Donika Xhemajli

The Resistance of the Minorities

An example of Kosovo Albanians in SHS Kingdom

<image>





To what extent Albanians in Kosovo did not accept the SCS Kingdom?
To what extent the state did not accept Kosovo Albanians?

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The module is about the rights and the requirements of the minorities in the SCS Kingdom. The dissatisfactions of the minorities, specifically the Kosovar Albanians, and their resistance towards the SCS Kingdom for their union with Albania, or their equal involvement in politics, social and public life of the kingdom, is a controversial historical topic which stills arouses emotions until the present day. The module includes the period 1912-1930.

This topic is chosen with the aim that the youth will understand the challenges of Albanian minorities in the past. It's controversial because of the way of resistance has been and understood differently today and then.

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- A critical understanding of the complex nature of the past
- · Understanding of albanian national identity
- Support students to understand the way and causes of resistance
- Historical awareness

L :

• Identifying of the requirements and the dissatisfaction of the Albanians in Kosovo the SKS Kingdom;

- · Compare and analyze different ways of resistance;
- · Evaluate the past actors or events in the historical context and circumstance;
- Compare causes and consequences of a historical events as a national problem, challenge or incomplete story.

Т

Step 1. The teacher writes time line on the board, and request from the students to ranks the materials witch are planned for introduction in chronological order.

Step 2. Based on material each students write a short historical overview.

Step 3. Following discussion

Step 4. The teacher forms 5 groups, distributes the material and in the same time gives to the students the questions. Each group will have different questions.

- Group 1. Position of SKS Kingdom
 - Group 2. Active illegal opposition
 - Group 3. Legal opposition
 - Group 4. Albanian State
 - Group 5. Engagement of Albanians in Kosovo

Step 5. The students will work in groups. They will read the materials and prepare for their given answers. During this, the teacher moves around the groups, observes the students work and gives them feedback if needed. The material will be presented in flipchart.

Step 6. Each group will present their work in front of the class and answer questions.



minutes

Step 7. On the blackboard the teacher will make a table. Each group has to present its answers to questions, and arguments based on the sources in order to fill the table. They will fill the table with one word only which will be the answer of the key question. Step 8. In the end there will be a debate about the key question.



Who	SKS Kingdom	Illegal opposition	Legal opposition	Albanian State	Albanian minorities and international engagement
What?					
How?					

90 minutes

Step 9. Home work: Write an essay with the topic:

1. Why the minorities were not accommodated in the state? Because they resisted, SKS Kingdom was wrong, or \ldots ?

2. "The advantages of the integration of the minorities in the social and public life"

Introduction

Based on the decisions taken at the London Conference (1912-1913), Albanians were unsatisfied. Also other Balkan nations were unsatisfied. Greece aimed to gain more of south Albania territories, Serbia requested at least part of Shengjin or in the best case territories up to the Duress.

Albanians whom were left outside the 1913 Albania, specially Kosovo- Albanian, they did not stop with request for the union with state of Albania, this was request of the part of the resisting Kosovo- Albanians, the other group required the same and equal treatment as the other nations in SKS Kingdom.

Meanwhile, the territories with majority Albanian population in SKS Kingdom, as Kosovo, western Macedonia, Presheva, Medvegja and Bujanovc with surrounding and a part of Montenegro, were the territories with lowest economic development.

This economic situation wasn't entirely because of political circumstances but also from inherited situation from Ottoman Empire backwardness. The lowest agriculture development was characteristic for this part during SKS Kingdom. This social situation, led to unbearable and unaffordable contradictions between position of workers and villagers which were charged with liabilities towards power holders. The main problem was unsolved national issue. In reality the centralist politic of SKS Kingdom deepen the problem coexistence between the nations and state order in SKS

Source 1

A tangeld skein

The New Year: "I say, aunt Europe, You have got this thing into a muddle. It'll take us all our time to get it right."



Source 2

A broken lullaby EUROPA: "Oh hush thee, my baby!" The Infant Albania: "How can I hush me with all? This infernal noise going on?" EUROPA: "Well, You must do as I do, and pretend You don't hear it"



Source 3

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Despite the military interventions of the Balkan allies, the Albanian patriots who had carried the heaviest burden of the movement for liberation of their homeland, came together in Vlora on 28 November 1912, and proclaimed Albania an independent state. The National Assembly nominated a temporary government that engaged a committee to protect the Albanian question before the great powers. The National Assembly of Vlora addressed a telegram to the great powers, in which, among others, was said, "the Albanians that had entered the family of the peoples of Eastern Europe, of whom they feel proud of being the oldest nation, become an element of equilibrium.

Historia e popullit shqiptar, II (History of Albanians, II) Prishtine, 1968 p. 352

Source 4 0

I

Isa Boletini was an Albanian nationalist figure and Guerilla fighter, born in the village of Boletin near Mitrovica became a major figure of Albanian resistance against the Ottomans, Serbia and Montenegro.

I B

Ismail Qemaili was a principal figure in the Albanians Independence Declaration in 28 November 1912. He was prime minister of provisional Albanian Government from 1912 to 1914.

> School textbook "Historia 9", Fehmi Rexhepi, p.23, 2011 http://www.nasergashi.com/t4847-foto-historike-isa-boletini 12 04 2013



Isa Boletni (1864 - 1916) Ismail Qemaili (1844-1919)

Source 5

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D	U	^		1915

The Conference of London, or Conference of the Ambassadors as it is often known in Albanian history, was a gathering of the six Great Powers (Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Italy) to resolve certain problems in the Balkans which had arisen as a result of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. It began its work on 17 December 1912 under the direction of the British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey (1862-1933), following the first Balkan War and the declaration of Albanian independence in Vlora on 28 November 1912. On 30 May 1913 an agreement was reached under which Turkey would give up all territory west of the Enos-Midia line.

With regard to Albania, the ambassadors had initially decided that the country would be recognized as an autonomous state under the sovereignty of the sultan. After much discussion, however, they reached a formal decision that Albania, though deprived of almost half of its ethnic territory (esp. Kosova), would be a sovereign state independent of the Ottoman Empire. This decision, reached at the fifty-fourth meeting of the conference on 29 July 1913, was formulated briefly in the following eleven points and provided the basis for the international recognition for Albanian independence:

1. Albania is constituted as an autonomous, sovereign and hereditary principality by right of primogeniture, guaranteed by the six Powers. The sovereign will be designated by the six Powers.

2. Any form of suzerainty between Turkey and Albania is excluded.

3. Albania is neutral; its neutrality is guaranteed by the six Powers.

4. The control of the civil administration and finances of Albania is to be given over to an International Commission composed of the delegates of the six Powers and one delegate from Albania.

5. The powers of this commission will last for ten years and may be extended if necessary.

[Translated from the French by Robert Elsie.] Robert Elsie: The Conference London http://www.albanianhistory.net/texts20_1/AH1913_2.html 28/05/2013

Source 6

The Great Powers gave the Albanian inhabited region of Kosovo to Serbia and much of the southern Cameria region to Greece. Roughly, half of predominantly Albanian territories, and 40 % of the population were left outside the new country's' border.

H B a ; Political Parties of Eastern Europe: A Guide to Politics in the Post-Communist ca a .675 Ja Fra 12 04 2013





Eduard Grey was the only one among the Foreign Ministers in the Conference how was aware of injustice during the boundaries settings for Albania. Among his summary of edited statements in 1913 (E.Grey, Speeches on Foreign Affairs, London 1913), is the one for Albanian borders. "...I am aware, -says Grey- that when the results will be known, this bounder solution, in many of his points will give a reason to anybody how will judge this case from a simple local perspective...".

> Pavaresia Shqiptare dhe Diplomacia e Fuqive te Medha 1912-1914", Arben Puto, p.24, Tirane 2012

Source 9

F

SCS K 1918

With establishing of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, on 1 December 1918, Kosovo also became a part of this Kingdom. The Muslim minority was not given national rights, and that was the reason for them to organize for political and national rights. In 1919 they founded a political party, and this party had its publication. Between the two WWs, Kosovo was the poorest and least developed area in the Kingdom.

B. Koro, tarih 9, Prishtina 2008, p. 57-59

Source 10

"I O A

"Without strong and free Albania every activity for Kosovo and other territories is useless" Komiteti Mbrojtja Komëtare e Kosovës (MKK)1918-1924 "National defense of Kosovo" 1918-1924

Κ

National defense of R030V0 1310-1324

1.What was the position of the government towards Albanian minority? 2. Does it mean that law was the same for all citizens? Explain!

Source 1

REPORT OF THE DELEGATION HEAD AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE TO THE PRIME-MINISTER IN BELGRADE ABOUT THE ALBANIAN ISSUE

Paris, 5 December 1919

To the Prime-minister,

Personal and strictly confidential,

Resolving the Albanian issue is coming to an end. It is closely tied to the solving of Adriatic question, yet Adriatic question is back on the table, and they are trying to find a solution that would be agreed by Wilson, that is, the USA and Italy. Truth, though, our allies, the French and the English, take care of our requests, but they believe we will be able to agree to a solution that will be agreed by Wilson. The Albanian issue is tied to the Adriatic because it is in a natural connection to it, and also because it is considered as a subject of compensation. According to the London pact, giving Italy the Valona and a certain protectorate over the central Albania, the northern Albania is intended to Montenegro and Serbia. We do not ask the North Albania for ourselves, we ask those tribes to be given the right of self-determination, that they say for themselves whether they want to unite with central, Muslim Albania, which is coming under the protectorate of Italy, or they want to form their own small state, as some kind of a 'tampon state', or they want to join our state, as an autonomous state. Either way, we are pretending to the border line Drim (river) and Crni Drim (river).

Branko Petranović, Momčilo Zečević: JUGOSLAVIJA 1918-1988. TEMATSKA ZBIRKA DOKUMENATA

Source 2 M T T M M On 5 December 1921 the SKS Kingdom was signed the Treaty for the Minorities protection. This treaty has undertaken to provide: "The full safety of life and freedom of the inhabitants in the Kingdom, with no nationality, language, race or religious distinctions." <i>Noel Malcolm, "Kosovo: A short history" p. 345. 2011</i> Page 2010	*Nationalities low from 1928 of SKS Kingdom witch didn't pretend to confirm present nationality status, but it was clearly stated that this status was formed for the first time: Albanians who lived in Kosovo, from the middle of 1913 until constitution of 1918 Yugoslavia, they were known (paragraph 4 article 55) as; "no slaves which became citizens of Kingdom according to paragraph 2 of same article".
Source 4 The state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes accept all the regulations, deciding that those regulations be put in a single contract with main allied forced, which regulations are deemed by those forces as necessary for protection of interests of those inhabitants in the Kingdom of SHS who differ from majority of population by race, language and religion The state of SHS is obliged to give full protection of life and freedoms to all its citizens, regardless of origin, ethnicity, language, race or religious affiliation.	Source 5 C (C 1921) Enjoying civil and political rights is independent from confession. No one is exempted from his civil and military duties and obligations, calling upon the regulations of one's religion (Article 12, para 1 and 2).
Balkanski ugovorni odnosi, 1876 – 1996, 1, Beograd, 1998, 41-51 Source 6 M F A M	The Constitution of 1921 SKS K

"... For our south regions which were annexed to our state before the January 1919 our stance is that there are no minorities. This stance is final verdict for recognition of the minorities in Southern Serbia".

"...petitions and complains received in League of Nations from Albanians should not be taken in consideration ... because according to him, this "embarrassing" requests offends the states dignity ..."

N. Malcolm, "Kosovo: A short history" Pristine 1997, page 346 prema: Central Albanian Archive of the Albanian Republic: The Fund of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Albania (doc.194; no. 489; page 252) Foreign Minister of YU Markovic Geneva, 23 September 1930;

Were the people which felt unequal organized in the state that they lived?
 What pushes certain groups to oppose the state with weapons?

Source 1





Α

Hoxhë Kadri Prishtina (1878 -1925) Leader of MKK Leader of *"Independent*

Albania excluded from any protectorate and

"Rescue of Kosovo" should be with the political measures even partial ones'

Ceshtje nga historia moderne dhe bashkekohore shqiptare", Emine Arifi – Bakalli, p. 46, Pristine, 2011



Hasan Prishtina (1878-1933) "I will remain an enemy of SKS Kingdom until this state treat's right Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia"

(Neuss Wiener, Tagblatt, 7.4.1927; Ajet Haxhiu, "Hasan Prishtina, The Kosovos' Patriotic Movement", Tirana 1968, page 167

Source **2**

Α

POLITIKA

HASAN-BEY PRISTINA, FORMER PRIME-MINISTER OF ALBANIA, MURDERED IN THESSALONIKI

Assassin, Hysein Seko, also Albanian emigrant, claims he shot Pristina because he

was talking him into murdering King Zoga the 1st. Thesalloniki, 15 August; Yesterday afternoon, at 2:15 p.m. at the crossroad of

Ciminski and Bogacina streets, in fronty of the 'Ivi' store, a famous Albanian politician in emigration, Hasan-Bey Pristina, former Prime-minister of Albania and a leader of Albanian revolution, was shot with five bullets. He was killed by an Albanian, Ibrahim Husein Seko, also an emigrant, who was a friend with Pristina. The murder was done for political reasons.





Albanian agents are trying to accuse Yugoslavia for the murder of Hasan-Bey Pristina. They are helped in that by a part of Thessaloniki press.

Thessaloniki, 18 August

The affair with the assassination of the leader of Albanian emigrants, Hasan-Bey Pristina, started to complicate.

The reason for this is the secrecy of the investigation, so the results are not yet fully known.

Quite unexpectedly, in the moment when everyone was clear about who committed this act, in a part of Thessaloniki press there were mentioning of Yugoslavia, in the aim of getting it into this affair as the chief initiator and organizer of assassination. Some of the newspapers here, the first among them being ------, published that only Yugoslavia had an interest that Hasan Bey Pristina no longer lives. As a basis for this claim they mentioned the Kosovo committee that Pristina was disputing in his time, and which does not exist anymore, as well as the apparent influence Pristina has on the Albanian population in Kosovo area. In that way, this affair, representing clear mutual fight between emigrants and the existing regime in Albania, was attempted to be switched on Yugoslavia, and to accuse Yugoslavia as the main guilty party.

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Questions: 1. Were the people which felt unequal organized in the state that they lived? 2. What pushes certain groups to oppose the state with weapons?

Source 3	, L	к	s	G			
lider of the the Kacak Kosovo tha community This mover as a nation to fight as g	movement wa movement wa at lived and w that Kosovo s nent from the al liberation m querillas. They army until the	s Azem Bejta, as MKK, a po vorked in exi hould join Alb state it looks ovement. The appealed to t	known as A: blitical organi le. The prim ania. like an illega kaçaks – th he Albanian	zem Galica zation whi ary aim o al organizat e participa citizens to	n, and he's win ch mainly wa f the movem tion, on the o nts of the mo resist towards	fe Shote Galica as composed a ent was to co ther hand, Alb vement went i s the state by i	a SKS Kingdom. 1 a. The coordinator from Albanians fro privince the nation anians considered n Kosovo Mounta not paying taxes, for the movement star
(1912-1924). From the Sk considerate a	rted also the KS authorities Is "bandits", a 'Bandit Leaders'	and The Grea nd Bajram Cu ".	at Powers ka	.caks were n Prishtina			
some rules fo I. No one f resident unles 2. None of ka Even though	rom kacak's w ss they use weap cak's can burn h n, many Albar with Serbian a	as not allowe pons against Al nouses or chur nian solder's	d to harm a banians; ches. and xhanda	ny Serbian r's whom			
,	ya historia mode		ekohore shqipt Afrifi p. 55, Pris		(1889	n Bejta 	Shota Galica (1895 – 1927)
					Lider of - Ka	cak movement"	his wife
Source 4	法法律的问题	1 march 100					

Questions: 1. Did the legal opposition use the institutional roads to accomplish their aims? 2. Was it possible to achieve the political goal through legal political institution? Support your opinion.

Source 1 M A

The legal party, that was formed to represent the interest of Musliman Albanians, in Kosova and Macedonia, was established in the Conference of Skopje, in December 1919. It was well known as Xhemijeti or Unit, the full name of it was "Islam Muhafaza-yl Hukuk Cemijeti", (The Islamic Association for Protection and Justice). In the beginning it they planned a union with BosnjanIslamic()-golitic Party, with Yugoslav Muslim Organization,formed in rajevo in 1919, but the friendship between the Slavic Muslims and the Albanians, wasn't that simple for cooperation. Although, the Kosovars, Macedonians and Bosnians agreed in the Conference of Skopje or a sum of political requests: the full religion autonomy, for preserving the property of the mosque for "the free andofficial use of the national language of every non-Serbian population" and the protection of bejlers property from agricultural reform.

Rrethanat shoqerore dhe politike Kosove 1918-1941".H. Bairami., Prishtine 1981, fg. 182,

Source **2**



-M

Ρ



In the SKS parlamentary election in 1920Xhemjeti won 8 seets and in 1923 they won 14 seets. Some of them, such as Ferat Draga, were strongly against the antialbaninan potitics of regime, denied the displacement of albanians, agrarexpropiation and colonization, seeking autonomi for Kosovo, the opening of schools in nativ language, cultural development, etc.

Albanian encyclopedias dictionary 3, page 2951, Tirana





"Xhemjeti" from the 1920 released the newspaper called "Hak"(justice, the right, the truth). Being that at this period of time it was not allowed education in Albanian language, the newspaper was in Turkish language with Arab letters and Cyrillicletters. Despite of the barriers, this paper was a window with information's. Even with it's success, the paper stopped the publishing because of the Karagjorgjoviq regime.

N. Malcolm "Kosovo a short history" page 350

It was thesame time when all newspapers were closed down, because of dictatorship.

Source 4

В





SKS

In 1921 in Nikola Pasic Government he was deputy of Parliament for his region. His personal aim was not allowing7.]TJ0 Tc 9 0 0 9 0



locals and historical data, this object was built around the year of 1937. The purpose of the house was to show Albanians. That hi was not leaving and he had planed his futureIn Kosovo, so the others can follow his step. Although the initiator behindits building, Ramë Bllaca did not live to see the final result as he was killed in combat on August 27, 1937

G Albanian State

1.What was the position of Albanian state towards Albanian minorities in SKS Kingdom?

2. Could Albania State help their co-nationality that lives in the state nearby? Support your opinion!



G 5 Engagement of Albanians in Kosovo Questions:

1. What was the road that Albanian minority in Kosovo took in international engagement for their aims?

2. What were their political goals?

"In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations."





The opening session of the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, 15 November 1920. http://www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/unintro/unintro3.htm

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General Secretary of the League of Nations, Geneva

Excellency

Mr. General Secretary, we are not the first envoys of the Albanian population living in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to have addressed the League of Nations concerning the lamentable state of this minority, created by Serb rule, and we will certainly not be the last to protest before this high institution of international law unless the political course taken by the rulers in Belgrade towards their Albanian subjects alters its bases and procedures.

This political course, which is already replete with excesses and misfortune, can be summed up in one phrase: To change the ethnic structure of the regions inhabited by Albanians at all costs. The strategies used to this end are as follows:

a) various forms of persecution in order to force the population to emigrate;

b) the use of violence to forcefully denationalize a defenseless population;

c) forced exile or extermination of all people who refuse to leave the country or to submit peacefully to Serbification

Our main concern is to make known to the League of Nations and to the civilized world the suffering of our brethren living under Yugoslav oppression.

Dom Gjon Bisaku of Prizren, priest in the parish of Bec, District of Gjakova. Dom Shtjefën Kurti of Prizren, priest in the parish of Novosella / Novoselo, District of Gjakova. Dom Luigj Gashi of Skopje, priest in the parish of Smaç / Smac, District of Gjakova. These three priests had been working in Kosovo in the 1920s on behalf of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide in Rome. Their desperate appeal shows that the situation of the Albanians in Kosovo had not much improved a generation after 1913.

Texts and Documents of Albanian History, Robert Elsie http://www.albanianhistory.net/texts20_2/AH1930.html (10.11.2012

G 5 Engagement of Albanians in Kosovo

1. What was the road that Albanian minority in Kosovo took in international engagement for their aims?

2. What were their political goals?

Source 2

A D

In the following appendices, we have endeavored to demonstrate with precise facts the truth of the claims we have had the honor to include in this memorandum. The events referred to are given as examples only and have been chosen at random from a multitude of similar cases. To be as clear as possible, we have made reference to the provisions of the Treaty on Minorities signed by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and followed them by the facts which prove that these provisions have not been applied with regard to the Albanian minority.

The facts speak for themselves. Their authenticity cannot be denied, even in the knowledge that an official inquiry is impossible.

APPENDIX 5

USE OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

"There shall be no restrictions on the use of the national language in the field of religion, in the press or in publications of any kind." (Treaty on Minorities, Article 7)

2. Restrictions continue for Albanians in Yugoslavia

This situation continues for the half of the Albanian people living under foreign rule.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the truth of this assertion.

a) No newspaper, magazine or other publication in Albanian exists for the eight hundred thousand Albanians in Yugoslavia. The Belgrade Government may claim that intellectual activity is not prohibited under the law, but those who implement the law, the police and their officers, do their utmost to impede any such activity. If an Albanian were to venture to apply for authorization toebleyebleye