Serbian authorities decided to increase pressure on the Albanians, issuing a proclamation calling on all Albanian insurgents to surrender. Those who did not surrender, „would be either killed or arrested, while their families would be interned“³⁵ and villagers would be punished if they hid or aided the Kachaks. Two months later, the action to intern Kachaks families began. By invading Albanian villages, burning homes, and destroying property, the army and gendarmerie inflicted misery on innocent civilians, killing women, children, and the elderly, and displacing entire villages.³⁶ This is evidenced by a list compiled by the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which names 166 people killed by the Serbian army in Peja and Gjakova in 1921.³⁷

Furthermore, the Serbian authorities continued to treat Albanians with disdain and oppression, as evidenced by a report from the General Command of the Yugoslav Gendarmerie in 1924, which stated: *In many districts of Southern Serbia live the Arnauts, a brutal, uncultured, faithless, cunning, uneducated people, with legal norms from the oldest periods of the development of criminal law.* In reality, the Albanian nation enjoyed no rights within Yugoslavia, thus these descriptions served as justification for ethnic cleansing and displacement.³⁸

According to official communications from the diplomatic representations of the Albanian state in Athens and Thessaloniki, where the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Albania in Athens was informed

³² Halim Purellku, *Zona e pushtimit jugosllav në Shqipëri (1918-1921)*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2021, 173 dhe 185.

³³ Armend Mehmeti. *Krimet e forcave serbe në Kosovë ndërmjet Dy Luftërave Botërore (1918-1941), në Gjenocidi serb ndaj shqiptarëve gjatë shek. XIX-XX*, Instituti i Historisë “Ali Hadri”, Prishtinë 2024, 125.

³⁴ Mark Tirta. *Migrime politike të shqiptarëve nga trojet e tyre në Ish – Jugosllavi e përmulje në Shqipëri (në mes të dy luftërave botërore)*, *Studime Historike*, Nr. 3-4, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1994, 136-137.

³⁵ Noel Malcolm. *Kosova një histori e shkurtër*, Koha, Prishtinë 1998, 286.

³⁶ Milovan Obradović. *Reforma agrare dhe kolonizimi i Kosovës (1918-1941)*, Instituti i Historisë, Prishtinë 2005, 177; A. Mehmeti. *Krimet e forcave serbe në Kosovë ndërmjet Dy Luftërave Botërore (1918-1941)*, 129.

³⁷ Arkivi i Ministrisë për Evropën dhe Punët e Jashtme të Republikës së Shqipërisë (më tej: AMEPJ), viti (më tej: V.) 1921, dosja (më tej: D.) 51, fleta (më tej: Fl.) 350-355. Raporte të prefekturave dhe korrespondenca me Ministrinë e P.të Jashtme të Shqipërisë rreth barbarizmave serbe ndaj shqiptarëve.

³⁸ Hajredin Hoxha. *Afirmimi i kombësisë shqiptare në Jugosllavi*, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1983, 7.

about a verbal agreement between Serbia and Turkey to facilitate emigration, after discussions also with the Turkish Consul in Athens, it was acknowledged that visas had been issued to Kosovars for Turkey and that the influence of the Serbian Consul General in Athens had a significant impact in Ankara and could not be stopped as a process for visa issuance. Therefore, Kosovars and people from Monastir were granted visas for 15 days, but none of them returned. According to the Turkish Consul in Athens, the figures of Albanians who have emigrated to Turkey up to this point range from 20,000 to 40,000.³⁹

Additionally, in 1924, the Serbian authorities, to continue intimidating and terrorizing the Albanians, implemented the *Directive for the elimination of Kachaks group in Kosovo*. With this act, they sought to justify the plundering of the Albanian population. To achieve their goals, the Serbian state had engaged all its governmental and pre-governmental bodies, even those operating in criminal ways.⁴⁰

The Albanian resistance against displacement in the 1930s

One of the most complex issues in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was the unresolved national question. A nearly constant terror was directed against the Albanian minority in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, manifested through frequent arrests, torture, and extrajudicial killings.⁴¹

The resistance of the Albanians, as a result of dissatisfaction due to such oppressive conditions, was expressed in various ways: through armed and unarmed movements against unjust agrarian policies, through agitation by leaders and other authoritarian figures to prevent displacement from their homeland, reaction to conscription, demands for the resolution of the Croatian issue alongside the recognition of Albanian national minorities, granting them autonomy and acknowledging their fundamental democratic and national rights.⁴² This resistance was ultimately expressed through protests against terror, emigration to Albania, and other means. In the 1930s, other forms of resistance were also employed. Apart from individual and collective protests against the

³⁹ AMEPJ, V. 1924, D. 561, Fl. 2-4. Korrespondencë nga përfaqësia shqiptare e Athinës dhe ajo e Selanikut mbi marrëveshjen verbale të qeverisë serbe e turke për shpërnguljen e shqiptarëve nga Kosova në Turqi, Selanik, 18 maj 1925.

⁴⁰ Hakif Bajrami, *Politika e shfarosjes së shqiptarëve dhe kolonizimi serb i Kosovës (1844-1995)*, Qendra për Informimin e Kosovës, Prishtinë 1995, 27.

⁴¹ Hakif Bajrami, Shtypja dhe rezistenca e shqiptarëve në Kosovë (1929-1941), *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, Nr. 9, Instituti Albanologjik, Prishtinë 1980, 177.

⁴² Ali Hadri. Pozita dhe gjendja e Kosovës në Mbretërinë e Jugosllavisë (1918-1941), *E vërteta mbi Kosovën dhe shqiptarët në Jugosllavi*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1990, 251; A.Hadri. *Jehona dhe ndikimi i revolucionit të madh socialist të tetorit në Kosovë e Metohi me 1917-1941*, 1111.

authorities, demonstrations began to be organized, decisions of agrarian colonization organs were opposed, and so forth.⁴³

The Committee of Kosovo suffered a heavy blow after the assassination of Hasan Prishtina, but it continued its work even in 1934 against the forced displacement of the Albanian population. In 1936, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia informed that the Committee of Kosovo had been reorganized in Vlora, with Sali Vuçitërnën as its head, efforts were observed to establish such a committee in Kosovo, agitation was made to prevent any Albanians from being displaced from Yugoslavia, and the intelligence agencies were trying to uncover this activity. The key figures in the Committee of Kosovo, and perhaps those who comprised its new leadership from 1934 to April 1939, were Sali Vuçitërna, Ismet Kryeziu, and Bedri Pejani.⁴⁴

After the decline of the armed movement and the disbandment of the „Xhemijeti“, other forms of resistance came to the forefront, which had gained significant momentum by the mid-1930s. In addition to individual complaints and protests directed at the authorities, demonstrations began to be organized to oppose the decisions of agrarian colonization organs. There were also outbreaks of organized revolts where local authorities used gendarmerie forces to suppress them.⁴⁵

Ferhat Draga urged Albanians to stay in their homelands, to resist displacement, stating that no one could forcibly remove them, while the Albanian Orthodox bishop Visarion, in September 1938, at the Congress of the International League of Churches for the Preservation of Peace in Stockholm, presented a memorandum calling for the protection of the Albanian national minority in Yugoslavia.⁴⁶

Regarding Ferhat Draga's activities, a report was written by the General Staff in Belgrade and addressed to the Yugoslav Minister of War and Navy, stating that in his meetings with several leaders of Albanian tribes, he suggested that they should never leave their homelands because the authorities had no way or method to forcibly remove them.⁴⁷

The atmosphere created by the Munich Agreement, as well as the plans of the Yugoslav government regarding the displacement of Albanians, prompted the Albanian political emigration from Kosovo to urge the Great Powers to intervene in Yugoslavia to protect the Albanian minorities, while also raising the

⁴³ Beqir Meta, et al, *Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX (1925-1939)*, Vëllimi III, Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike – Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2020, 482.

⁴⁴ Fatmira Rama, Komiteti i Kosovës në bashkëpunim me organizatat tjera politike (1925-1939), në Komiteti “Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës”, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2004, 148; Halim Purellku. Veprimtaria e Komitetit të Kosovës në Mbretërinë shqiptare në vitet 1934-1939, *Studime historike*, Nr. 3-4, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2009, 171.

⁴⁵ B. Meta, et al, *Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX (1925-1939)*, V. III, 570.

⁴⁶ Radoshin Rajoviq, *Autonomia e Kosovës*, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1987, 151.

⁴⁷ Qerim Lita, *Politika e Mbretërisë Jugosllave ndaj shqiptarëve dhe Shqipërisë 1929-1941*, Arkivi Shtetëror i Republikës së Maqedonisë, Agjenica Shtetërore e Arkivave të Kosovës, Shkup-Prishtinë 2012, 253.

issue of self-determination for Albanians in Yugoslavia. With the assistance of the Albanian government and the support of the Italians, this emigration strengthened propaganda in the region of Kosovo and the Dukagjin Plateau, creating a climate that would lead to disturbances, which would again bring the issue of Albanians to the attention of the world.⁴⁸

In the years 1939 and 1940, the Yugoslav regime did not have the opportunity to resume the process of mass seizure and total confiscation of Albanian lands. The approach and subsequent outbreak of World War II meant that the situation created in the last months of 1938 persisted during this time. The Dragiša Cvetković government, which replaced the Milan Stojadinović government in February 1939, despite its predisposition and preparations, could not resume mass seizures.⁴⁹

Regarding the thoughts and proposals of official military bodies regarding the displacement of Albanians, the most competent stance on this matter came from the Army Command encompassing the southern regions. The Minister of War and Navy, through Reserve Act No. 8961 dated October 7, 1939, ordered the continuation of the displacement of Albanians from the southern regions, while the Third Army Command proposed the following: *The Displacement should take into account that first and foremost the Arnauts must be displaced from the border areas, then from other regions, and finally the Turks. Although the Turks are not uncertain, their displacement is necessary to facilitate the displacement of the Arnauts.*⁵⁰

Not even after the liquidation of the Kachaks movement, the terrorization of the Albanian population did not cease until 1941. The terror was strong, especially during election times, aimed at coercing Albanian voters to vote in favor of the ruling party. They also acted harshly by exerting terror and brutal violence upon Albanians, under the pretext of preparing for an Albanian uprising against Yugoslavia. From 1938 to 1940, actions were taken to collect arms accompanied by violence and pressure aimed at displacement.⁵¹

The Cvetković government did not abandon its colonial agrarian policy, believing it still had the potential to achieve results. However, these beliefs proved entirely mistaken, as in April 1941, the leadership circles in Belgrade reaped the fruits of their long-standing policies. The destruction of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia put an end to the relentless efforts of the Serbian bourgeoisie over two decades to implement plans for the dispossession of the peasantry and

⁴⁸ R. Rajović, *Autonomia e Kosovës*, 162.

⁴⁹ Marenglen Verli, *Kosova në fokusin historik (Studime, analiza, dokumente)*, Vëllimi I, Botimpex, Tiranë 2000-2002, 297.

⁵⁰ M. Obradović, *Reforma agrare dhe kolonizimi i Kosovës (1918-1941)*, 231; Hivzi Islami, *Spastrimet etnike, Politika gjenocidale serbe ndaj shqiptarëve, (Shqyrtime, komente, elabore, dokumente)*, Dukagjini, Pejë 2003, 186.

⁵¹ B. Meta, et al, *Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX (1925-1939)*, V. III, 556; A. Hadri, *Rrethanat ekonomike, shoqërore, politike, nacionale dhe kulturore në Kosovë – Metohi në kohën e Jugosllavisë së vjetër II*, 176-177.

colonization of its land, which would have led to the displacement and nationalization of Albanian territories.⁵²

In continuation of chauvinistic programs was also the movement of Draža Mihajlović's Chetniks, where in the instructions issued by the Command of the Staff of the Chetnik Units of the Yugoslav Army, with number 370 dated December 20, 1941, it is written in paragraph II, under the Work during the transition period, point 3: *To consider the swift and radical cleansing of cities and their replenishment with fresh Serbian elements*; Point 4: *To prepare a plan for the cleansing or displacement of rural populations, with the aim of homogenizing the Serbian state community*; Point 5: *In the Serbian unit, the issue of Muslims should be taken as a special and serious problem and, if possible, resolved in this phase*.⁵³ Furthermore, in the instructions he issued, he demanded the creation of Greater Serbia, to be ethnically pure, as well as the cleansing of the state territory from all national minorities and non-national elements, and the settlement of Montenegrin colonies.⁵⁴

Until the end of October 1940, according to the notes of the Supreme Directorate of Agrarian Reform in Skopje, almost throughout the territory of the „southern regions,“ these results have been achieved in the realm of agrarian reform and colonization: the agricultural directorates in Peja, Ferizaj, Mitrovica, Prizren, and Skopje have received 381,245 hectares of land for the needs of agrarian reform. To colonists, volunteers, optants, and auto-colonists (17,679 families), 142,588 hectares have been allocated, while 30,582 families of landowners, locals, land workers, true owners, as an exchange based on Article 34 of the Colonization Law, have received a total of 88,115 hectares. 289 primary schools have received 430 hectares, 467 hectares for public entities and exemplary economies, 10,930 hectares, while the army and gendarmerie received 1,451 hectares. 53 hectares were given to villagers for meadows totaling 57,345 hectares, and 7,319 hectares for roads. From statistical notes on colonization from the beginning of January 1, 1939, compiled by the Supreme Agrarian Directorate of Skopje, it is understood that only in the ten districts of Kosovo, 183,848 hectares were definitively allocated (in the district of Mitrovica 3,540.52; in Vučitrn 11,756.90; in Drenica 14,294.55; in Istog 15,100.41; in Peja 16,001.84; in Gjakova 40,031.18; in Podrima 20,240.96; in Prizren 17,956.49; in Llap 7,057.33; in Ferizaj 37,910.96 hectares).⁵⁵

After the fall of the Stojadinović government in 1939, the lack of financial resources and especially the outbreak of World War II hindered the

⁵² Marenglen Verli, *Reforma agrare kolonizuese në Kosovë*, Iliria, Tiranë 1991, 80-81.

⁵³ ASHAK, F. Komiteti Krahinor i L.K. të Kosovës, D. Dokumentet Armiqësore, V. 1941-1944, Kutia 41, Nr. Dok. 946, Shtabi i Njësisë Çetnike të Ushtrisë Jugosllave, 20 dhjetor 1941.

⁵⁴ Rexhep Qosja, *Shpërngulja e shqiptarëve sipas programeve kombëtare serbe*, Toena, Tiranë 2005, 158.

⁵⁵ Ali Hadri, Marrëdhëniet agrare dhe lufta e PKJ në Kosovë – Metohi kundër reformës agrare të padrejtë të Jugosllavisë borgjeze, *Përparimi*, Nr. 9-10, Prishtinë 1964, 594-595; Hivzi Islami, *Demografia e Kosovës*, Akademia e Shkencave e Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë 2021, 450-451.

complete planned displacement of Albanians.⁵⁶ In the lead-up to World War II, numerous analyses conducted by various Yugoslav state structures concluded that the Albanian element was dominant in its territories, that it already had an advanced national consciousness, and aimed for unification with Albania.⁵⁷ However, the political climate in Yugoslavia shifted towards democratic forces, increasingly emerging against the pro-fascist policies of the Cvetković-Maček government.⁵⁸

After the entry of German and Italian forces, fearing revenge, a real exodus of Serbian and Montenegrin colonists from Kosovo occurred in the second half of April, similar to what had happened on the eve of World War I. By the end of June 1941, out of the total number of colonist families, 11,168 families returned,⁵⁹ many colonists returned to their homeland, some settled in ethnically pure Serbian and Montenegrin settlements and in towns, while some remained where they had been placed.⁶⁰

On April 6, 1941, Germany and Italy attacked Yugoslavia, which surrendered on April 17. The act of surrender was signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aleksandar Cincar-Marković, and General Radivoje Janković.⁶¹ Thus, the attack on Yugoslavia was carried out with the concentrated forces of all neighboring states. Throughout the April war, the Albanians found themselves in a very difficult position, as they were viewed by the authorities not only as a foreign national element but also as a security threat to Yugoslavia.⁶²

Despite the intentions of the invaders, the unification of a significant portion of Kosovo and other Albanian territories with Albania brought about several positive developments for the Albanians. Meanwhile, the occupiers acknowledged the Albanians' right to the Albanian language and the development of Albanian education and schools. These measures would impact the strengthening of connections, unity, and the elevation of Albanian national

⁵⁶ Hivzi Islami, *Dimensioni demografik i çështjes së Kosovës*, Enti i teksteve dhe i mjeteve mësimore i Kosovës, Prishtinë 1997, 182.

⁵⁷ Emine Arifi – Bakalli, Përpyqjet e Komitetit “Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës” për denoncimin e dhunës dhe mbrotjtjen e të drejtave kombëtare e demokratike të shqiptarëve në Jugosllavi, *Komiteti “Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës”*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2004, 40.

⁵⁸ H. Islami, *Spastrimet etnike, Politika gjenocidale serbe ndaj shqiptarëve*, (Shqyrtime, komente, elaborate, dokumente), 187; M. Obradović, *Reforma agrare dhe kolonizimi i Kosovës (1918-1941)*, 232.

⁵⁹ H. Bajrami, *Politika e shfarosjes së shqiptarëve dhe kolonizimi serb i Kosovës (1844-1995)*, 29.

⁶⁰ Jusuf Osmani, *Kolonizimi i refugjatëve kolonë – optantë nga Shqipëria në Kosovë në vitet 1933-1935, Shqiptarët në rrjedhat Ballkanike*, Instituti Albanologjik, Prishtinë 1996, 33.

⁶¹ Luigi Gatti, *Idéologie et déconstruction de l'Etat: La Yougoslavie communiste: 1941-1991*, (Tezë doktorature), Université de Bordeaux, Bordeaux 2017, 172.

⁶² Fehmi Rexhepi, *Gjilani me rrethinë gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore (1941-1945)*, Instituti i Historisë, Prishtinë 1998, 54-55.

consciousness. Thus, they provided an impulse for the revitalization of national sentiment, and also the fulfillment of a difficult aspiration.⁶³

Summary

In conclusion, we can deduce from the discussion in this paper that Kosovo was reoccupied by Serbian military forces, resulting in the reinstatement of military, civil, and administrative authority in the Albanian territories outside the Albanian state. With the reestablishment of this power, the policy initiated during the Balkan Wars continued, aiming undoubtedly at creating Serbian homogeneity in these regions and altering the ethnodemographic structure to the detriment of the Albanian people.

As mentioned, the reoccupation was accompanied by a variety of violent measures and methods, which were among the most inhumane that the Serbian authorities undertook against the Albanian population. Since the Albanians were a compact and homogeneous population in the territories where they lived, the violent measures to achieve the authorities' goals were extremely harsh and severe for the lives of the population. Throughout the entire period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and Yugoslavia, from 1918 to 1941, the Serbian authorities never ceased their efforts in three interconnected areas: colonization, agrarian reform, and displacement.

The colonization of Albanian regions involved bringing in settlers of Slavic origin, placing them in territories where the Albanian population was the majority, thereby altering the ethnic structure. But through the agrarian reform, land was taken, that is, its robbery, under the guise of this reform, the Albanians were robbed all their immovable property and depriving them of their primary means of subsistence. This made life increasingly unbearable for Albanians, threatening their very existence as human beings. Additionally, all the measures and methods used by the authorities aimed at altering the ethnic structure, either by reducing the Albanian population through forced displacement or assimilation, leading to the overpopulation of Albanian territories by Slavic populations.

Therefore, Albanians had no choice but to oppose all these measures of violence and terror inflicted by the Serbian authorities. Hence, resistance was organized both in armed and unarmed forms. The central voice for Albanians became the „National Defense of Kosovo“ Committee, which, alongside diplomatic activities, also organized the liberation struggle and armed resistance against the Serbian occupiers. Many prominent figures organized resistance in various ways, some through diplomatic means and others by organizing armed

⁶³ Xhelal Gjeçovi, et al, *Historia e popullit shqiptar*, Vëllimi IV, (*Shqiptarët gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore dhe pas saj 1939-1990*), Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, Toena, Tiranë 2008, 130; Ana Lalaj, *Dilema britanike për Kosovën: Brenda apo jashtë shtetit shqiptar (1941-1945), në Studime Historike*, Nr. 1-2, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2013, 159.

resistance in different forms, to oppose the atrocities committed by Serbs against the Albanian population in Kosovo and other Albanian-inhabited areas.

Throughout the period from the occupation until the beginning of World War II, the Albanian people did not stop trying to resist in different ways. Many were forced to flee due to various violent measures, while the majority managed to resist through diverse forms of resistance, avoiding displacement and assimilation.

Zaključak

Na kraju, možemo zaključiti iz rasprave u ovom radu da su Kosovo ponovno okupirale srpske vojne snage, što je rezultiralo ponovnim uspostavljanjem vojne, civilne i administrativne vlasti na albanskim teritorijama izvan albanske države. Ponovnim uspostavljanjem ove moći, nastavila se politika započeta tokom Balkanskih ratova, koja je nesumnjivo imala za cilj stvaranje srpske homogenosti u ovim regijama i promjenu etnodemografske strukture na štetu albanskog naroda.

Kao što je spomenuto, reokupacija je bila praćena različitim nasilnim mjerama i metodama, koje su bile među najnehumanijim koje su srpske vlasti preuzele protiv albanskog stanovništva. Budući da su Albanci bili kompaktno i homogeno stanovništvo na teritorijama na kojima su živjeli, nasilne mjere za postizanje ciljeva vlasti bile su izuzetno stroge i teške za život tog stanovništva. Tokom cijelog perioda Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, i Jugoslavije, od 1918. do 1941. godine, srpske vlasti nikada nisu prestale s naporima u tri međusobno povezana područja: kolonizacija, agrarna reforma i raseljavanje.

Kolonizacija albanskih regija podrazumijevala je dovođenje naseljenika slavenskog porijekla, smještajući ih na teritorijama gdje je albansko stanovništvo bilo većina, čime se mijenjala etnička struktura. Kroz agrarnu reformu, zemlja je oduzimana, tj. pljačkana, pod krinkom ove reforme, a Albancima su otmjena sva njihova nepokretna imovina i oduzeta primarna sredstva za život. To je život Albancima činilo sve neizdrživijim, prijeteci njihovom postojanju kao ljudskim bićima. Pored toga, sve mjere i metode koje su vlasti koristile imale su za cilj promjenu etničke strukture, bilo smanjenjem albanskog stanovništva kroz prisilno raseljavanje ili asimilaciju, što je vodilo prekomjernoj naseljenosti albanskih teritorija slavenskim stanovništvom.

Stoga, Albanci nisu imali izbora nego se suprotstaviti svim ovim mjerama nasilja i terora koje su nametale srpske vlasti. Otpora je organizovan kako u oružanim tako i u neoružanim oblicima. Centralni glas za Albance postao je Komitet „Nacionalne odbrane Kosova“, koji je, pored diplomatskih aktivnosti, organizovao borbu za oslobođenje i oružani otpor protiv srpskih okupatora. Mnoge istaknute ličnosti organizovale su otpor na različite načine, neki kroz diplomatska sredstva, a drugi organizovanjem oružanog otpora u raznim

oblicima, kako bi se suprotstavili zločinima koje su Srbi počinili protiv albanskog stanovništva na Kosovu i drugim područjima naseljenim Albancima.

Tokom ovog perioda od okupacije do početka Drugog svjetskog rata, albanski narod nije prestao pokušavati da se odupre na različite načine. Mnogi su bili prisiljeni pobjeći zbog raznih nasilnih mjera, dok je većina uspjela da se odupre kroz različite oblike otpora, izbjegavajući raseljavanje i asimilaciju.

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