

e shqiptarëve, duke zbatuar politika asimilimi, kolonizimi e spastrimi etnik. Mirëpo, fillimi i Luftës së Parë Botërore pengoi përkohësisht realizimin e tyre.

Extended Abstract

The Albanian Uprisings in Kosovo as an Alternative for Liberation from Serbo-Montenegrin Rule (1913-1914)

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The Serbian-Montenegrin occupation of Kosovo between October and November 1912 created new circumstances for the Albanian population. The Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro, in spite of proclaiming that Albanians in Kosovo would be guaranteed their rights and property, did not implement the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors to respect the rights of minorities. (Војновић, 1984: 631) These regimes implemented a policy of hegemony and destruction toward Albanians, burned their villages, massacred the inhabitants, looted their property and stole their assets. In their platform for Kosovo and the Albanians, the principle of political axis was strictly applied: "Serbization at any cost". (AIHT, 29 September 1913: 2; Verli, 1998: 21-29) In this context, the aim of Serbo-Montenegrin politics in Kosovo was the political, economic, social and cultural-educational oppression of Albanians, their expulsion from their homeland, Kosovo, and the bringing of the Serbo-Montenegrin settlers, in order to implement this platform. These intentions were contrary to the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors in London and those of the Ottoman-Serbian Agreement. (Perlindja, 1913: 2; Duka, 2012: 124; Политика, 1914: 2)



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Furthermore, at this time, in parallel with the men, the condition of the women under the new occupation deteriorated tremendously. The Albanian woman was especially target of physical and psychological abuse. She was exposed to constant dangers (torture, murder, sexual violence, forced marriage and religious conversion) and often unprotected from Serbo-Montenegrin military, police and state actions and operations against Albanian homes and families. Under Serbian-Montenegrin occupation, she was denied all social and cultural rights. (Berisha, 2004: 66-71; Populli, 1915: 4) The Serbo-Montenegrin authorities in Kosovo refused to respect the cultural tradition and clothing of Albanian women. In this context, the ceremonial acts of marriages, coronations and family celebrations, in which Albanian women celebrated special moments in their lives, were also target of abuse. The Albanian woman was seriously endangered during military and police control actions against houses and families suspected of subversive activities against the Serbo-Montenegrin regime. In the absence of men, unprotected and under pressure, women were threatened, insulted and forcibly robbed. Such cases were frequently reported in Kosovo. Catholic spiritual representatives (nuns) were also targeted by the Serbo-Montenegrin administration. The nuns of the Catholic Monastery in Prizren, whenever they went outside the monastery walls, were provoked and attacked by Serbian soldiers. In order to hinder their mission, the Serbian government also questioned their religious service. Albanian women, like men, also faced the process of religious conversion, which was led by state bodies and Serbo-Montenegrin Orthodox churches. (AIHT, 16 January 1914: 2; Војновић, 1984: 366)

The actions of the Serbian and Montenegrin armies, with the aim of looting, raiding, torturing, converting and killing Albanians, had become almost daily. The Serbian elements that were living in Kosovo either led the Serbian army in such operations or took part in them. In the circumstances of an occupation and military regime, the social, economic and cultural position of Albanians was absolutely oppressive and discriminatory in every aspect of life. (Taraboshi, 1914: 2)

Albanians, due to divergences and political, economic, social and cultural-educational oppression, seeing no perspective within the arbitrary and violent Serbo-Montenegrin government, were faced with three options for their future: 1. Organizing an uprising, as a last chance for freedom from systematic violence or eventually be sacrificed for their homelands; 2. Emigration as an opportunity to escape from a difficult situation in the hope of a safer life; 3. Assimilation or Slavization, which meant the acceptance

of the Serbo-Montenegrin occupation and administration in all its political, economic, social and cultural-educational dimensions.

From the beginning, the Albanians in Kosovo did not accept the Serbian and Montenegrin occupation and did not agree with the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors in London for the annexation of their territories to the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro. Albanian leaders, through a memorandum sent from Kosovo, urged the foreign ministers of the six Great Powers (Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France and Italy) to review London's decisions and to improve national injustices against Albanians. They complained about the violence and atrocities that they were experiencing as a result of Serbo-Montenegrin rule. According to Serbian Social Democrat politician Kosta Novakovic, from October 1912 to the end of 1913, the Serbo-Montenegrin regime exterminated more than 120,000 Albanians of all ages, and forcibly expelled more than 50,000 Albanians to the Ottoman Empire and Albania. (Novakovic, 1990: 305; Verli, 2004: 163)

The leaders of the national movement in Kosovo, who operated in Albania, began to take organizational measures to express their dissatisfaction through armed actions. While within the annexed territories, the Albanians carried out clandestine attacks and actions, the target of which were the Serbo-Montenegrin military, police and state representatives. (Cana, 1997: 300-307) Kosovo Albanians that were concentrated in Albania under the leadership of Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Riza Gjakova, Mehmet Deralla, Bajram Daklani, etc., were preparing for an armed attack against the Serbo-Montenegrin government. Their intention was the liberation of Kosovo and other occupied and annexed territories and their unification with Albania. (Џамбазовски, 1983: 252; Duka, 2012: 242) In the second half of September 1913, began the Albanian attacks against the Serbian military forces in the borderline region with the province of Luma. (Џамбазовски, 1983: 262) The Albanians were able to break through the army's border control and oriented their attack in three directions: in the direction of Debar, Ohrid and Prizren. (Јукач, 1981: 377-378) This uprising, although not of the same intensity and not simultaneous in all areas, spread out to almost the entire territory of Kosovo. The Albanian uprising angered Serbian military authorities to a point that the whole fighting arsenal had been put to use against Albanians in order "to destroy all of them". A Serbian soldier through newspaper Radnicke novine, among other things ascertained that there were "...villages with a hundred, a hundred and fifty, two hundred houses

where there was no man anymore... We... killed and massacred them with our bayonets". (Swire, 2005: 152; Duka, 2012: 123)

The deterrence of the Albanians by the Serbian army after a week of fighting created suitable conditions for the High Command to use repressive measures against the Albanians. The Serbian army and the civilian groups killed the Albanian population in Kosovo, feeling proud about it and without any prior procedure. One of the Serbs in an armed group from Çagllavica, near Prishtina, declared and boasted that in recent events "he had killed 100 Albanians". (AIHT, 24 October 1913: 2) In a report sent to the Chairman of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Serbia, Andre Nikolic, on November 30, 1913 by a member of a Serbian armed group, among other things the author of the report declared: "Wherever our army has passed, other people must be sent, because the people and everything that belonged to it has completely disappeared". (Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX, 2017: 452) Consequently, this Albanian uprising served to the Kingdom of Serbia as a pretext for the reconquest of a territorial part of Albania, in order to expand the "strategic border", set at the Conference of Ambassadors in London. To suppress this uprising, the Kingdom of Serbia activated 20,000 - 50,000 soldiers. (AIHT, 25 September 1913: 1; Perlindja, 1913: 6)

However, the Albanians could not remain separated and under the pressure of constant violence and military dictatorship imposed by the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities in Kosovo. Therefore, both inside and outside of Kosovo, they were planning to organize another revolt in the spring of 1914. (AIHT, 17 January 1914: 1) Organized in small clandestine groups, they continued to show their revolt through armed guerrilla actions against the gendarmerie and representatives of the administrative power. At the beginning of 1914, such actions had become so widespread that they began to alert the government in Belgrade that the security situation in the regions of Kosovo was fragile and that restraining steps had to be taken to keep the Albanians under control. (AIHT, 30 April 1914: 2; Политика, 1914: 2)

In order to increase the terror and violence against Albanians, the Serbian government in Belgrade organized and brought criminal colonizing elements to the territory of Kosovo, who by joining the Serbian armed groups, led by the chairman of the recruitment committee, Bogdan Radenkovic and members Risto Egnenovic, Griso Elezovic and the journalist David Dimitrijevic, further increased the level of crimes against

Albanians. (AIHT, 19 March 1914: 4; Политика, 1914: 1) According to a report by the Austro-Hungarian Consul General in Skopje, Heinrich Jehtlitschka, on March 31, 1914, which was based on reliable information, among other things it was stated that: "... Albanians are taken out of their houses at night, sent to fields where prepared cemeteries are found, slaughtered there with knives in complete silence and put in the pit. Women who seek the slain are only told that their husbands or sons have been sent to Belgrade". (AIHT, 31 March 1914: 2) These destructive Serbo-Montenegrin actions against Albanians, through a report, were also ascertained by the International Commission of Inquiry of 1914. (E vërteta mbi Kosovën dhe shqiptarët në Jugosllavi, 1990: 311-312)

In such unbearable circumstances, the general situation of Albanians worsened, forcing them to organize armed actions against the arbitrariness of the Serbo-Montenegrin violence. The initial center of this uprising was the village of Banja in Malisheva. The uprising broke out in the last ten days of March 1914. Its leaders were: Idriz Seferi, Hasan Hysen Budakova, mullah Rifat Haxhihasani, priest Nikollë Gllasniqi, Musa Efendi Prizreni, Sadri Abaz Bytyçi from Kërvasaria, Lush Bajraktari from Astrazub, Hasan Keçë Bej from Vushtrri, brothers Fetah and Asllan Laci from Drenoc and many others. They led about 3,000 Albanians in an area that included Drenica, Karadak, Prishtina, Fushë Kosovë, Fusha e Dukagjinit, Vushtrri, Janjeva, Mitrovica, Pazari i Ri, Senica, Has, Prizren, Luma and Krasniqe. (ASHAK, 14 June 1914: 1; Дедијер & Антић, 1980: 631; Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, 2007: 434)

During the fighting, the houses from which Albanians fired at army troops were bombed and set on fire. The mayor of Prizren, Djordje Matich, blamed the armed Albanians and the families who supported them. In order to justify the operations of the Serbian army, he considered the Albanians "arrogant" and the Albanian population "deceived". (AIHT, 6 April 1914: 1) According to British diplomatic circles in Belgrade, the military authorities in Kosovo had taken extraordinary measures to suppress the revolt of Albanians with all their might and carried out massacres in the troubled areas to intimidate them. (Duka, 2012: 305) Only in the Bajrak province of Astrazub, out of 1,380 houses, over 90% of them (1,029 houses) were burnt down and about 300 Albanians were killed and massacred. Among those killed were women and children. There were cases such as in the village of Banja, where the injured were buried alive. As a result of the army's fierce response, the disproportion of combat and numerical forces, most of the armed Albanians pursued by the Serbo-Montenegrin military troops, fled to Alba-

nia after being defeated. (AIHT, 6 & 11 April 1914: 2; Braha, 1992: 211)

The Albanian uprisings against the Serbo-Montenegrin rule in Kosovo during the years 1913-1914, echoed both inside and outside Kosovo, proving once again to the Great Powers that the Albanians would not accept the constant weight on their shoulders of a violent regime that aimed their physical, cultural and national annihilation.

They proved to have a freedom-loving character and were presented as an alternative of the time for the freedom of Kosovo and its unification with Albania. Meanwhile, the Serbo-Montenegrin military and administrative authorities in Kosovo used the temporary paralysis of the armed actions of the Albanians as a reason to carry out extreme reprisals and consequently to cause the Albanians to lose hope for their future in Kosovo. This was the ultimate goal of the state circles of the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro, to radically change the demographics of Albanians in Kosovo by implementing policies of assimilation, colonization and ethnic cleansing.

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