

Expansionist Projects and Institutional Organization of Serbia Aiming Displacement of Albanians from their Lands



History

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Abstract

Albanians who remained outside the borders of the Albanian Administration faced systematic violence of Serbian Government this violence has been planned since Grashanin's program. To continue with series of programs and elaborations that began to be implemented in order for the Albanian people to move from their ancestral lands and instead to settle Slav residents. This propaganda was mostly empowered at the time of the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom, to continue later, even at different times, until the end of the twentieth century, i.e. on the eve of the beginning of the KLA war, which was supported by the international factor. In this paper i have tried to address some of the Serbian programs and the goals of these programs. The Grashanin program (1844) was in fact a requirement to revive the Car Dushan Empire state, which is well known for what purposes and what violence it has exercised over the Albanian local population. Apart from Grashanin's program i have tried to present, as chauvinistic program that preceded the displacement of Albanians, the program of 1862; the program of 1868; the program for deportation in the sea of the year 1881; the program of 1897; the program of 1902; the program of the year 1920 on the cleansing of Albanian lands; The elaboration of Ćubrillović of 1937; The projects "Serbia Homogeneous", designed in 1941; The Blue Program of 1977; Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of 1986, etc.

Introduction

Since the Ottoman Empire left the Albanian lands and consecutively when Albanians retained outside the administrative borders of Albania making them out of reach of the ottoman administration, the Albanian ethnic soil encountered a wave of savage attacks that were aiming at ethnical cleansing the Albanian lands of their ancestral inhabitants. In fact, preparations for these enterprise were taken years earlier, since 1884, when for the first time the Slavs started out to draft their programs aiming cessation of the Albanian population and changing the population structure of this region.

Consequently from drafting the Garashanin's Plan, Serbian chauvinist movement has continued to work against the Albanian population with a number of programs and elaborated documents which depending on the given political circumstances were being enforced or implemented with an overall aim to drive Albanian population out of their ancestral lands and subsequently replacing them with Slavic population. This chauvinistic strategy was not carried out through non-institutional agencies, but largely it was enforced by the institutions of the Kingdom of Serbia, followed by the Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovenes which was supporting anti-Albanian forces towards implementation of chauvinistic aspiration toward the expansion of state borders and changing the ethnic structure of population.

With the development of the Albanian National Movement which included grassroots movements in the ethnic Albanian lands in the former Yugoslavia, a formidable propaganda campaign against Albanians was intensified in several Balkan countries with the main goal taking over and annexation of still non-liberated Albanian land which were still under centuries of

Ottoman rule. In this regard the most notable was Serbian policy which had its inception in the 1840s with a continual increase in its intensity hitherto these days. During these anti Albanian campaign the most flammable representatives were “renowned” historians such as Garashanin, Gjorgjeviç, Cvijiç, Urosheviç, Çubriloviç, Bogdanoviç, etc., who jointly were aiming in the creation of Tsar Dushan’s Serbia and thus have taken the “holy” mission to present the Albanians as uncivilized, unable to rule, savage, savages, rapers, vandals and Balkan fundamentalists, etc.⁴⁰

In support and inspired by Garashanin’s project in the course of history were drafted many other anti-Albanian programs who were based in the ideas of I. Garashanin. Similar hegemonistic programs were in total four in the half of the XIX century, four programs were in the beginning of XX century too, which were followed with similar anti-Albanian programs in the last quarter of the XX century. In this context we mention programs preceding the 100 year of the Albanian League of Prizren, namely in 1977 was drafted the Blue Program on Kosova, Memorandum of the Serbian Academy published in 1986. This acts lead to the war in Kosova between the Kosova Liberation Army and Yugoslav Army.

Garashanin’s Program as a yearning for Tsar Dushan’s Empire

Based on studies of documentary sources there are no indications that Principality of Serbia hitherto 1843 have had prepared any plan in the foreign office. With appointment of Ilija Garashanin (1843) as a foreign office minister, we notice formation of the expansionist political projects towards Serbia’s neighbors. Inspiration for these projects served the idea of Adam Çartorinski, a polish nobleman, leader of the conservative wing of polish emigration who was sent to Serbia in 1843 by Frantishek Zah, latter presented to Ilija Garashanin his plan for the liberation and unification of south Slavs that would later support the liberation of Poland. Based on the Zah’s suggestions, Ilija Garashanin drafted the Serbian national program “Naçertania” in the year 1844,⁴¹ which was the secret nationalistic external policy which was handed over to Prince Aleksandar Karagjorgjeviç. In the preface was emphasized that Serbia should play the role of “Piedmont” in unification of all south Slavic lands into one single state in which the phrase “Yugoslavs” were replaced by Garashanin to phrase “Serbs”, which indicates the hegemonic intentions of Serbian state. For the sake of homogenization and integration of Serbian population, Naçertania insisted on creation of Greater Serbia, a state of south Slavs that shall be dominated by Serbs.

In the preface this program underlines that “cornerstone of Serbian policy” is Serbia “and it cannot be confined in its current borders, but it should aim in unification of all Serbs from the surrounding regions”. Thus, Garashanin’s Program was endorsing as legitimate the future aggression and expansion of Serbia into the Albanian and other non-Slavic lands of Balkans, calling as historical right of Serbia to renew the medieval state of Rashka, or as Garashanin called it straightforwardly “State-Empire of Dushan”.

⁴⁰ Jahja Drançolli, *Popullsia Shqiptare e Kosovës dhe trojeve etnike të tjera në ish-Jugosllavi gjatë shekujve XI-XVII*, Gjurmime albanologjike seria e shkencave historike 22-1992, Prishtinë, 1994, f. 63.

⁴¹ Лубомир Дурковић-Јакшић, О настанку “Начертанија”, 1844 године, Међународни Научни скуп 9. и 10. Децембар 1987, Илија Гарашанин (1812-1874), Београд, 1991, f. 28-31, 41.

Based on the Garashanin program, the propaganda and activities of Serbian state were focused on the slogan “Balkan belongs to the nations of Balkan”, which should be exploited after decline and retreat of Ottoman Empire from Europe and thus prevent gaining of these lands by Austro-Hungary. The whole program was conceived in a way that Serbia should take the leading role in the creation of Greater Serbia, or Yugoslavia respectively, which would span from Black Sea to Adriatic Sea.⁴²

In embarking to this mission, in 1848 Garashanin has sent his emissary Matija Ban to various parts of Western Balkan.⁴³ First concrete outcomes of the Serbian foreign policy actions aiming in the achievement of goals as set out in the aforementioned document were marked on March 1849 when Serbian state drafted “the constitution of political propaganda”, which envisaged annexation of Kosova Vilayet (province) and other parts of Northern Albania into the realms of the future large Serbian state.⁴⁴ According to Ivo Banjac, Garashanin is founder of the strategy for “Greater Serbia” who was employing the theory of Vuk Karaxhiq on the linguistic nationalism stating that all south Slavs are Serbs. The latter was too the supporter of idea that Serbia should “save and unify” all Serbs. In the same year 1844 Montenegrin poet and church bishop Petar Petroviç Njegosh wrote a poem on the topic of rising the new Serbian nationalism “Greater Serbia.”⁴⁵ In its aspirations to conquer the southern Albania, in 1848 Greece has drafted its political platform “Megali Idea”,⁴⁶ which is justly described by Shpuza that chauvinist aspirations of Belgrade, Athens, Cetinje and Sophia supported by great powers, overly exceeds their national aspirations in attempt.⁴⁷

Other hegemonic programs and plans of Serbs against Albanians

Serbian state now was having its foundation stone in the platform of “Naçertanie” that would serve for the purpose of expanding its territory, particularly to the detriment of Albanian cause and lands in perpetual continuation hitherto, which adopted various approaches in conformity with given time circumstances. Serbian state has drafted in meanwhile many other programs that were instrumental to achieve the final goal – realization of Garashanin Program. Several of these documents are: Program from 1862; Program from 1868; Program for expansion into seashores from 1881; Program from 1897; Program from 1902; Program from 1920 on ethnical cleansing of Albanian lands; Elaborate of Serbian Culture Club from 1939; Elaborate of

⁴² Harun Yahya, *Tajna Ruka u Bosni, pa vend botim*, 1997, f. 16-17.

⁴³ Adnan Velagić, *Historija Monarhističke Jugoslavije (1918-1941)*, Mostar, 2015. f. 26.

⁴⁴ Pajazit Nushi, *Determinantet psikosociale të gjenocidit të pushtetit serb ndaj shqiptarëve dhe struktura cognitive e tyre, Gjenocidi dhe aktet gjenocidiale të pushtetit serb ndaj shqiptarëve nga Kriza Lindore e këndeje – Genocide and acts of genocide of serbian regime on since eastern crisis hitherto*, Prishtinë, 1995, f. 38.

⁴⁵ Harun Yahya, *Tajna Ruka u Bosni, pa vend botim*, 1997, f. 14-15.

⁴⁶ Sadulla Brestovci, *Memorandumi i një të panjohuri mbi politikën që duhej ta ndiqte Serbia ndër shqiptarët (1866)*, Gjurmime Albanologjike, seria e shkencave historike, III-1973, Prishtinë, 1985, f. 167-168.

⁴⁷ Prof. Dr. Gazmend Shpuza, *Shqipëria Veriore, Verilindore dhe Lindore-Vatra të rëndësishme të Lëvizjes Kombëtare shqiptare, Çështja e Kosovës një problem historik dhe aktual (Simpozium i mbajtur në Tiranë më 15 -16 Prill 1993)*, Tiranë, 1996, f. 105.

Çubrilloviqit; Project “Homogenous Serbia”, drafted in 1941; Blue Program from 1977; Memorandum of Serbian Academy of Sciences from 1986 etc.⁴⁸

Further to strengthen Serbia in the years and decades to follow and to get accustomed to new circumstances in order to realize her goals, in 1833 Serbia has expanded its territory towards the Kosova Vilayet (province). Thus, based on several international agreements, Serbia was allowed to expel non-Serbs, and particularly Albanians from its newly acquired lands. To facilitate implementation of these goals, in the 1862 Serbian state has adopted a program which updated and adjusted “Naçertanie” aiming on ethnical cleansing of cities in Shumadia. Knyaz (prince) Mihajlo Obrenoviç, along with Bulgarian emigrants in Bucharest reaches an agreement on the joint Serbian and Bulgarian state. The Program of 1862 was updated in 1868 that at the first stage clearly foresaw taking over the Sanxhak of Nish which will be followed with Vilajet (province) of Kosova. During the Eastern Crisis of 1878, Naçertania started to be implemented as a practical outcome of these plans which resulted in annexation of Nish Sanxhak and expulsion of Albanians from there. This victory propelled Serbian government in 1881 to draft the Program for expansion into seashores, with a justification that state cannot survive without access to seashore.

First diplomatic project who strive to make more perfect the method of approach towards Albanians and a “peaceful” conquest of Kosova by Serbs might be considered the document prepared by Branislav Nushiq, dating October 20 1897, drafted especially for Prime Minister Dr. Vlladan Gjorgjeviç.⁴⁹ From then onwards hegemonic Serbian policy shifted to concrete actions aiming to implement Naçertanie, sending to Kosova terrorist detachments, followed by further updates on the latter document in 1902 which specified further concrete actions. In 1906 certain political circles in Serbia published for the first Naçertanie of Ilija Garashanin, which was hitherto held in secrecy.

Being aware of developments in Albania during the last stage of the Albanian National Revival, Serbian government devised new plans and tasks towards annihilation of Albanians. Such was the program of Nikolla Pashiç “What Serbia Wants” published in 1910, and “Directive on Working with the Albanians” published in 1912. These programs of Serbian policy were focused on accessing the Albanian seashore. During 1908-1912, Serbian policy was oriented toward inflicting damages on Albanians in every possible way. In these programs among other was stated: “By all means we must support the severest as possible the conflict between Turks and Albanians. Thus both sides would end up weakened”,⁵⁰ they were referring to Albanian-Ottoman wars.

⁴⁸ Hakif Bajrami, Programi Serb i vitit 1920 për asgjësimin e shqiptarëve, Gjurmime albanologjike seria e shkencave historike 22-1992, Prishtinë, 1994, f. 167; Fehmi Rexhepi, Gjenocidi mbi shqiptarët gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore, Gjurmime albanologjike seria e shkencave historike 22-1992, Prishtinë, 1994, f. 164.

⁴⁹ Muhamet Pirraku, Publicistika dhe diplomacia Serbe kundër bashkimit kombëtar dhe Shqipërisë etnike gjatë Aleancës Ballkanike, Gjurmime Albanologjike seria e shkencave historike 24-1994 Prishtinë, 1996, f. 112.

⁵⁰ Prof. Dr. Hakif Bajrami, Politika pansllaviste serbe në luftë për shfarosjen e shqiptarëve 1836-1999, Vjetar, Nr. XXXI-XXXII, Prishtinë, 2004, f. 122.

To achieve their conquering goals, imminent and during the General Albanian Uprising in 1912 continuing after the First Balkan War, and particularly during the sessions of the Ambassadors' Congress in London, with the help of Serbian Academy of Sciences, the Serbian government has intensified its pseudo-scientific anti-Albanian propaganda. One of its members J. Cvijić in London had established contacts with public and scientific authorities who were supporters and representatives of idea for the Greater Serbia, such were Seton-Watson, Arthur Evans etc. all contacts that Cvijić maintained in London were related with territorial expansion of the Greater Serbia and "the historical right" of Serbia. In this regard, Cvijić handed over a project-memorabilia to the British minister of foreign affairs which was drafted in the circles of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and which stipulated the rights of Serbia in the territory of Banat and in Albania.⁵¹ As elaborated above, with the help of Russia, Albanian lands were granted to Serbia and Montenegro.

Despite blows suffered by military operations of the Axis powers, from Austro-Hungarian forces respectively, Serbia didn't cease its anti-Albanian pseudoscientific propaganda. In 1915 upon onset of talks among Antanta Block members, Serbian government entered negotiations with those countries that still didn't enter the Great War (Italia, Bulgaria and Rumania), or this purpose the former sent a group of 29 people, 18 of them were academics, scientists, highly educated persons, etc. most of them had acquired education in the European countries. This group of people was tasked to meet and keep lobbying among members of Antanta Powers and convince them on their propaganda and "the historical right" of Serbia in its claims at Northern Albania during 1913. In order to exert more influence among representatives of these countries, on April 15 that year to Paris headed itself Jovan Zhujović, the president of the Serbian Academy. Prime Minister Pashić, drew attention to Serbian emissaries to be careful with American diplomats and experts while discussing the Albanian question.⁵² This fact indicates how important and crucial for Serbia were Albanian territories that were recently occupied, as well as other territories they were planning to conquer in order to have access into Adriatic Sea.

The Role of Serbia in the Kingdom of SKS after the Great War and its Stance toward Albanians

After the Great War, role of Serbia in the Kingdom of SKS increased and its international position has further strengthened. Thus new circumstances took place which enabled continuation of ethnical cleansing of Albanian lands and Kosova, and for this purpose in 1920 they drafted the "Memorandum" project. To ensure the success of these actions, Kingdom of SKS had opened concentration camps which held in displacement many Albanian families.⁵³ A big obstacle on this state posed Albanian guerrilla units, therefore in order to eliminate Albanian guerrilla, the Kingdom of SKS in 1924 has enacted the program called: "Directive on elimination of guerrilla

⁵¹ Daut Bislimi, Propaganda pseudoshkencore-antishqiptare e Akademisë Serbe të shkencave në fillim të Luftës së Parë Botërore, Gjurmime albanologjike seria e shkencave historike 22-1992, Prishtinë, 1994, f. 115.

⁵² Daut Bislimi, Propaganda pseudoshkencore-antishqiptare e Akademisë Serbe të shkencave në fillim të Luftës së Parë Botërore, Gjurmime albanologjike 22-1992, Prishtinë, 1994, 119.

⁵³ Prof. Dr. Hakif Bajrami, Politika pansllaviste serbe në luftë për shfarosjen e shqiptarëve 1836-1999, Vjetar, Nr. XXXI-XXXII, Prishtinë, 2004, f. 139.

bands”,⁵⁴ which was an act of Serbian government deemed as genocidal toward Albanians. In this regards in the Serbian Culture Club many discussions were held and various documents were debated, with the most infamous of them being elaborates written by Vasa Çubrilloviç in 1937 and another written by Ivo Andriçit in 1938 which were describing modes for expulsion of Albanians from their lands.

During the World War Two, Serbian plans and actions were adopted to newly created circumstances. On June 1941 chetnik intellectuals and ideologists Dragisha Vasiç and Stevan Moljeviç drafted a project “Homogenous Serbia” which envisioned after the World War Two to include part of Albania into Serbia, while Albanians shall be expelled to Turkey or Albania.⁵⁵ With the end of World War Two, leaders of the People’s Republic of Yugoslavia adopted the directives as were envisaged on the second Elaborate of Vasa Çubrilloviç dated November 3rd 1944 which was also known as an action plan for elimination of minorities in Yugoslavia. For implementation of the anti-Albanian part of the elaborate took care partisan units of the Yugoslav National-Liberation Army during 1944-1945 and later. In the vicinity of 100 year anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren, in 1977 Serbia drafted the Blue Program on Kosovo which aimed on reduction of number of Albanians. The same goal had the “Memorandum” of the Serbian Academy published in 1986, whose teachings led to war in Kosova between the Kosova Liberation Army and Yugoslavian Army.

If we carefully analyze continual efforts of Serbian state and of Yugoslavia toward the ultimate goal of implementation the Garashanin’s political platform “Naçertania” drafted in 1844, we may conclude that chauvinist Serbian program has inflicted many tragedies which can be compared to the level of genocide and expulsion of Albanians from Nish Sanxhak (province). Albanian national tragedy continued with massive physical persecution and expulsion from Kosova since the First Balkan War and continued all through the Great War and Second World War, and it continues to the day. All acts contained in Naçertanie had only one ultimate goal: physical annihilation of Albanians from their ancestral land. The state of Serbia – Yugoslavia was closely stuck to Garashanin’s program in creating the “Greater Serbi”, and managed to conquer Kosova and significant other portions of Albanian ethnic lands and thus hampered establishment of Albanian state within its ethnic boundaries. Should Serbian governments not hold onto Naçertanie, geopolitical map of Balkans would be for sure different than its today, and all Serbian governments, either openly advocating or cloaked in nice wording, are following the program Naçertanie drafted by I. Garashanin in 1844.

⁵⁴ Po aty, f. 129.

⁵⁵ Harun Yahya, *Tajna Ruka u Bosni, pa vend botim*, 1997, f. 36.

Conclusions

One of first serious chauvinist effort of Slavs of Serbs against Albanians are encountered during the period of acquiring the power and ascending in political life of Ilija Garashanin, during his tenure as a minister of foreign affairs respectively when he started to get involved in devising sustainable expansionist political projects against the neighbors, first and foremost against Albanians. This chauvinist project was drafted in the time when Albanian lands were still under administration of the Ottoman Empire, yet chauvinist spirit of this project served as a cornerstone in later writings of Serbian policies, projects and elaborates until the end of the XX century. This program was embodiment of the spirit and hope for the realization of dreams for Greater Serbia. With short sentences I tried to unfold in this paper all Serbian hegemonic programs against Albanians that were inspired from and had a foundation stone at I. Garashanin program. As we mentioned, some of this programs are dating back the second half of XX century, and some other programs were written in the first half of XX century. The similar chauvinist spirit are contained in the programs of the end of XX century, including here the programs drafted by the Serbian Academy of Sciences.

As a consequence of anti-Albanian sentiment, all Serbian programs sow the seeds for Albanians to wage liberation armed war against Serbia. In setting back and preventing the realization of Serbian goals significant role have played in 1999 the international community, who fully understood, even with delay, that Serbian hegemonic policy which was launched in the first half of XIX century was not stopping, thus fact greatly contributed in the liberation of Kosova in 1999 with significant support of international community.

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