

УДК (UDC) 94 (497.1) "19"

DOI: [https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2024.4\(48\).760](https://doi.org/10.33782/eminak2024.4(48).760)

## KOSOVO – FROM OCCUPATION TO LIBERATION: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE FROM THE BALKAN WARS 1912/13 TO THE WAR OF KOSOVO 1998/99

*Haxhi Ademi<sup>1</sup>, Oktaj Hasani<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Institute of History "Ali Hadri" (Prishtina, Republic of Kosovo)

e-mail: [ademihaxhi@hotmail.com](mailto:ademihaxhi@hotmail.com); ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0165-6247>

<sup>2</sup> University of Prishtina (Prishtina, Republic of Kosovo)

e-mail: [oktaj.hasani@uni-pr.edu](mailto:oktaj.hasani@uni-pr.edu); ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4614-3029>

### ABSTRACT

*The purpose of the research paper* is to study examines Kosovo's political, economic, social and cultural developments under Serbian occupation from 1912-1913 to 1998-1999.

*The scientific novelty.* The paper highlights the key factors that led Kosovo Albanians to initiate armed resistance during the period 1998-1999, demonstrates that this conflict was a consequence of systematic discrimination against Albanians. It's will enable to better understand the historical trajectory of Kosovo from its occupation in 1912-1913, to its eventual liberation in 1999.

*Conclusions.* The London Conference of 1912-1913, was the main determinant of the fate of the territory of Kosovo. This is due to the fact that from this conference the territory of Kosovo remained under the rule of the state of Serbia, until June 1999 when it was finally liberated, to then declare independence on February 17, 2008.

Serbia, through various programs, including the Serbian academic program Vasa Cubrilovic, aimed to depopulate Kosovo from Albanian residents. To achieve this goal, the Serbian state, under the mask of the SCS Kingdom first, then in the Yugoslav Federation, took some key actions, among which: 1. Denationalization of the ethnic Albanian population; 2. The agreement on depopulation of Kosovo, and 3. The colonization of Kosovo by Serb population.

In 1960s illegal movements in Kosovo began to intensify, which consisted of mainly youth organizations aimed at seceding Kosovo from Yugoslavia and joining Albania. The intensification of this activity gave an impact on the organization of student demonstrations of 1968 in the territory of Kosovo. As a result of these demonstrations: 1. The University of Prishtina opened in 1970, 2. The national flag for Albanians was allowed, 3. In 1974, Kosovo gained autonomy, thus being recognized as the autonomous Socialist province of Kosovo.

In 1989 Kosovo lost the status of an autonomous Socialist Province. The abolition of Kosovo autonomy in 1989 paved the way for the development of extreme nationalism in Yugoslavia, with a special emphasis on Serbia, while the key figure of this nationalism from which Kosovo first suffered was Slobodan Milosevic.

This step of 1989 to prompted Albanians to create separate institutions in Kosovo, which acted as separate from Serbia, which went so far as Kosovo in 1991 declared itself a Republic within Yugoslavia. Until 1997, Kosovo was pursuing a non-violent passive resistance, but seeing that this policy was not bringing positive results, the Kosovo Albanians formed the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) military guerrilla, through which from 1997 to 1999, violent resistance against Yugoslav state structures that were committing crimes and massacres in Kosovo has also begun. The crimes and massacres committed by the Serb-Yugoslav side, led to the start of the NATO bombing in Kosovo on March 24, 1999, which became a key factor for the liberation of Kosovo from Serbia.

**Keywords:** Kosovo, Serbia, Albanians, Yugoslavia, NATO intervention, Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)

## КОСОВО – ВІД ОКУПАЦІЇ ДО ВИЗВОЛЕННЯ: ІСТОРИЧНА ПЕРСПЕКТИВА ВІД БАЛКАНСЬКИХ ВІЙН 1912/13 ДО КОСОВСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ 1998/99

*Хаджі Адемі<sup>1</sup>, Октай Хасані<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Інститут історії “Алі Хадрі” (Приштина, Республіка Косово)  
e-mail: ademihaxhi@hotmail.com; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0165-6247>

<sup>2</sup> Приштинський університет (Приштина, Республіка Косово)  
e-mail: oktaj.hasani@uni-pr.edu; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4614-3029>

### АНОТАЦІЯ

**Метою роботи** є вивчення політичних, економічних, соціальних і культурних подій у Косово під сербською окупацією з 1912-1913 по 1998-1999 роки.

**Наукова новизна.** Стаття висвітлює ключові фактори, які спонукали косовських албанців до збройного опору в період 1998-1999 рр., демонструє, що цей конфлікт був наслідком систематичної дискримінації албанців. Це дозволить краще зрозуміти історичну траєкторію Косово від його окупації в 1912-1913 рр. до остаточного звільнення у 1999 р.

**Висновки.** Лондонська конференція 1912-1913 рр. стала головною визначальною долею території Косова. Це пов'язано з тим, що з цієї конференції територія Косова залишалася під владою держави Сербія до червня 1999 р., коли вона була остаточно звільнена, щоб потім проголосити незалежність 17 лютого 2008 р.

Сербія за допомогою різних програм, у тому числі сербської академічної програми Vasa Cubrilovic, мала на меті звільнити Косово від албанських жителів. Для досягнення цієї мети сербська держава під маскою спочатку Королівства СХС, а потім Югославської Федерації здійснила деякі ключові дії, серед яких: 1. Денаціоналізація етнічного албанського населення; 2. Угода про депопуляцію Косово, і 3. Колонізація Косова сербським населенням.

В 1960-х рр. у Косово почали посилюватися нелегальні рухи, які склалися переважно з молодіжних організацій, спрямованих на відокремлення Косово від Югославії та приєднання до Албанії. Активізація цієї діяльності вплинула на організацію студентських виступів 1968 р. на території Косова. Результатом цих демонстрацій стало: 1. У 1970 р. відкрився Приштинський університет, 2. Албанцям було дозволено використовувати національний прапор, 3. У 1974 р. Косово отримало автономію і таким чином було визнано автономним соціалістичним краєм Косово.

У 1989 р. Косово втратило статус автономного соціалістичного краю, що відкрило шлях для розвитку крайнього націоналізму в Югославії, з особливим наголосом на Сербії, а ключовою фігурою цього націоналізму був Слободан Мілошевич.

Цей крок 1989 року спонукав албанців створити окремі інституції у Косово, які діяли окремо від Сербії, що дійшло до того, що в 1991 р. Косово оголосило себе Республікою в складі Югославії. До 1997 р. Косово чинило ненасильницький пасивний опір, але, побачивши, що ця політика не приносить позитивних результатів, косовські албанці сформували військову партизанську армію – Армію визволення Косово (АВК), за допомогою якої з 1997 по 1999 рік чинився насильницький опір югославським державним структурам, які вчиняли злочини та масові вбивства у Косово. Вказані злочини призвели до початку бомбардування Косово збройними силами НАТО 24 березня 1999 р., що стало ключовим фактором для звільнення Косово від Сербії.

**Ключові слова:** Косово, Сербія, албанці, Югославія, інтервенція НАТО, Армія визволення Косово (АВК)

## INTRODUCTION

To understand the current international situation of the Republic of Kosovo, it makes sense to trace the changes in the geopolitical situation in the region during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The study examines Kosovo's political, economic, social and cultural developments under Serbian occupation from 1912-1913 to 1998-1999. By periodizing this work over this time frame, the study aims to provide researchers with crucial insights into the lives of Albanians under Serbian rule. Utilizing archival sources, historical facts, and interpretations from local, regional and international researchers, the paper seeks to present the position and the challenging living conditions faced by Albanians during this period.

The study begins with an analysis of the Kosovo during first Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (KSCS), then continues with the analyzing of policies that led to the migration of Albanians from Kosovo, policies encouraged and supported by Serbian academics, such as Vasa Čubrilović. It then explores the disarming of the Albanian population after World War II and the denial basic of human rights during the repressive period under Aleksander Ranković. The focus then shifts to the status of Albanians in the 1970s, when they began to gain some rights, and the subsequent denial of these rights beginning in the early 1980s, culminating in the early 1990s. During this latter period, Kosovo Albanians were forced to leave school facilities and continue their education in makeshift home schools. This time was marked by the denial of the right to education in the Albanian language and the widespread loss of jobs among Albanians due to the nationalist policies of Serbian-Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević.

By analyzing these factors, our goal is to present the underlying reasons that led the Albanian population of Kosovo to initiate an armed struggle during the years 1998-1999. This conflict occurred under the auspices of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and culminated in the liberation of Kosovo from Serbian control, a goal ultimately achieved through NATO's military intervention in March 1999.

*The purpose of study* to provide historians with a comprehensive overview of the hardships faced by Albanians under Serbian-Yugoslav administration. By documenting these challenges, the study seeks to contribute to a scientific understanding and justification of NATO's necessary military intervention in Kosovo. This intervention is portrayed as a decisive action to prevent a second genocide in the Balkans during the 1990s.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The focus of our research is on Kosovo from 1912-1913 to 1998-1999, covering a substantial historical period that has been extensively discussed by numerous authors, including Albanians, Serbs and international scholars. A notable consensus among researchers is that the 1913 Conference of Ambassadors in London 'rejected' the establishment of an ethnically Albanian state. Instead, the conference endorsed the creation of a 'political Albania', which excluded the territorial region of Kosovo.

Albanian scholars such as Marenglen Verli, a member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts in the Republic of Albania, and Professor Kristaq Prifti, along with international academics like the Italian-Slovenian professor Joze Prijavec, agree that the administration of Kosovo between 1913 and 1915, was conducted according to Serbian state law. Both Prifti and Prijavec highlight that the policies of the Serbian state during this period were marked by physical and psychological violence, aimed

at assimilating the Albanian population in Kosovo<sup>1</sup>. These views are also supported by the renowned British historian Noel Malcolm. In his book 'Kosovo: A Short History', Malcolm provides statistical information based on reports detailing the crimes and murders committed in Kosovo from 1912 to 1913 by Serbian-Montenegrin forces. He states: "The immediate reason for all these measures was... the change of population statistics, as well as the strengthening of the diplomatic activity of the Serbian and Montenegrin Governments that claimed they had the right to include these occupied territories in their countries"<sup>2</sup>.

There is a scholarly consensus among historians that Serbia's primary objective was the assimilation of the local population from Albanians to Serbs. The measures taken by Serbian authorities to achieve this goal can be regarded as extreme resulting in numerous killings. It is also noteworthy that the persecutions and murders of Kosovo Albanians are documented in British records, as summarized and cited by researcher Daut Dauti in his book 'Britain and the Albanian Issue: During the Fall of the Ottoman Empire 1876-1914'<sup>3</sup>.

After 1918, Kosovo remained under Serbian rule and was incorporated into the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom. Albanian historians such as Ali Hadri, Hakif Bajrami, Jusuf Osmani, Ramiz Abdylil, emphasize that the period 1918-1941 was particularly challenging for Albanians. This difficulty is attributed to the policies of the Kingdom, which aimed at assimilating Kosovo Albanians through two main strategies: 1) Colonization of Kosovo with Serb-Montenegrin settlers, and 2) Forced displacement of Albanians, primarily to Albania and Turkey, thereby reducing the Albanian population in Kosovo<sup>4</sup>. These positions are also substantiated by statistics derived from archival sources cited in our paper. The archival documents, including reports on the situation of Albanians in Kosovo, are sourced from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Albania, the Archive of the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, and the Authority for Information on Former State Security Documents.

Professor Milovan Obradović, in his work 'Agrarian reform and colonization in Kosovo, 1918-1941', highlights that approximately 60,000 settlers were settled in Kosovo between 1918 and 1941<sup>5</sup>. This supports the assertions of Albanian researchers regarding the colonization of Kosovo. The fact that Serbian state pursued migration of Albanians from Kosovo as a state policy is evidenced by archival documents in the Yugoslav archive, which include the Yugoslav-Turkish Convention on the migration of Albanians from Kosovo<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Verli M. Reforma agrare kolonizuese në Kosovë. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë, 1992, P. 9; Pirjevec J. Tito dhe shokët. Tiranë: 'Botart', 2020. P. 87; Kristaq P., et al. Historia e Popullit Shqiptar. Vëllimi III. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2007. P. 435-442.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm N. Kosova një histori e shkurtër. Prishtinë: Koha, 2011. P. 332-333.

<sup>3</sup> Dauti D. Britania dhe Çështja Shqiptare: Gjatë rënies së Perandorisë Otomane 1876-1914. Shkup, 2020. P. 386-387.

<sup>4</sup> Bajrami H. Politika e shfarosjes së shqiptarëve dhe kolonizimi serb (1844-1995). Prishtinë: QIK, 1995. P. 96; Ademi H. Kosova gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore 1941-1945. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë "Ali Hadri, 2021. P. 83-84, 454; Hadri A. Pozita dhe gjendja e Kosovës në Mbretërinë e Jugosllavisë 1918-1941. *Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e Shkencave Historike*. 1968. Vol. 2. P. 164; Abdylil R. Vështrim mbi papunësinë në Kosovë ndërmjet dy luftërave botërore (1918-1941). *Vjetari* (Prishtinë). 1984. Nr. XVII-XIX. P. 232; Osmani J. Kolonizimi, reforma agrare dhe shpërngulja e shqiptarëve nga Kosova 1918-1941, (Dokumente): Kolonizimi, Nr. 1. Prishtinë: pa botues, 2016. P. 99-100.

<sup>5</sup> Obradović M. Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija na Kosovu 1918-1941. Priština, 1981. P. 223.

<sup>6</sup> Arhiv Jugosllavije-Beograd (AJ) Fund: Dvor (Oborri Mbretëror), Shkresë e Ambasadës Mbretërore dërguar Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme -Sektorit politik. Beograd, 19 nëntor 1935.

The policy of depopulating Kosovo from its Albanian population and repopulating it with Serbian-Montenegrin settlers aligns with Serbia's broader strategy to later claim the annexation of Kosovo based on international law principles concerning territorial possession. According to these principles, territorial ownerships are influenced by the population's demographic composition. Therefore, aimed to increase the Serbian population in Kosovo to strengthen its claim to annex the territory. This policy persisted even after World War II. However, the population in Kosovo continued to have an Albanian majority.

The period of Yugoslav rule from 1945 to 1999 encompasses numerous significant events and can be divided into three stages.

*The first stage*, from 1945 to 1966, is often referred as the Ranković period, named after Aleksandar Ranković, the Yugoslav Minister of the Interior and head of the Serbian-Yugoslav secret service. Historian Noel Malcolm, describes this era as a time of a weak economic development for Kosovo, noting that the Slovenia had 500 factories, while Kosovo had 50. Malcolm also highlights that during 1950s and 1960s, a total of 246,000, people migrated from Kosovo<sup>7</sup>, further evidencing the Serbian-Yugoslav policy aimed at reducing the Albanian population in the region.

*The second stage*, from 1966 to 1989, marks a period of positive developments for Kosovo. In 1970 the University of Kosovo was established, and four years later, in 1974, Kosovo gained its autonomy. Local scholars such as Hajrullah Koliqi, Atdhe Hetemi, Selatin Novosella, along with international scholars, attribute these advancements to the student demonstrations of 1968 in Kosovo. We also consider that these positive developments can be attributed to the student demonstrations of 1968 in Kosovo. However, the student demonstrations of 1981 did not result in similar positive outcomes for Kosovo's political status. According to Enver Bytyqi, the consequences of these demonstrations were severe, culminating in the suppression of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989<sup>8</sup>. While we acknowledge the negative political repercussions of the 1981 demonstrations, they also had a positive impact. The actions and aspirations of the demonstrators for a republic and liberation from Serbian rule served as a catalyst and source of inspiration for the resistance movement among Kosovar Albanians during the 1990-1999 period.

*Third stage*, from 1990 to 1999, this period is marked by increased international involvement in the Kosovo issue. However, according to Marc Weller, during 1992 London Conference, Kosovo did not receive serious attention from the international community<sup>9</sup>. This view is echoed by Enver Hoxhaj, a prominent Kosovar diplomat and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kosovo (2011-2014 and 2016-2017), who notes that the 1995 Dayton Conference also failed to address the Kosovo conflict adequately<sup>10</sup>. From 1995 onwards, international attention towards Kosovo diminished, with Kosovo's exclusion from the Dayton Accords. According to foreign author, Peter Russell, this exclusion was due to the international community's focus on ensuring Yugoslavia's commitment to a stable peace in Bosnia<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Malcolm N. Kosova një histori e shkurtër... P. 406-410.

<sup>8</sup> Bytyqi E. E drejta për vetëvendosje: Rasti i Kosovës. Tiranë, 2007. P. 130.

<sup>9</sup> Weller M. Shtetësia e kontestuar. Prishtinë: Koha, 2009. P. 93-127.

<sup>10</sup> Hoxhaj E. Ngritja e një shteti. Tiranë: Dudaj, 2016. P. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Russell P. The exclusion of Kosovo from the Dayton negotiations. *Journal of Genocide Research*. 2009. Vol. 11 (4). P. 487-511.

However, in 1998-1999 the international intervention in Kosovo was occurred. Authors Wolfgang Petritsch and Robert Pichler emphasize that this intervention was precipitated by the emergence of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), which was committed to defending the territory from Serbian aggression. The actions of the KLA and the violation of Kosovo Albanians' rights gained international media attention, which ultimately led to international intervention in Kosovo<sup>12</sup>.

We concur with the theories proposed by Petrich and Pichler, as they reflect the growing international recognition of the potential for a second genocide in the Balkan. This concern was underscored by the 1999 Reçak Massacre, which was reported by Ambassador William Walker. The international community was keen to prevent another atrocity akin to Srebrenica from occurring in the Balkans. Consequently, NATO launched airstrikes against Yugoslav-Serbian military forces in March 1999, which concluded in June 1999.

### **KOSOVO AND BALKAN WARS**

During the years 1912-1913, the territory of the Balkan Peninsula became a war zone between the forces of the Ottoman Empire and the military forces of the Balkan allies, consisting of countries such as Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece. These countries, observing the weakened state of the Ottoman Empire's military and political position, declared war against the Ottoman Empire in October 1912. Kosovo, which was part of the Ottoman Empire and where the majority of the population were Albanians, unfortunately, became the target of invasion by Serbia and Montenegro. With the invasion of Kosovo, Serbia intended to return the territories occupied in the medieval period by the Serbian king Stefan Dushan.

Historiographical discussions regarding Kosovo's positioning during the First Balkan War (1912-1913), focus on why Kosovo and the Albanian population did not align with the Balkan allies. Historians have proposed several explanations for this, but two primary reasons stand out:

1. *Lack of Political Sovereignty.* Kosovo was not established as a political entity and remained under Ottoman administration. In contrast, the Balkan alliance consisted of states that had previously been part of the Ottoman Empire but had gained independence. These states sought to expand their territories at the expense of the Ottoman Empire.

2. *Target of Territorial Ambitions.* The territories of Kosovo were targeted for occupation by Serbia and Montenegro. As such, the inclusion of Kosovo's Albanians in the alliance would have conflicted with the alliance's interests.

These reasons are widely accepted by both Albanian and international historiography as key factors explaining why Kosovo did not participate in the Balkan coalition during 1912.

The conclusion of the First Balkan War was marked by the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913. The decisions made during this conference internationally legitimized Serbia's occupation of Kosovo. This event ushered in a new era in the 20<sup>th</sup> century history of Kosovo and Serbia, significantly impacting relations between Albanians and Serbs during this period. The legitimacy of the London decisions was reaffirmed at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, resulting in

---

<sup>12</sup> Petriq W., Pihler R. Rruga e gjatë në luftë – Kosova dhe bashkësia ndërkombëtare. Prishtinë: Koha, 2002. P. 254-255.

Kosovo's continued inclusion under the rule of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which was established in 1918.

#### **TERRITORIAL CHANGES AND DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY IN KOSOVO AFTER THE BALKAN WARS**

Kosovo\* is located in the southeastern part of Europe, on the Balkan Peninsula, with an area of 10,887 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of approximately 2 million, of which over 90% are Albanians<sup>13</sup>. Today's territory of Kosovo has been formed as a result of political changes throughout history. The Balkan War of 1912/13, in which the Balkan allies like Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria emerged victorious to marked the end of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, and brought major changes in political, economic, social and demographic aspects.

At the Conference of Ambassadors of the Great powers (Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy), held in London in December 1912, which was convened as a result of developments in the Balkans, the new political boundaries of this peninsula were defined. The conference decided to create an Independent Albania, but a large part of the Albanian population and territories remained outside it<sup>14</sup>. Albanian-inhabited territories, formerly part of the Ottoman Empire along with Albania, were divided between the Balkan states of Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. Only in Serbia and Montenegro remained at least 900,000 Albanians, in a territory of 22,000 km<sup>2</sup>. This territory included most of the former Kosovo Vilayet, which was administratively reorganized under Serbian and Montenegrin laws<sup>15</sup>.

The Albanians who remained under Serbian and Montenegrin rule faced physical and psychological violence, the destruction of their settlements, the obligation to convert to Slavic orthodoxy and attempts to assimilate them by eliminating the Albanian element from these lands<sup>16</sup>. The Serbian repression against the Albanian population stopped only when Kosovo was occupied by Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops during World War I<sup>17</sup>.

After the end of the First World War Serbia was used quite well this historical moment, as was of part of the winning the Entente block. The ambitious goal of the Serbian monarchs for a common state of the South Slavs, dominated by Serbs, already became a reality with the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes on December 1, 1918<sup>18</sup>.

With the establishment of the KSCS, anti-Albanian politics resumed, aimed at

\* With this geographical term we have referred to the current political borders of Kosovo, which include an area of 10,877 km<sup>2</sup>. For the territorial division and administrative arrangement of Kosovo in 1918-29, see more extensively: *Rushiti L.* Ndarja territoriale dhe rregullimi administrativ i Kosovës 1878-1941. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë, 2004. P. 78-80, 86; Fjalori Enciklopedik Shqiptar. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2008. P. 1293-1323.

<sup>13</sup> *Islami H.* Spastrimet etnik (Politika gjenocidale serbe ndaj shqiptarëve). Pejë: Dukagjini, 2003. P. 49.

<sup>14</sup> *Ward W.A., Gooch P.G.* The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy 1783-1919. Vol. III. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993. P. 164-165.

<sup>15</sup> *Verli M.* Reforma agrare kolonizuese në Kosovë... P. 9.

<sup>16</sup> *Pirjevec J.* Tito dhe shokët... P. 87.

<sup>17</sup> *Kristaq P., et al.* Historia e Popullit Shqiptar. Vëllimi III... P. 435-442.

<sup>18</sup> The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was founded on December 1, 1918 in Belgrade, where in the Royal Palace, Crown Prince Alexander solemnly proclaimed the unification of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes into a unified kingdom. See: *Castellan G.* Histori e Ballkanit (shekulli XIV-XX). Prishtine: "Gutenberg", 1997. P. 442.

subjugating Albanians and changing the ethnic structure to integrate these lands into the kingdom<sup>19</sup>. This anti-Albanian policy continued until April 1941, when the Yugoslav Kingdom, including Kosovo, was occupied by the Axis powers<sup>20</sup>.

In the period from 1918 to 1941, Kosovo Albanians were treated as second-class citizens<sup>21</sup>. To them, the Yugoslav Kingdom used various forms and modes of oppression<sup>22</sup>. The Albanian territories in this kingdom were transformed into Serb colonies<sup>23</sup>, where more than 60 thousand Serb and Montenegrin settlers settled<sup>24</sup>. In addition to this colonization, Albanians were forced to move, and the number of displaced from Kosovo varies from 100 thousand to 150 thousand Albanians, who are mainly settled in Turkey and Albania. Overall, 240,000 Albanians have moved from all Albanian lands in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the above-mentioned period<sup>25</sup>, but this number may be even greater, as the statistics are not realistic in presenting the total number of the displaced<sup>26</sup>. The displacement was done in different ways and forms, mainly through violence, but it is worth mentioning here the 1938 agreement known as the Yugoslav-Turkish Convention, which envisaged the migration of Albanians to the Republic of Turkey<sup>27</sup>.

It should be noted that for the migration of Albanians from Kosovo, dozens of political programs were drafted, whereas for this issue the program was prepared by the Serbian academic Vasa Cubrilovic, who in the lecture held on March 7, 1937 in the Serbian Culture Club, he explained the most 'efficient' ways the Yugoslav kingdom should have displaced Albanians from Kosovo<sup>28</sup>.

## KOSOVO DURING THE PERIOD OF WORLD WAR II

In the period of World War II, Kosovo was part of the great territorial division

<sup>19</sup> Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror i Republikës së Shqipërisë (Central Archives of the Republic of Albania), (AQSH), Fund (F), Komiteti i Kosovës Dossier. 31/21, Year 1922" n.d.; *Bajrami H.* Politika e shfarosjes së shqiptarëve dhe kolonizimi serb (1844-1995)... P. 96.

<sup>20</sup> *Ademi H.* Kosova gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore 1941-1945. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë "Ali Hadri, 2021. P. 83-84.

<sup>21</sup> *Ali H.* Pozita dhe gjendja e Kosovës në Mbretërinë e Jugosllavisë 1918-1941. *Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e Shkencave Historike*. 1968. Vol. 2. P. 164.

<sup>22</sup> Arkivi i Ministrisë për Evropën dhe Punët e Jashtme (Archives of the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs) (AMEPJ). Dossier. (D.) 530/2.B VII -2- dhe, Year (Y.) 1960. P. 8-10. Relacion: Gjendja dhe probleme të popullsisë shqiptare në Jugosllavi.

<sup>23</sup> Autoriteti për Informimin mbi Dokumentet e ish- Sigurimit të Shtetit (The Authority for Information on the Documents of the former State Security) (AIDSSH), Fund (F.) 7. Dossier (D.) 128, Year (Y.) 1946. P. 57-58. Report on Kosovo.

<sup>24</sup> *Obradović M.* Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija na Kosovu... 1981. P. 223; *Abdyli R.* Vështrim mbi papunësinë në Kosovë ndërmjet dy luftërave botërore... P. 232; *Osmani J.* Kolonizimi, reforma agrare dhe shpërngulja e shqiptarëve nga Kosova... P. 99-100; *Ademi H.* Kosova gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore 1941-1945... P. 454.

<sup>25</sup> *Bajrami H.* Rrethanat shoqërore dhe politike në Kosovë më 1918-1941. Prishtinë, 1981. P. 177.

<sup>26</sup> *Osmani J.* Kolonizimi, reforma agrare dhe shpërngulja e shqiptarëve nga Kosova... P. 94.

<sup>27</sup> Arhiv Jugosllavije-Beograd (AJ) F. Dvor (Royal Court), Letter from the Royal Embassy sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Political Sector. Belgrade, 19 November 1935; *Potemkin V.P.* (Ed.). *Historija Diplomatijske*. Vol. III. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1951. P. 505-507; *Bajrami H.* Konventa Jugosllave-Turke e vitit 1938 për shqiptarët. *Gjurmime albanologjike – seria e shkencave historike*. 1983. Nr. XII/1982. P. 245-246.

<sup>28</sup> AQSH. F. 14/APPK. D. 124. Y. 20.10.1981. Dr. Vasa Cubrilovic's speech held at the Serbian Culture Club, on the displacement of Albanians, submitted for the Central Committee's information.



between the Axis powers. Much of it was annexed by Italy, while the northern part<sup>29</sup>, due to its underground assets, was under German influence. About 10% of Kosovo's Albanian population was under Bulgarian rule. The position of the Albanians during this period depended on different invaders. With the departure of these forces, the Slavic communists took their place and eventually Kosovo was annexed at the 'Assembly' of Prizren<sup>30</sup>. So, Kosovo joined Serbia arbitrarily and the documents of the time prove that the Albanian people of Kosovo never discussed, were not asked and did not vote for Kosovo to remain within the Republic of Serbia and the Federation of Yugoslavia<sup>31</sup>. We can say that the annexation of Kosovo by Serbia started from the Tito-Shubasic agreement, reached on April 16, 1944, which had as a consequence the annexation of Kosovo by Serbia, an act that was formalized in the Prizren Assembly, which carried out its work in July 1945. This 'assembly' only formally required 'the verdict of the people', while the annexation of Kosovo had begun, as noted above, much earlier<sup>32</sup>.

Following these decisions, from 7 to 10 August 1945, the National Anti-Fascist Council of Serbia approved the annexation of the autonomous district of Kosovo within the Republic of Serbia. This act was followed by the law of September 3, 1945, namely the law of the Presidency of the Serbian people's Assembly 'The Law on Administrative Division of Serbia' and the Law 'On the establishment and construction of the Autonomous District "oblast" of Kosovo-Metohija (Dukagjin)', which legally sanctioned Kosovo as an autonomous unit<sup>33</sup>.

According to Serbia's division, the Autonomous Region of Kosovo was divided into 15 districts and separated from them, Presheva, Bujanovc and Medvegja, which were included in the composition of other districts of Serbia. Kosovo had autonomous rights, but Serbia had all the state rights<sup>34</sup>. Finally, we can say that in the 'Assembly' of Prizren, Kosovo was officially annexed by Serbia. With the approval of the Resolution by the Federal Assembly on July 23, 1945 and by the Serbian one, on September 1, 1945, the Kosovo issue would be considered a closed issue.

However, despite the fact that many decisions were taken during the Antifascist National Liberation War, and many agreements were made for self-determination according to the will of the people, they not only were not respected, but in the most rude manner they were violated and called hostile decisions, and the people who

<sup>29</sup> AQSH. F. 178. D. I-2596. Y. 1941. P. 2. Decree of Victor Emmanuel III, Rome, 12 August 1941; AQSH. *Fletorja Zyrtare* [Official Gazette]. 1941. No. 129, August 29. With Royal Decree No. 264, dated August 12, 1941-XIX, most of Kosovo joined London Albania, or more precisely at the Ambassadors' Conference, on March 22, 1913 these ethnic lands were separated from Albania, which had been declared an independent state on November 28, 1912 and within it there were also these territories. Also see: *Hadri A. Lëvizja nacionalçlirimtare në Kosovë 1941-1945*. Prishtinë: Rilindja, 1971. P. 106; *Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë*. Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, Vëll. IV. Tiranë: Toena, 2008. P. 129; *Ademi H. Kosova gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore 1941-1945...* P. 134.

<sup>30</sup> AIDSSH. F. 6. D. 128. Y. 1946. P. 22. Report on Kosovo.

<sup>31</sup> AMEPJ. D. 514/1. Y. 1959. P. 1. The Kosovo problem – a study on Yugoslavia.

<sup>32</sup> *Keçmezi-Basha S. Shqipëria, pikë referimi për forcat nacionaliste në Kosovë, 1944-1945. Studime për historinë ushtarake*. 2014. Nr. 8/2. P. 137.

<sup>33</sup> Arkivi i Institutit të Historisë Tiranë (Archive of the Institute of History in Tirana) (AIHT). F. A. D. 15. P. 219. Collection – Spasoje Gjakoviç, Conflicts in Kosovo, Belgrade, 1984; *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*. Vëllimi IV. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2008. P. 342.

<sup>34</sup> *Dinaj Sh. Statusi politik-shoqëror i shqiptarëve të Kosovës në vitet 1946-1966*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë, 2020. P. 115.

drafted them, they were called enemies of the people, who as such were persecuted and liquidated, as happened with many personalities of the time. The annexation of Kosovo by Serbia caused the Albanian people's revolt. The third Serbian-Montenegrin re-occupation of Kosovo encountered permanent resistance, which continued with varying intensity, from the first occupation in 1912 until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century<sup>35</sup>.

### **KOSOVO UNDER FEDERAL YUGOSLAVIA 1945-1989**

In the Balkan context, states like the Federal Yugoslavia during the Cold War pursued a realistic policy, where economic consolidation relied mainly on heavy industry and army empowerment. However, Albanians in Kosovo were discriminated against in absolute terms. According to Noel Malcolm, who has studied in detail the Kosovo issue, Slovenia had over 500 factories and enterprises, while in Kosovo there were only about 50, emphasizing Slavic injustices toward Kosovo. Malcolm also adds that from the Albanian space in Yugoslavia, in the period 1945-1966, 246 thousand people were displaced<sup>36</sup>.

At the end of the Cold War, when Yugoslavia began to disintegrate, some of the republics managed to break apart more easily thanks to their economic and military power. Serbia, based on its real politics, became a threat to the freedom and independent existence of weaker units. This led to a series of bloody inter-ethnic wars caused by Serbian nationalism, which brutally manifested its superiority over its weaker neighbours. Unfortunately, Kosovo did not have the same transformation trajectory as most post-communist countries.

In addition to the displacement, the period of the 1950s – 1980s for Kosovo Albanians under Yugoslavia had a large number of mainly negative developments. In the period of the 1950s, Albanians would face the process of disarmament and denationalization, processes that were led by one of the most powerful Serbian politicians in Yugoslavia, Aleksander Rankovic. These developments that were harmful to Kosovo Albanians, however, brought something 'positive' to the young people of this country. Driven by the difficult economic, political and cultural situation, Kosovo Albanian youth began to establish illegal organizations through which the main goal was the liberation of Kosovo from Yugoslavia and its unification with Albania at the communist time that was led by dictator Enver Hoxha. It was at the end of the 1950s and early 1960s that the activity of one of the key figures of occupied Kosovo, Adem Demaçi, who in this period also formed the illegal organization 'Revolutionary Movement for the Union of Albanians', the main goal of which was the liberation of Kosovo<sup>37</sup>. It was precisely because of his political activity that Demaci would be tried several times for hostile activities against the Yugoslav state.

Kosovo Albanians in some form began to breathe more freely after the dismissal of Aleksander Rankovic, who was interior minister in the Yugoslav Federation and chief of the Yugoslav Secret Service. However, the denial of political, educational, cultural rights, then the imprisonment of political activists including Demaçi, would force Albanian students who were studying in Prishtina to organize student

<sup>35</sup> *Ademi H.* Kosova gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore 1941-1945... P. 432.

<sup>36</sup> *Malcolm N.* Kosova një histori e shkurtër... P. 406-410.

<sup>37</sup> *Bajrami H.* Dosja Demaçi. Prishtina: Brezi '81, 2016. P. 17.

demonstrations in 1968<sup>38</sup>. The consequences of these demonstrations were negative for the organizers who were imprisoned<sup>39</sup>, but if we look at the broader context, after the demonstrations Kosovo gained some rights in different areas of life. Thus, in 1970 the University of Prishtina was opened<sup>40</sup>, which was also a request of the organizers of the demonstrations of 1968, then the use of the Albanian national flag for the Kosovo Albanians was allowed, while all these culminated in 1974 when Kosovo was recognized as an autonomous province within Yugoslavia<sup>41</sup>.

Despite this, the difficult economic situation, difficult social conditions, delays in the field of infrastructure due to non-investment by the federation, had the effect that in March 1981 student demonstrations by students of the University of Prishtina would again erupt<sup>42</sup>. The Yugoslav state would regard these demonstrations as counter-revolutionary, as such the punishments for the organizers and demonstrators were extremely severe, and the consequences would go to the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy, which happened on March 23, 1989<sup>43</sup>.

#### **THE OCCUPATION OF KOSOVO BY SERBIA. THE ALBANIAN RESISTANCE AND THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN THE LIBERATION OF KOSOVO**

The process of secession and the realization of the right of self-determination for Kosovo was hampered by Serbia, which raised the Serbian issue and the review of Serbia's position in relation to the two autonomous provinces. This served as a pretext for amending the 1974 Constitution and abolishing the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina in 1989<sup>44</sup>. Therefore, we can say that the war in Kosovo in the late 1990s represented a combination of centuries of history between Albanians and Serbs, starting from the Balkan wars of late 1912, when Serbia invaded Kosovo, a decision which was legalized by the decisions of the Ambassadors' Conference in London in July 1913<sup>45</sup>. In the 1990s the essence of the conflict became the irreversible demand of Albanians for independence, while Serbia used harsh violence to curb this aspiration. According to international experts, the situation in Kosovo contained all elements of a crisis and wider conflict, which endangered peace and stability throughout the Balkans and Europe<sup>46</sup>.

The miners' strike attracted the attention of the international public and media,

<sup>38</sup> *Meta B.* (Ed.). *Historia e Shqiptarëve gjatë Shekullit XX*. Vëllimi V. Tiranë: Botimet Albanologjike, 2023. P. 660; *Malcolm N.* *Kosova: Një histori e shkurtër...* P. 410; *Schmitt O.* *Ballkani në shekullin XX – Një histori post-imperiale*. Prishtinë: Artini, 2021. P. 535; *Kumtesa e Këshillit Ekzekutiv Krahinor. Rilindja* (Prishtinë). 1968. 28, 29 dhe 30 nëntor. P. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Arkivi i Shoqatës së të Burgosurve Politik të Kosovës (Archive of the Association of Political Prisoners of Kosovo) (ASHBPK). Document Nr. 16, Dossier nr. 438/68, Year 1969: Indictment of the District Public Prosecutor's Office in Pristina; ASHBPK. Document Nr. 18, Dossier nr. 23/69, Year 1969: Judgment of the District Court in Pristina.

<sup>40</sup> *Koliqi H.* *Mbijetesa e Universitetit të Prishtinës 1991-1994*. Prishtinë: Verana, 1995. P. 85.

<sup>41</sup> *Malcolm N.* *Kosova një histori e shkurtër...* P. 410-411; *Novosella S.* *Viti 1968 viti i kthesës së madhe historike. Epoka e Re*. May, 2016. URL: <https://www.epokaere.com/viti-1968-vit-i-ktheses-se-madhe-historike/>

<sup>42</sup> *Lanaj A.* *Kosova rruga e gjatë drejt vetëvendosjes 1948-1981*. Tiranë: Mësëntorja e parë, 2000. P. 380-382; *Hetemi A.* *Lëvizjet Studentore për Republikën e Kosovës, 1968, 1981, 1997*. Prishtinë: Artini, 2020. P. 222.

<sup>43</sup> *Bytyqi E.* *E drejta për vetëvendosje: Rasti i Kosovës*. Tiranë: 2007. P. 130.

<sup>44</sup> *Gashi I.* *Kosova: Rruga tek pavarësia, Road to Independence*. Prishtinë, 2012. P. 13.

<sup>45</sup> *Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë*. *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*. Vëllimi II. Tiranë: "Toena", 2002. P. 102-103, 139-153, 501-508.

<sup>46</sup> *Gashi I.* *Kosova: Rruga tek pavarësia, Road to Independence...* P. 13.

becoming a major event in world news reports. 'Rilindja' newspaper dated February 24, 1989 summarizes reports from the most recognized international agencies. According to this newspaper, the English agency 'Reuters' stressed the determination of the workers to continue the strike until they received written guarantees that amendments to the Constitution of Serbia would not reduce Kosovo's autonomy. The US agency 'Associated Press' reported from Mitrovica that 10,000 workers from all over the province had gone on strike, while over 1,000 workers of the Trepca mine stood in the mine galleries, challenging difficult conditions to protect their rights.

This great strike served as a catalyst for raising the Kosovo issue in the international arena, causing the media and the global public to focus on the injustices and oppression that Albanians were experiencing. As the international media reported on the event, solidarity with the miners and the Albanian people increased, putting pressure on the Yugoslav and international authorities to address the legitimate concerns of the Kosovo Albanians<sup>47</sup>. In the first half of the 1990s, Albanians organized a broad peaceful resistance against Serbian rule. While sympathy was expressed for peaceful resistance, the lack of concrete political support excluded it from solving the problem. Meanwhile, violent wars were raging in Croatia and Bosnia, and the international community was uncertain about the fate of Yugoslavia<sup>48</sup>.

A special political and military connection existed between Albanians and Albania, affecting the acquisition of political ideology during the 1980s. The influence of Albania continued in the 1990s, providing ideological support and military training for Albanians at the Defence Academy in Tirana. This support was later materialized in state aid for the preparation of military personnel for war<sup>49</sup>.

While Western diplomacy tried to manage the expectations of the Albanian society in Kosovo, there was a sense of ignorance from international conferences such as the London Conference<sup>50</sup> and Dayton Conference<sup>51</sup>. These conferences brought great disappointment, causing debate on whether the expectation to include Kosovo in these important fora was wrong. Until the summer of 1992, Kosovo had superficial attention from international public opinion and Western politicians, but this aid was inadequate in substance. Kosovo was deliberately excluded from international mechanisms dealing with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, leaving it in a constant political isolation<sup>52</sup>.

In 1992, although Kosovo was invited to the Yugoslavia Conference in London in August, it was not part of the international process. The invitation was for Ibrahim Rugova, who was elected Kosovo's president at the time. As Marc Weller put it, "...a letter that would certainly be written in diplomatic history"<sup>53</sup>. Due to non-participation in the conference proceedings, the Kosovo delegation was placed in a

---

<sup>47</sup> Editors of Newspaper 'Rilindja' (1989, February 24). Qajtën gazetarët dhe minatorët. *Rilindja* (Prishtinë). P. 3-4.

<sup>48</sup> Malcolm N. Kosova një histori e shkurtër... P. 438.

<sup>49</sup> Petiffer J. Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës: Nga një luftë e fshehtë në një kryengritje të Ballkanit 1948-2001. Tiranë: Onufri, 2013. P. 78.

<sup>50</sup> Meier V. Fundi i Jugosllavisë – Goditja në Kosovë. Lubjanë: Liria, 2007. P. 355.

<sup>51</sup> Dayton Accords. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. URL: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dayton-Accords>

<sup>52</sup> Meta B. Lufta e Kosovës në kancelaritë perëndimore dhe vendi që zë familja Jashari në këtë luftë. *Jasharajt dhe Lufta Çlirimtare*. Prishtinë, 2019. P. 62.

<sup>53</sup> Weller M. Shtetësia e kontestuar... P. 103-104.

special room, called 'hearing room'. In this way, they could follow the conference proceedings through television broadcasts. However, even though they had the opportunity to talk with the conference leader, Lord Carrington, and other diplomats and express their requests, Kosovo was not the topic of discussion at this diplomatic event. Therefore, there was no serious treatment of the issue of Kosovo at this conference<sup>54</sup>.

The second conference, the Dayton Conference, was organized to end the bloody war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but Kosovo was not invited at all. The international community was focused on the independence of countries like Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia. The Dayton Conference focused exclusively on stopping the war and defining the future political structure of Bosnia. In this context, the Serbian regime continued to commit major violations against the civilian population in Kosovo, which were confirmed by international organizations such as the UN General Assembly. However, at the Dayton Conference, Milosevic was treated as a factor contributing to regional peace and stability. This strengthening of his image was given to his regime more confidence and power. However, the end of the war in Bosnia did not bring an end to the conflict in Kosovo. In fact, the situation in Kosovo deteriorated and turned into a new and bloody war, deepening the widespread crisis in the region<sup>55</sup>.

The peaceful resistance in Kosovo stood on the principle that the patience and determination of the people would lead to a favorable solution for Kosovo with the help of the international community. With reflecting Kosovo's lack of involvement in the Dayton Agreement, this strategy faced a bitter reality, as the international community did not focus on resolving the conflict in Kosovo<sup>56</sup>. It is underlined that the inclusion of Kosovo could cause further conflicts or deterioration of the existing situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The internationals perceived Milosevic as a key force in the Dayton negotiations and did not want to jeopardize his commitment to the peace process. This strategy was used to ensure the participation of all interested parties and to increase the chances for a lasting and long-term agreement<sup>57</sup>. The endless wait for an international intervention, and the values of such resistance gradually lost their weight. The refusal of the international factor to include Kosovo in the Dayton talks really caused general disappointment and discontent in Kosovo.

Albanians faced a severe repression in all aspects, because Kosovo was turned into a true Serbian colony. As a result of Serbian policies during 1990-1997, the situation of Albanians in Kosovo deteriorated significantly. Kosovo's economy was destroyed and everything of value was transferred to Serbia. Due to economic and political violence and repression, many Albanians were forced to emigrate to other Europe states, and by 1997 the number of migrants reached about 700,000<sup>58</sup>. This was due to the feeling of unawareness and the lack of recognition of their efforts to come to a peaceful solution.

President Ibrahim Rugova and the people of Kosovo were focused on peaceful resistance and had worked to secure independence for Kosovo. However, the lack of

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. P. 93-127.

<sup>55</sup> *Malcolm N.* Kosova një histori e shkurtër... P. 440.

<sup>56</sup> *Hoxhaj E.* Ngritja e një shteti... P. 25.

<sup>57</sup> *Russell P.* The exclusion of Kosovo from the Dayton negotiations. *Journal of Genocide Research*. 2009. Vol. 11 (4). P. 12-15. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520903309537>

<sup>58</sup> *Verli M.* Kosova në fokusin e historisë, Vëllimi i dytë. Tiranë: Botimpex, 2003. P. 98.

direct involvement in international talks was difficult to accept. Meanwhile, the European Union expressed in favor of a 'constructive' approach by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in negotiations to ensure a kind of autonomy for Kosovo. This shows an EU will to help in finding a solution that would involve all stakeholders and see the priority of a peaceful and sustainable peace process. However, this approach may have faced challenges and difficulties in its realization<sup>59</sup>. The American diplomacy, led by Richard Holbrooke, did not treat the issue of Kosovo as a priority in this context<sup>60</sup>. The majority of Albanians in Kosovo followed the policy of peaceful resistance until the end of 1995. Two important events, the Dayton Conference and the events in Albania in 1997, marked a turning point in the political developments in and around Kosovo. Unlike the Bush administration, Democrat Bill Clinton's administration had warned of a more active commitment to stopping the horrible fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>61</sup>.

So, the dispute at this conference was a clear signal that the civil resistance to international support was no longer the focus of international diplomacy.

However, regarding the demands of the students at the protest of October 1, 1997, the attitude of the international community was unified according to the statements openly expressed in favor of the students' demands and against the Milosevic regime, which used violence against Albanian students. Thus, "The EU and the USA came up with a joint statement, defending the rights of Albanian students, strongly condemning the violence perpetrated by Serbian police against peaceful protesters, for which they hold President Milosevic and the Serbian leadership directly responsible"<sup>62</sup>. David Hartsough, the analyst, would write: "The student protests held at the end of 1997 were the last attempt to preserve non-violent debate as the main form of political action"<sup>63</sup>.

In this context, armed resistance under the leadership of the KLA arose as an important actor on the political scene. Although the KLA was established in the early 1990s and had taken some sporadic actions, it became public for the first time on November 28, 1997<sup>64</sup>. Its public appearance preceded the attack by the Serbian police in the village of Vojnik, which marked an important moment in the Kosovo conflict. The strategy of the Serbian forces to attack the KLA was part of a general effort to quell the Albanian resistance and keep the territory of Kosovo under control. The response of the KLA was firm and powerful. They showed their ability to organize and defend the territory against Serbian attacks. Kosovo became the center of media attention, so its political crisis could no longer be neglected<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Maralov D. The policy of the USA and EU towards the disintegration of Yugoslavia. *International Journal of Social Science Tomorrow*. 2012. Vol. 1 (2). P. 13-14.

<sup>60</sup> Richard Holbrooke mentions Kosovo only in the case of the beginning of the war in 1998-1999, see: *Holbrooke R. To End a War*. New York: Random House, 1999. P. 234, 358-359.

<sup>61</sup> Syla S. Alternativat për zgjidhjen e çështjes së Kosovës në dhjetëvjeçarin e fundit të shekullit XX. *Jasharajt dhe Lufta Çlirimtare*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë, 2019. P. 91.

<sup>62</sup> Editors of 'Rilindja Demokratike'. (1997, October 3). BE dhe SHBA, shansi i madh për Kosovën. *Rilindja Demokratike*. P. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Hartsough D. The nonviolent movement in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. *Mother Jones*. 1999. May 18; Gashi I. Lufta e Kosovës një politikë reale e zbatimit të idesë së shtetit të Kosovës. *Jasharajt dhe Lufta Çlirimtare*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë, 2019. P. 164.

<sup>64</sup> Syla S. Beteja e Klysrës (26 nëntor 1997). *Fjalori Enciklopedik i Kosovës*. Vol. I: A-K. P. 177; Krasniqi J. Guxo ta duash lirinë. Prishtinë: 'Buzuku', 2011. P. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Petriq W., Pihler R. Rruga e gjatë në luftë – Kosova dhe bashkësia ndërkombëtare... P. 254-255.

Their attacks against Serbian forces showed that they were determined to confront force and defend their right to freedom and independence. This attack and the KLA response marked the beginning of a new phase of the conflict in Kosovo, where the KLA began to gain more support and popularity among the Albanian population and the international arena. In 1998 the strengthening of KLA long-term positions to marked a significant change in the dynamics of the war in Kosovo<sup>66</sup>.

The ideal of freedom, liberation and national unity has remained a strong aspiration for the progressive Albanian forces. In the Albanian political scene, both in Albania and in the occupied territories, forces and currents emerged aimed at the liberation and national unification of Albanians. In this context, the KLA played an important role in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The KLA aimed to liberate Kosovo from the Serbian-Yugoslav power and the national unity of Albanians. This military-political force of a nationwide character fought against Serbian violence and repression, aimed at eliminating the national movements<sup>67</sup>. The KLA, which acted publicly in the years 1997-1999, was a product of generations of patriots and had organic links with national forces in different periods of Albanian history. It was the manifestation of the will of a freedom-loving people, mobilizing and uniting the most devoted and patriotic Albanians for the liberation of the country. The KLA echoed not only in Kosovo, but also in the Balkan, European and world dimensions, by gathering and mobilizing the most devoted sons and daughters for their struggle for freedom<sup>68</sup>. The KLA was an organized military-political force of national character, which aimed to liberate Kosovo from arbitrary and violent Serbian-Yugoslav rule, suppressing any patriotic effort by methods of psycho-physical violence and aimed at ethnic annihilation<sup>69</sup>.

The KLA demonstrated that the realization of its program within the country required political, moral, material and combat support from the broad layers of the people and from the unification of all social and political forces. The Albanians were convinced that in order to wage the liberation war they had to rely mainly on their human and material forces, while at the same time working to secure the support of the great democratic powers of the world, especially the USA and its European allies, who were showing interest in a fair solution to the Kosovo issue<sup>70</sup>.

The KLA and its just war testified before the international factor that the Albanian people are ready to defend their country and sacrifice everything to live and develop in freedom in their own land. Their struggle demonstrated the resolve of a people to defend their rights and stand against oppression. A clear and phenomenal example in contemporary history is the heroic war and fall of the KLA leader, Adem Jashari, and his family in Prekaz. This heroic act became a symbol of the resistance and resistance of the Albanian people, showing before the world the determination and sacrifice for freedom and national rights<sup>71</sup>, while at the scene of the genocide with the Reçak

<sup>66</sup> Shala B. Lufta diplomatike për Kosovën, dialog me ambasadorin Christopher Hill. Prishtinë: Zëri. P. 43.

<sup>67</sup> Çeku A. KLA role in the liberation of Kosovo. Kosova: Revistë historike/politike, 2000. P. 31-32.

<sup>68</sup> Malcolm N. Kosova: Një histori e shkurtër... P. 22.

<sup>69</sup> Krasniqi J. Guxo ta duash lirinë... P. 17-24.

<sup>70</sup> Caplan R. International diplomacy and the crisis in Kosovo. *International Affairs*. 1998. Vol. 74 (4). P. 751-753. URL: <https://library.fes.de/libalt/journals/swetsfulltext/5231777.pdf>; Albright M. Milosevic is the Problem. *Madam Secretary: A Memoir*. New York: Harper Collins, 2013. P. 388.

<sup>71</sup> Abdyli R. Adem Jashari (1955-1998). *Revistë historike/politike*. 2000. Nr. 8. P. 29-30; Aliqaj S. et al. Feniksët e lirisë – dëshmorët e Ushtrisë Çlirimtare të Kosovës, vëllimi i dytë. Prishtinë: Shoqata e Veteranëve të Luftës e Ushtrisë Çlirimtare të Kosovës, 2002. P. 9-17.

massacre<sup>72</sup> and many other massacres influenced the internationalization of the Kosovo issue and the NATO intervention to stop the biggest crimes that the Serbian state was committing institutionally in Kosovo. These violent and cruel acts served as catalysts for international intervention, making clear the urgent need for action to protect the Albanian people from systematic repression and genocide<sup>73</sup>.

In the war arena, despite differences in the arsenal of weapons and the number of soldiers, the KLA produced results in confrontation against the Serbian-Yugoslav army and police in Kosovo, nailed it and challenged it in battles, but there were also significant losses in fighters, executed civilians and thousands missing<sup>74</sup>. Although it was the only force to protect and care for the vulnerable population, as the president of the United States of America, Bill Clinton, put it, "NATO and the KLA made Milosevic subject"<sup>75</sup>. Therefore, under the aggravating conditions and circumstances under which the KLA acted, the war for the liberation of Kosovo could not rely only on its forces and could not achieve its sole purpose, but with the NATO intervention, the realization of this goal became a reality.

In the difficult conditions and circumstances in which the KLA acted, the war for the liberation of Kosovo could not rely only on its forces and could not achieve its goal. On the ground, the KLA faced a powerful Serbian-Yugoslav state apparatus, equipped with large military and police resources. However, the determination and sacrifice of KLA fighters managed to attract the attention and support of the international community. In this context, NATO intervention played a decisive role, providing the military and diplomatic support needed to achieve the goal of Kosovo's liberation<sup>76</sup>. This intervention not only stopped the Serbian repression, but also paved the way for the independence and democratic development of Kosovo and finally we can say that the historical importance of the KLA lies in the fact that it was created as an army of the people by the Albanian patriotic, political and progressive forces, inside and outside Kosovo; secured the trust and cooperation of the United States and European allies in the just war for the liberation of Kosovo; closed an era of centuries-long wars for the abolition of the Serbian-Yugoslav oppression and the preservation of the territorial integrity of the homeland; represents the joint victory

<sup>72</sup> *Mahmuti B.* Mashtrimi i madh. Tiranë: 'Çabej', 2015. P. 75-162. Ambassador William G. Walker, regarding the Racak massacre, among other things, stated: "...The mass of captured men and boys were killed in cold blood, contrary to the rules of war and human morality". See: Ambassador *William G. Walker*. Kujtimet e mia për Reçakun. *Kosova, revistë historike/politike*. 2000. Nr. 8. P. 21.

<sup>73</sup> Some of the reports/articles/books that proves Serbian Crimes against Albanian civil population in Kosovo: *Human Rights Watch*. Nën pushtetin e urdhrave: Krimet e luftës në Kosovë. Tiranë: Korbi, 2002; *Human Rights Watch*. *Krimet e Luftës në Kosovë: 1998-1999*. Prishtinë: Këshilli për Mbrojtjen e të Drejtave e të Lirive të Njeriut (KMDLNJ), 2010; *Osmani J.* Krimet e Serbisë në Kosovë: 1998-1999. Libri 1 dhe 2. Prishtinë: Agjencia Shtetërore e Arkivave të Kosovës, 2012; *Schmitt O.* Kosova – histori e shkurtër e një treve qendrore ballkanike. Prishtinë: 'Koha', 2012; *Ramosaj F.* Kundër harresës: gjenocidi i Serbisë në Kosovë 1998-1999. Prishtinë: Instituti për Kërkimin e Krimeve të Luftës, 2017; *Drançolli F.* Trashëgimi e shkatërruar në Kosovë 1998/99. Prishtinë: Instituti për Kërkimin e Krimeve të Luftës, 2017; *Svirca B.* Plaçkitja dhe shkatërrimi i Fondit Arkivor të Kosovës nga Serbia, para dhe gjatë luftës 1998-1999. Prishtinë: Instituti për Kërkimin e Krimeve të Luftës, 2017.

<sup>74</sup> Press Conference by Mr. Jamie Shea, NATO Spokesman and Major General Walter Jertz, SHAPE, NATO HQ, Brussels, 2 June 1999.

<sup>75</sup> *Gallis P.* Kosovo: Lessons Learned from Operation Allied Force. Washington: CRS Report for Congress – Received through the CRS Web, 19 November 1999.

<sup>76</sup> *Krasniqi J.* *Pavarësia si kompromis*. Prishtinë: 'Buzuku', 2010. P. 62-63; Press Conference of NATO Spokesman Jamie Shea and Air Commodore David Wilby, SHAPE, Transcript NATO HQ, 27 March 1999.



of all Albanian territories and Albanian patriots around the world, encouraging Albanians in Serbia and Macedonia to follow the example of Kosovo; advancing the Albanian national political platform and resolving the status of Kosovo; created the premises for the declaration of the independence of Kosovo on February 17, 2008, a major event for the Albanian people after November 28, 1912, providing support from the most democratic states and forces of the world; has kept alive the issue of liberation and unification of Albanian territories and the final solution of the Albanian problem in Southeast Europe; and it has conveyed the message that Albanian patriotism is not chauvinistic, expansionist or xenophobic, but aims to affirm values alongside advanced peoples and to live in peace and good neighbourly relations with all.

## CONCLUSIONS

The London Conference of 1912-1913, was the main determinant of the fate of the territory of Kosovo. This is due to the fact that from this conference the territory of Kosovo remained under the rule of the state of Serbia, until June 1999 when it was finally liberated, to then declare independence on February 17, 2008.

Serbia, through various programs, including the Serbian academic program Vasa Cubrilovic, aimed to depopulate Kosovo from Albanian residents. The reason it had this purpose is the fact that the one before the world tried to expose this territory as a country where the majority are the Serbian population, so it would have on its side the international right to own the territory, since we know that in this right one of the key factors is the population of a country. To achieve this goal, the Serbian state, under the mask of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes first, then in the Yugoslav Federation, took some key actions, among which: 1. Denationalization of the ethnic Albanian population, calling them Muslim-Turkish. 2. The agreement on depopulation of Kosovo, which was signed with Turkey, in history is known as the Turkish-Yugoslav Convention, which aimed to displace Muslims from Kosovo, by proclaiming them as Turks, in fact they were Albanians. 3. The colonization of Kosovo by Serb population, an element that would serve Serbian policies to gain international law on the possession of the territory of Kosovo. The annexation of Kosovo unilaterally in 1945.

During the 1960s illegal movements in Kosovo began to intensify, which consisted of mainly youth organizations aimed at seceding Kosovo from Yugoslavia and joining Albania. The intensification of this activity gave an impact on the organization of student demonstrations of 1968 in the territory of Kosovo. The student demonstrations of 1968 for the organizers had negative consequences for the fact that they were imprisoned, but on the Kosovo issue the consequences can be concluded that they were positive, because Kosovo would continue to gain some important rights in different areas of life. As a result of these demonstrations: 1. The University of Prishtina opened in 1970, 2. The national flag for Albanians was allowed, 3. In 1974, Kosovo gained autonomy, thus being recognized as the autonomous Socialist province of Kosovo.

Since 1974, the Yugoslav state proclaimed that Kosovo was making progress in different areas of life, but in fact this was only their propaganda, which will best be observed in 1981, when Albanian students of the University of Prishtina started student demonstrations in Kosovo. These demonstrations were due to delays in

economy, culture, education, and politics, organizers were imprisoned, while the state's approach to demonstrators was bad enough, because these demonstrations were considered revolutionary, and consequently the penalties were large.

In 1989 Kosovo lost the status of an autonomous Socialist Province. The autonomy gained in 1974 was abolished in Kosovo in 1989. The abolition of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 paved the way for the development of extreme nationalism in Yugoslavia, with a special emphasis on Serbia, while the key figure of this nationalism from which Kosovo first suffered was Slobodan Milosevic. The extreme nationalism displayed in the late 1980s to Milosevic-instigated Serbs paved the way for the break-up of Yugoslavia, while the first major step in this direction was the departure of Slovenes from the League of Yugoslav Communists. So extreme nationalism paved the way for the break-up of Yugoslavia. The abolition of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989, in the short-term interest, was harmful to Albanians, but in the long-term vision there were positive sides. This was due to the fact that this suspension prompted Albanians to create separate institutions in Kosovo, which acted as separate from Serbia, which went so far as Kosovo in 1991 declared itself a Republic within Yugoslavia, of course, this Republic was not recognized by other countries, but it was a key factor through which the will of Kosovo Albanians was understood, for the political future of the country.

Until 1997, Kosovo was pursuing a non-violent passive resistance, which was represented by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, but seeing that this policy was not bringing positive results there, the Kosovo Albanians formed the KLA military guerrilla, through which from 1997 to 1999, violent resistance against Yugoslav state structures that were committing crimes and massacres in Kosovo has also begun. The KLA was born as a necessary need of the people to preserve the human rights and fundamental freedoms in Kosovo. The crimes and massacres committed by the Serb-Yugoslav side, led to the start of the NATO bombing in Kosovo on March 24, 1999, which became a key factor for the liberation of Kosovo from Serbia.

## REFERENCES

- Abdyli, R.** (1984). Overview of unemployment in Kosovo between the two world wars (1918-1941). *Vjetari, XVII-XIX*, 229-254 [in Albanian].
- Abdyli, R.** (2000). Adem Jashari (1955-1998). *Revistë historike/politike*, 8, 21-25 [in Albanian].
- Ademi, H.** (2021). *Kosovo during World War II 1941-1945*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë 'Ali Hadri' [in Albanian].
- Aliaj, S. et al.** (2000). *Phoenixes of freedom: Martyrs of the Kosovo Liberation Army*. Vol. II. Prishtinë: Shoqata e Veteranëve të Ushtrisë Çlirimtare të Kosovës [in Albanian].
- Albright, M.** (2013). *Madam Secretary: A Memoir*. New York: HarperCollins [in English].
- Anamali, S. et al.** (2008). *History of the Albanian People*. Vol. IV. Tiranë: Toena [in Albanian].
- Bajrami, H.** (1981). *Social and political circumstances in Kosovo in 1918-1941*. Prishtinë [in Albanian].
- Bajrami, H.** (1983). The Yugoslav-Turkish Convention of 1938 for Albanians. *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, XII/1982, 245-261 [in Albanian].
- Bajrami, H.** (1995). *The policy of extermination of Albanians and Serbian colonization (1844-1995)*. Prishtinë: QIK [in Albanian].
- Bajrami, H.** (2016). *The Demaçi file*. Prishtinë: Brezi '81 [in Albanian].
- Bytyqi, E.** (2007). *The right to self-determination: The case of Kosovo*. Tiranë [in Albanian].
- Buda, A. (Ed.)**. (2008). *Fjalori Enciklopedik Shqiptar*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë [in Albanian].
- Caplan, R.** (1998). International diplomacy and the crisis in Kosovo. *International Affairs*, 74 (4), 745-761. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.00043> [in English].
- Castellan, G.** (1997). *History of the Balkan (14<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> century)*. Prishtinë: "Gutenberg" [in Albanian].

- Ceku, A.** (2000). The role of KLA in the freedom of Kosovo. *Revistë historike/politike*, 8, 26-32 [in Albanian].
- Dauti, D.** (2020). *Britain and the Albanian issue: Among the fall of the Ottoman Empire 1876-1914*. Shkup: Logos-A [in Albanian].
- Dinaj, S.** (2020). *The social-political status of the Albanians of Kosovo during 1946-1966*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë [in Albanian].
- Drançolli, F.** (2017). *The destroyed cultural heritage in Kosovo 1998/99*. Prishtinë: Instituti për Kërkimin e Krimeve të Luftës [in Albanian].
- Gallis, P.E.** (1999). *Kosovo: Lessons learned from Operation Allied Force. Report for Congress*. Washington: CRS [in English].
- Gashi, I.** (2012). *Kosova: Rruga te pavarësia = Kosovo: Road to independence*. Prishtinë: Universiteti i Prishtinës [in Albanian].
- Gashi, I.** (2019). The war of Kosovo, realpolitik and the establishment of the idea of the state of Kosovo. In *Jasharajt dhe Lufta Çlirimtare*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë, pp. 159-168 [in Albanian].
- Hadri, A.** (1968). The position and situation of Kosovo in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1918-1941. *Gjurmime Albanologjike. Seria e Shkencave Historike*, 2, 163-194 [in Albanian].
- Hadri, A.** (1971). *The national liberation movement in Kosovo 1941-1945*. Prishtinë: Rilindja [in Albanian].
- Hartsough, D.** (1999, May 18). The nonviolent movement in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. *Mother Jones* [in English].
- Hetemi, A.** (2020). *Student movements for the Republic of Kosovo 1968, 1981, 1997*. Prishtinë: Artini [in Albanian].
- Holbrooke, R.** (1999). *To end a war*. New York: Random House [in English].
- Hoxhaj, E.** (2008). *Ethnic politics and state-building in Kosovo*. Pejë: Dukagjini [in Albanian].
- Hoxhaj, E.** (2016). *The rise of a state*. Tiranë: Dudaj [in Albanian].
- Human Rights Watch** (2010). *War Crimes in Kosovo 1998-1999*. Prishtinë: Këshilli për Mbrojtjen e të Drejtave dhe Lirive të Njeriut [in Albanian].
- Human Rights Watch** (2002). *Under the Power of Orders: War Crimes in Kosovo*. Tiranë: Korbi [in Albanian].
- Islami, H.** (2003). *Ethnic cleansing: Serbian genocidal policy against Albanians*. Pejë: Dukagjini [in Albanian].
- Kabashi, E.** (2004). *'Atlantic' Battalion of the Kosovo Liberation Army*. Prishtinë: Clirimi [in Albanian].
- Keçmezi-Basha, S.** (2014). Albania, a reference point for nationalist forces in Kosovo, 1944-1945. *Studime për historinë ushtarake*, 8/2, 136-163 [in Albanian].
- Koliqi, H.** (1995). *Survival of the University of Pristina 1991-1994*. Prishtinë: Verana [in Albanian].
- Krasniqi, J.** (2010). *Independence as a compromise*. Prishtinë: Buzuku [in Albanian].
- Krasniqi, J.** (2011). *Dare to love freedom*. Prishtinë: Buzuku [in Albanian].
- Kristaq, P. et al.** (2007). *The history of Albanian people*. Vol. IV. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë [in Albanian].
- Lanaj, A.** (2000). *Kosovo: The long road to self-determination 1948-1981*. Tiranë: Mësëntorja e parë [in Albanian].
- Mahmuti, B.** (2015). *The big scam*. Tiranë: Cabej [in Albanian].
- Malcolm, N.** (2011). *Kosovo: A short story*. Prishtinë: Koha [in Albanian].
- Maralov, D.** (2012). The policy of the USA and EU towards the disintegration of Yugoslavia. *International Journal of Social Science Tomorrow*, 1(2), 1-16 [in English].
- Meier, V.** (2007). *The End of Yugoslavia: The Strike in Kosovo*. Lubjanë: Liria [in Albanian].
- Meta, B.** (2019). The Kosovo War in Western Chancelleries and the Place of the Jashari Family in This War. In *Jasharajt dhe Lufta Çlirimtare*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë, 61-78 [in Albanian].
- Meta, B. et al. (Ed.)**. (2023). *Albanians history during 20<sup>th</sup> century*. Vol. V. Tiranë: Botimet Albanologjike [in Albanian].
- Novosella, S.** (2018, January 6). The year 1968, the year of the great historical turning point. *Epoka e Re*. Retrieved from <https://www.epokaere.com/viti-1968-vit-i-ktheses-se-madhe-historike/> [in Albanian].
- Obradovic, M.** (1981). *Agrarian reform and colonization in Kosovo 1918-1941*. Pristina [in Serbian].
- Osmani, J.** (2012). *The Serbian crimes in Kosovo 1998-1999*. Prishtinë: Agjencia Shtetërore e Arkivave të Kosovës [in Albanian].
- Osmani, J.** (2016). *Colonization, agrarian reform and the migration of Albanians from Kosovo 1918-1941 (Documents)*. Prishtinë [in Albanian].

- Petriq, W. & Pihler, R.** (2002). *The long road to war: Kosovo and the international community*. Prishtinë: Koha [in Albanian].
- Pettifer, J.** (2013). *The Kosovo Liberation Army: From a Secret War to a Balkan Uprising 1948-2001*. Tiranë: Onufri [in Albanian].
- Pirjevec, J.** (2020). *Tito and friends*. Tiranë: Botart [in Albanian].
- Potemkin, V.P. (Ed.)**. (1951). *The History of Diplomacy*. Vol. III. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska [in Bosnian].
- Ramosaj, F.** (2017). *Against oblivion: Serbia's genocide in Kosovo 1998-1999*. Prishtinë: Instituti për Kërkimin e Krimeve të Luftës [in Albanian].
- Rushiti, L.** (2004). *Territorial division and administrative regulation of Kosovo 1878-1941*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë [in Albanian].
- Russell, P.** (2009). The exclusion of Kosovo from the Dayton negotiations. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 11 (4), 487-511. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520903309537> [in English].
- Schmitt, O.** (2012). *Kosovo: A Brief History of a Central Balkan Country*. Prishtinë: Koha [in Albanian].
- Schmitt, O.** (2021). *The Balkans in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: A Post-Imperial History*. Prishtinë: Artini [in Albanian].
- Shala, B.** (2003). *The Diplomatic Struggle for Kosovo: Dialogue with Ambassador Christopher Hill*. Prishtinë: Zëri [in Albanian].
- Svirca, B.** (2017). *The looting and destruction of the Archive Fund of Kosovo by Serbia, before and during the war 1998-1999*. Prishtinë: Instituti për Kërkimin e Krimeve të Luftës [in Albanian].
- Syla, S.** (2008). The battle of Kyslyra. In *Fjalori Enciklopedik i Kosovës*. Vol. I: A-K. P. 177 [in Albanian].
- Syla, S.** (2019). Alternatives for the solution of the Kosovo issue in the last ten years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In *Jasharajt dhe Lufta Çlirimtare*. Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë, 79-114 [in Albanian].
- Verli, M.** (1992). *Colonial agrarian reform in Kosovo*. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë [in Albanian].
- Verli, M.** (2003). *Kosovo in the focus of history*. Tiranë: Botimpe. [in Albanian].
- Walker, W.G.** (2000). My memories about Recak. *Revistë historike/politike*, 8, 20 [in Albanian].
- Ward, W.G. & Gooch, P.** (1923). *The Cambridge history of British foreign policy 1783-1919*. New York: Cambridge University Press [in English].
- Weller, M.** (2009). *Contested citizenship*. Prishtinë: Koha [in Albanian].