

Arnavutların 1934 yılında Kosova'dan Arnavutluk'a göçüne bir bakış

#### Abstract

The paper provides detailed data on the Albanian families who moved from Kosovo to Albania during 1934, relying on the archival data of the Central Archive of Albania. Based on the researched documents, we have provided data on the migration of Albanians from Kosovo, their settlement in Albania, the families that moved to Albania, the number of members specifying them by name, surname, origin, the reason for the migration, the place where they settled, etc.

Key words: Kosovo, Yugoslavia, Albania, migration, property, violence

# Öz

Bu çalışma, Arnavutluk Merkez Arşivi'nin arşiv verilerine dayanarak 1934 yılında Kosova'dan Arnavutluk'a göç eden Arnavut aileler hakkında ayrıntılı veriler sunmaktadır. Araştırılan belgelere dayanarak, Kosova'dan Arnavutların göçü, Arnavutluk'a yerleşmeleri, Arnavutluk'a göç eden aileler, adı, soyadı, kökeni, göç nedeni, yerleştikleri yer vb. belirtilerek üye sayısı hakkında veriler sağlanmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kosova, Yugoslavya, Arnavutluk, göç, mülkiyet, şiddet

ATIF: GASHİ, Sami R., "Arnavutların 1934 yılında Kosova'dan Arnavutluk'a göçüne bir bakış", Tarih ve Gelecek Dergisi, 9/3 (Eylül 2023), s. (643-673)
CITE: GASHİ, Sami R., "A look at the migration of Albanians from Kosovo to Albania in 1934", Journal of History and Future, 9/3 (September 2023), pp. (643-673)

# Introduction

Belgrade's efforts for agrarian reform, colonization of the Albanian territories resulted in the expropriation of the indigenous Albanian population and their migration to Turkey and Albania. Thus, favorable conditions were created for the settlement of Slavic settlers and the realization of Belgrade's final goal, which was to change the ethnic structure in Kosovo. Therefore, the violent displacement of Albanians, ethnic cleansing, Slavicization and the emptying of Kosovo with the idea of creating a situation without perspective for the Albanians living in Kosovo, was among the strategies of Yugoslav politics.

It was also considered a silent form of physical elimination. In order to achieve these goals, the most inhumane means and methods were used, such as pressure, violence, imprisonment, exile, raids, burning houses, robbery of properties and even murders.<sup>1</sup> The Yugoslav authorities had engaged all the state structures, starting from the Prime Minister's Office, several key ministries, the General Staff of the Army, the heads of the Orthodox clergy, academic, cultural and media institutions.<sup>2</sup> In 1933 dr. Kraleviqi in Skopje had also proposed chemical warfare against the Albanian people.<sup>3</sup>

The agrarian legislation (of the years 1919, 1931, 1933) approved by the Serbian-Croatian - Slovenian Kingdom and by the Yugoslav Kingdom did not have the real aim of implementing a real agrarian reform but in the name of the reform it was planned to carry out the relocation of Albanians, which constituted not only open discrimination but also real efforts to eradicate the dominant presence of Albanians in Kosovo.

From November 5, 1932 until January 27, 1934, the Yugoslav government was led by Millan Sershkiq, a sworn enemy of the Albanian people, who, while at the head of the government, committed terror with the help of gendarmes and the police in Kosovo. He acted for an integral Yugoslavia and national unity as a defender of state centralism, seeing in it only the Serbian people.<sup>4</sup> According to the Serbian archives, only during the year 1934, 328 Albanian families moved to Albania.<sup>5</sup>

The Albanian state showed interest in the migration of Albanians from Kosovo. In the internal plan, it systematized and issued concrete laws such as: Regulation for the implementation of the law on the installation of immigrants and farmers on state lands

<sup>1</sup> Zamir Shtylla, Aspekte të politkës së shpërnguljes me dhunë të shqiptarëve nga Kosova në vitet 1936-1941, në: *Shpërnguljet e shqiptarëve gjatë shekujve*, libri, I, Shoqata për kthimin e shqiptarëve të shpërngulur nga Kosova, Prishtinë, 1992, p. 185

<sup>2</sup> Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike, Instituti i Historisë, *Historia e Shqiptarëve gjatë shek XX (1925 – 1939)*, vëllimi III, Tiranë, 2020, p. 591

<sup>3</sup> Marenglen Verli, Momente të spastrimit etnik të trevave shqiptare nga Serbia..., p. 28; Dr. Izber Hoti, Qëndrimi i diplomacisë italiane ndaj Shqipërisë dhe Shqiptarëve (1930-1934), Prishtinë, 1997, p. 126

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Hakif Bajrami, Rrethanat shoqërore dhe politike në Kosovë më 1918 – 1941, Prishtinë, 1981, p. 253

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Dr. Hakif Bajrami, Antimemorandum, Prishtinë, 2004, p. 47-48

(1925), which was detailed in the Law on Agrarian Reform in 1930 and in the Decree Law on the Settlement of Immigrants (1931). An Albanian from Kosovo was appointed at the head of the Directorate for the Installation of Immigrants - Sali Vučiterna, former Minister of World Affairs in the government of Ahmet Zogut. (11 May 1928 - 1 September 1928) and Koço Kotës (5 September 1928 - 5 March 1930).<sup>6</sup> The presence of a minister from countries outside political Albania, such as Sali Vuçiterni and Abdurrahman Dibren, in Yugoslav political and military circles was seen as a sign of Albania's interest in Kosovo and the other countries remaining in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.<sup>7</sup> In relation to the neighbors, Ahmet Zogu was careful, he aimed to create a positive climate, but at certain moments he also favored certain elements that kept alive the national issue and to protect the Albanian being in the remaining years outside political Albania. So Kosovo should not be emptied, the presence of Albanians should be preserved. Externally, Albania activated diplomatic missions in Skopje - Consulate General, in Bitola - Consulate, in Belgrade - Legation, in Thessaloniki - Consulate, in Istanbul, etc.8 In the report of the minister (ambassador) of Albania in Belgrade, Rauf Fico, sent to the MFA in Tirana, explaining the views on the Kosovo issue, among other things, it was emphasized: "Our national interest begs that the Kosovo Albanians should not be moved from the country, the bottom line, even if they are forced to flee from there, they should be pulled back to Albania".9 King Zog had requested financial aid from the League of Nations to help the installation of Albanians from Kosovo.<sup>10</sup> Yugoslavia was interested in all forms; even giving loans to Albania to overcome financial difficulties, as stated by Mr. Stojadinovic was the only one to successfully complete the process of moving Albanians from Kosovo.<sup>11</sup> The Albanian government constantly interfered with the Albanian districts in Kosovo, suggesting that they should not move from their country, since such a thing was against the interests of the Albanians.<sup>12</sup> Even the Foreign Office had information that Albanian -Yugoslav relations could not be normal until the Albanian population in Kosovo could not express itself about the political future.<sup>13</sup>

In August 1934, Fuad Asllani - the full-power Albanian representative in London had asked for help for the Albanians in Kosovo, whose property was confiscated and they were forced to move. In this regard, the English circles had done their research and had come

<sup>6</sup> Marenglen Verli, Interesimi i shtetit shqiptar për shqiptarët në Jugosllavi në vitet 20-30 të shek. XX, në: Aspekte rreth krijimit dhe zgjidhjes së çështjes shqiptare (shek. XIX–XX), Vëllimi I, Klean, Tiranë, 2014, p. 130

<sup>7</sup> Arkivi Shtetëror i Republikës së Maqedonisë & Agjencia Shtetërore e Arkivave të Kosovës, *Politika e Mbretërisë Jugosllave ndaj Shqiptarëve dhe Shqipërisë 1929 – 1941*, me përzgjedhje, parathënie dhe redaktim nga Mr. Qerim Lita, Shkup – Prishtinë, 2012, pp. 55 - 56

<sup>8</sup> Marenglen Verli, Interesimi i shtetit shqiptar për shqiptarët në Jugosllavi..., p. 129

<sup>9</sup> Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror i Republikës së Shqipërisë, (further on cited as: AQSH), Fondi (further on cited as: F.) 150, viti (further on cited as: v.) 1934, Dosja (further on cited as: D.) I-361 *Raport i Ministrit Rauf Fico mbi gjendjen dhe politikën e Jugosllavisë për emigrimin e kosovarëve në vendet e huaja*, p.1

<sup>10</sup> Ilir Ushtelenca, Diplomacia e Mbretit Zogu I -rë, Ermir, Tiranë, 1997, pp. 263 - 264

<sup>11</sup> AIH - Tiranë, A - 98, Arkivi Qendror i Londrës, Public Record Office - London, Foreign Office, viti 1935, Albania General Correspondenc, Political British Legata, Durrazo, përktheu A. Dako, p. 99

<sup>12</sup> Prof. Dr. Jusuf Osmani, Kolonizimi, Reforma agrare dhe Shpërngulja e shqiptarëve nga Kosova 1918-1941 Dokumente: Shpërngulja 3, Dukagjini, Prishtinë, 2016, p. 126

<sup>13</sup> Prof. Dr. Hakif Bajrami, Shqiptarët në mes dy totalitarizmave 1918 – 1999, Prishtinë, 2010, p. 173

across the real injustices that were done to the Albanians in Kosovo and the other countries left outside of political Albania. Precisely for this interest of the English, there were harsh reactions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, which had denied the claims of property confiscation, violence and displacement of Albanians. Serbian lies were not unknown to England, which apparently was not interested in getting to the bottom of the problem.<sup>14</sup>

The ill treatment of the Albanian population in Kosovo was the subject of a correspondence between the British Legation in Belgrade and the British Legation in Durrës. Through the memorandum of the second secretary Mr. Greiffenhagen at the British Legation in Belgrade can be seen that in 1934, Albanian families from Kosovo had immigrated to Albania. The Albanian government had complained that the Yugoslav government, with the intention and pretext of the Agrarian Reform, had expelled the Kosovo Albanians from their properties with the aim of creating space for the Montenegrin colonizers. The Albanian government was put in difficulties to organize the refugees from Kosovo. Regarding to this issue, Sir Nevile Henderson had a conversation with King Alexander (June 1934) who emphasized that Montenegrins are responsible for this issue, emphasizing that the Yugoslavs had also fled Albania and sought refuge in Yugoslavia.<sup>15</sup>In fact, King Alexander's response was a tendency to localize and minimize the migration problem by linking it to the Montenegrins and not to the state level and responsibility, comparing the case of Vraka with the whole of Kosovo and the other Albanian provinces that had remained outside of political Albania. In reality, the reasoning of the Yugoslav King was unstable since the Yugoslavs in Albania, specifically those in Vraka, "sold all their property to the Shkodrans at a very high price"16 while the Albanians of Kosovo not only could not sell their property at high prices but it was confiscated and they were forced to move. The Albanian minister (ambassador) in Belgrade Mr. Rauf Fico, thanked S. N. Henderson for his efforts in favor of the Albanians. On this occasion Mr. S. N. Henderson advised Mr. Fico to rise this issue in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs "while the iron was still hot."<sup>17</sup> Regarding the departure of the Serbs from Vraka, Mr. Fico had emphasized that they had left after they were given better land in Yugoslavia in the name of the so-called agrarian reform that was practically carried out at the expense of the Albanians.<sup>18</sup>

In January 1934, the national repression in Kosovo by the Yugoslav authorities continued, as a result of which a new flood of emigrants had begun in the direction of Albania, nearly 200 families were left unsettled.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 173-174

<sup>15</sup> AIH - Tiranë, A - 98, Arkivi Qendror i Londrës, Public Record Office - London, Foreign Office, viti 1935, Albania General Correspondenc, Political British Legata, Durrazo, përktheu A. Dako, pp. 88-90

<sup>16</sup> AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83, Korrespondencë me disa prefektura, Ministrinë e Punëve të Jashtme etj., për ardhjen, kalimin transit ose qëndrimin në Shqipëri të disa shtetasve jugosllavë (kosovarë e kombësi të tjera) si emigrantë, dezertorë, gazetarë, diplomatë, agjentë si dhe survejimi, gjurmimi dhe shërbimi përkatës nga ana e autoriteteve shqiptare, p. 139

<sup>17</sup> AIH - Tiranë, A - 98, V. 1935, p. 90

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 84, Korrespondencë me prefekturat e Dibrës, Kosovës (Kukës), Korçës, Shkodrës, për shtypjen nacionale në Kosovë nga autoritetet jugosllave dhe disa çështje të gjendjes

Faced with a serious situation without financial means, lack of land for settling immigrants, on January 24, 1934, the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform informed the Ministry of Internal Affairs that about 200 families of immigrants who came without a passport or with a passport had remained unsettled provided with a visa from the external consultations of the Kingdom of Albania. Thus, the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform had ordered all Immigration Offices that immigrants who enter Albania without an immigration visa should not make any commitment to them as they were not able to provide either the expenses or the possibility of installation. However, according to the announcements coming from the districts, it was learned that Albanian families from Kosovo were continuing to come to Albania, but as a result of circular 2062 of December 14, 1933, they remained on the streets suffering for food. Therefore, considering this situation, it was ordered by the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform that the emigrants be accepted by the immigration offices and to take the appropriate measures to ensure their livelihood. In order to stop the influx of Albanian families from Kosovo and not to let them suffer by remaining on the streets, the Ministry of Internal Affairs requested that the border authorities be ordered to present the families of immigrants without passports or with transit permits and passports without immigration visas, not to let them enter the land of the Albanian Kingdom.<sup>20</sup> According to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Musa Juka, deserters from military service and political fugitives will be excluded from this measure and will be allowed to enter Albania.<sup>21</sup>

In 1934, the Consulate General of Skopje notified the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Xh. About 100 - 150 families from the province of Peja have sold all their possessions and not only remained on the streets, but also were pushed by the Yugoslav authorities to leave for Albania and Turkey. In these circumstances, despite efforts to stop emigration, this consulate had granted visas to 30-35 families to move to Albania.<sup>22</sup>

Musa Juka, Minister of Internal Affairs, at the beginning of March 1934, had requested from the Kukes Prefecture that immigrants who entered Albania without the proper documents should not be returned to the border, but that the Royal Border Guard should hand them over to the sub-prefectures and municipalities on nearby and then forwarded to the prefecture center. On that occasion, it was requested that the issue of removal be examined and concrete measures should be taken, for which the Ministry of Internal Affairs should also be notified.<sup>23</sup>

The Ministry of Internal Affairs notified the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform that around 100 immigrant families have gathered in the Durrës district, which, due to the

politike, ushtarake të atjeshme, p. 1

<sup>20</sup> AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 84, pp. 1-2

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 3

<sup>22</sup> AQSH, F. 151, V. 1934, D. 142, Vendim i Këshillit të Ministrave dhe korrespondencë e Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme me Drejtorinë e Përgjithshme të Reformës Agrare dhe Përfaqësitë shqiptare në Jugosllavi e Turqi, mbi gjendjen ekonomike, politike të shqiptarëve të Kosovës, keqtrajtimin e tyre nga autoritetet jugosllave, emigrimi në Turqi dhe Shqipëri, si dhe mosat e Qeverisë Shqiptare për mos shkombëtarizimin e tyre, pp. 83-84

<sup>23</sup> AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 84, p. 7



lack of land, have not settled. In this situation, representatives of 20 families had gone to the district of Lushnja to see the land that the Directorate of Agrarian Reform had available for the installation of immigrants, but they did not like it. Although they were advised by the Prefecture of Durrës to settle in the Lushnja district since there were no properties in the Durres district, they did not obey the advice of the Prefecture. The state authorities of the Albanian Kingdom were afraid that this situation could create unpleasant scenes in terms of security and damage the State Treasury.<sup>24</sup> Regarding this situation, the Director of Agrarian Reform, Sali Vuçiterna, informed the Ministry of Internal Affairs that this Directorate will offer land to set immigrants, but if they refuse to settle, then they will be informed that they lose the right to settle on state lands and all relations they have with the immigration office are cut off, leaving them free to secure their lives with their own private initiative.<sup>25</sup> On 19th of March 1934, the General Consulate of Albania in Skopje notified the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Xhafer Villa that the number of Albanian emigrants from Kosovo who presented to this General Consulate to request emigration visas to Albania was taking worrying proportions day by day, especially from Peja and its surroundings. Seeing the created situation, this Consulate General suggested stopping issuing visas for a while, in order to avoid national destruction. According to it, if the issuance of 100-150 passports per month continued, there would be over a thousand families waiting for visas. Based on a verbal note from the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was requested that based on Article 55 of the Law on Citizenship and by the request of Mr. Putriq, to grant visas to the following persons: Islam Tahiri, Rrustem Alija, Ali Tahiri, Ramë Osmani, Sadri Alija and Mal Hyseni from Kosovo, as they have lost their Yugoslav citizenship, simultaneously requesting to facilitate their journey to Albania. According to the Yugoslav authorities, all those Albanians who request emigration passports, upon receiving them, have lost their ispo jure Yugoslav citizenship and they want to force the Albanian authorities to issue visas for entry into Albania.26

According to the information coming from the General Consulate of Albania in Skopje, the situation in Kosovo was described as serious with terror, murder and confiscation of property. Thus, on March 27, 1934, the Consulate General of the Kingdom of Albania in Skopje notified the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Xhafer Villa that in the village of Krushë and in some other villages between Gjakova and Prizren inhabited by Albanians, the occupying Yugoslav authorities had robbed the private properties of the Albanians and gave it to the Montenegrins installed in those villages. Although these families had complained, they had never received any response from the Yugoslav authorities. The only answer was from the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, who also held the position of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs, during a visit to Prizren he had declared: "as long as the fez exists (alluding to the white Albanians fez) agriculture will continue strictly without any

<sup>24</sup> AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/1, Korrespondencë me disa prefektura, Ministrinë e Punëve të Jashtme etj., për ardhjen, kalimin transit ose qëndrimin në Shqipëri të disa shtetasve jugosllavë (kosovarë e kombësi të tjera) si emigrantë, dezertorë, gazetarë, diplomatë, agjentë si dhe survejimi, gjurmimi dhe shërbimi përkatës nga ana e autoriteteve shqiptare, p.18

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp. 21, 22

<sup>26</sup> Prof. Dr. Jusuf Osmani, Kolonizimi, reforma agrare dhe shpërngulja e shqiptarëve nga Kosova 1918-1941, dokumente: Shpërngulja 3, Prishtinë, 2016, pp. 247-248

mercy."27

Since March 1934, taking into account the political reasons and the lack of means to help the displaced with food aid after the funds of the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform had been spent, the Ministry of Internal Affairs had ordered the Prefecture of Kosovo and Shkodra that Kosovo Albanian emigrants were not allowed to enter Albania without passports endorsed by the Kingdom of Albania's Representations.<sup>28</sup>

In April 1934, the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania that about 150 Albanian emigrants from Kosovo had gone to the Royal Consulate of Albania in Skopje to request visas and that such requests were constantly increasing and it was believed that the number had reached 400.<sup>29</sup>

On April 10, 1934, the Commander of Battalion V of the Royal Border Guard in Kukës (Nesip Riza) informed the Command of the Royal Border Guard Corps that based on the information that the Yugoslav Government had brought 200-300 Montenegrin immigrants to the Sub prefecture of Prizren with installation purpose. They were given the properties of the Albanians in the Municipality of Pirana according to the so-called Agrarian Reform system.<sup>30</sup>

According to the data provided by the Prefecture of Shkodra - the immigration branch (on April 17, 1934), for the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform, it was noted that 31 families with a total of 99 members had arrived with regular passports (with visas for emigration). At the time of applying for a visa at the consulate, although they had declared that they were immigrating to Albania, not asking for the help of the Albanian government for installation, and emphasizing that they would provide for their lives privately, they had repeatedly addressed the Prefecture of Shkodra, gathering with their families (women and children) in a miserable condition and looking for food, help and their installation like other immigrants.<sup>31</sup>

The Prefecture of Shkodra - the branch of immigration based on the order of the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform, even though it had stated that it would not undertake any commitment to come to their aid and install them, however to help them of the displaced and to eliminate the bad impression that was being created by the scenes of the gatherings in both the internal and foreign opinion required to be authorized by the Directorate of Agrarian Reform to provide the necessary assistance to the displaced families and to be notified of the place where they will be installed.<sup>32</sup> The prefecture of Shkodra described the situation of the displaced as very serious as they were on the streets, without housing and

31 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/1, p. 119

<sup>27</sup> AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 84, p. 19

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 80

<sup>29</sup> AQSH, F. 151, V. 1934, D. 142, p. 19

<sup>30</sup> AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, Shkresa njoftimi të Komandës së Mbrojtjes Kombëtare, për kalim kufiri të shtetasve të huaj ose shqiptarë në Greqi e Jugosllavi e anasjelltas me pasaportë ose arratisje dhe incidente në kufi, p. 70

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 119,120

without a morsel of bread.<sup>33</sup> On April 30, 1934, the Ministry of Internal Affairs informed the Prefecture of Shkodra that the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform had given an order for immigrant families to settle on state lands in the district of Lushnja.<sup>34</sup>

According to the announcements of the Prefecture of Kosovo to the secret office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (April 23, 1934), many immigrant families with regular passports were coming to Albania, who was given visas by the Albanian General Consulate in Skopje, but without the right to request expenses from the Albanian government. According to the emigrants' statements, the procedures for obtaining a visa were carried out through lawyers who were pushed by Serbian propaganda to encourage emigration and did not inform the emigrants at all that the Albanian government would not help them. At the time of the visa application, the lawyers applied without the right to seek costs. In fact, the Yugoslav authorities encouraged the Albanian families of Kosovo to move, deceiving them that they will be given land, food and money in Albania. The Albanian consulate in Skopje did not always have all the information in detail, therefore the prefecture of Kosovo suggested that visas be granted only to those who presented themselves after being notified of the conditions of non-granting of aid in Albania.<sup>35</sup> The fact that the Albanian families who were moving from Kosovo and were not notified in advance that they would not be helped by the Albanian Kingdom is also confirmed by the displaced families themselves. Thus, on April 28, 1934, the Prefecture of Kosovo telegraphed the secret office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, informing it that some Albanian families from Kosovo who passed through the Prush Pass are confirming that when they were informed by the Border Command that they would not be helped by the state, they wanted to returned to Kosovo but were prevented by the Yugoslav Border Guards.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the Prefecture of Kosovo asked the Ministry of Internal Affairs to inform the Albanian General Consulate in Skopje not to issue passport visas to persons who are being represented by lawyers, but to request that the interested parties themselves present themselves at the consulate and be informed of the conditions of non-granting help from the state, otherwise the displaced people are being harmed and are left on the streets, at the same time Kosovo is also being emptied.<sup>37</sup> In this situation, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Albania, Xhaferr Vila, announced on April 30, 1934 that all the necessary instructions had been given to the Albanian General Consulate in Skopje to stop the emigration of Kosovo Albanians. An exception was made for those who had sufficient means to be installed without the help of the State. However, even for such cases, it was recommended to the Consulate General in Skopje to limit the granting of visas.<sup>38</sup>

On May 25, 1934, the Albanian minister (as it was called - the ambassador) in Belgrade, Rauf Fico, delivered a memorandum to his British counterpart in Belgrade, Nevile Henderson, and expressing concern about the relocation of Albanians from Kosovo.

38 Ibid., p. 128

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 121

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 123

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 124, 129

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 127

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 125, 127

Mr. Fico emphasized, among other things: "According to reliable information, the agrarian reform is being implemented in the province of Kosovo in such a way as not to leave any arable land in the hands of the Albanian villagers...it is clear that with their attitude towards the inhabitants of Albanian origin, they have been asked to be put in hand over their properties in order to force them to leave to secure their livelihood. If this is not the only reason, it is the strongest and main reason that causes the departure of the Albanian population from South Yugoslavia".<sup>39</sup> The Albanian Kingdom was making efforts to preserve the Albanian existence in Kosovo, even though at certain moments there were promises from the Yugoslav side that the migration of Albanians would be stopped, in reality it was never stopped.

In June 1934, the Yugoslav Government - the Minister of Agriculture had given an order for the suspension (actually temporary) of the implementation of the agrarian reform in Kosovo, this decision had come as a result of the diplomatic demarches of Tirana and Yugoslavia's superficial efforts to reflect a readiness formal within the framework of improving relations with Albania.<sup>40</sup> On the political level, King Zog saw the improvement of relations with Yugoslavia as important for two purposes. First, that the Italian policy in Albania does not throw it into a confrontation with its neighbors and it becomes a trigger for regional conflicts. King Zog tried to make relations with Yugoslavia, if not entirely, at least serve his goal of a Balkan policy of balance and maneuvering. Secondly, to use the opportunity to speed up the solution of the Kosovo problem, for which Mussolini's promises was only words. In fact, the issue of Kosovo irredentism always existed as an obstacle between Yugoslavia and Albania. Knowing Italy's expansionist intentions, Zogu thought to use Italy and together attack and liberate Kosovo and other Albanian lands in Yugoslavia. King Zog discussed the issue of Kosovo with the Italian minister (ambassador) in Tirana, A. Koku, on June 3, 1934, where he asked for Italy's help in liberating Kosovo.<sup>41</sup> "After we both spend some time and had a conversation with the King, he expressed his determined intention to always maintain and develop the foreign policy of his state in accordance with the Italian one for the liberation of Kosovo" - Koku reported in Rome.<sup>42</sup> Regarding this situation, the Yugoslav military attaché in Tirana says that the Italian government has pushed the Albanian government and Italy remains behind the scenes due to tense relations with Albania.<sup>43</sup> At the same time, the Yugoslav authorities intended to hit the patriotic families, so they entered the house of Haxhi Ademi from the municipality of Ferizaj where they had imprisoned his three sons. Among them, the eldest son was hanged at night in prison, declaring that he had hanged himself.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> AIH – Tiranë, Public Record Office – London, Foreign Office, viti 1935, Albania General Correspondenc, Political British Legat, Durrazo, përkth. A. Dako, A - 98, FO 371/19477, *Memorandum i Ministrit shqiptar në Beograd, Rauf Fico, dorëzuar Ministrit Britanik në atë vend sir Nevile Henderson*, pp. 91- 92

<sup>40</sup> AQSH, F. 151, D. 142, V. 1934, pp. 44, 112

<sup>41</sup> Ilir Ushtelenca, Diplomacia e Mbretit Zogu I – rë..., p. 262

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

AK – Prishtinë, Arkivi i Institutit Historik ushtarak-Beograd, Fondi: Arkivi i ish ushtrisë jugosllave, Njësia organizative: "Popisnik" 17, Elaborat–20, viti: 1920-1940, Nr. Kutisë: 5, Popisnik, 17, K. 95–vit F. 2 nr.10, p. 1

<sup>44</sup> AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D.84, Korrespondencë me prefekturat e Dibrës, Kosovës (Kukës), Korçës,

In the second half of 1934, expropriations in the Dukagjin Plain took on even larger proportions than before.<sup>45</sup> The Yugoslav government in all the cities of Kosovo, on the border with Albania, had called for the Albanian population to prepare to leave the country and sell the land to the agrarians, within a very short time otherwise the land would be confiscated without paying for it.<sup>46</sup> In accordance with this idea, in July 1934, the Serbian Minister of Agrarian Reform came from Belgrade to the Sub prefecture of Rahovec, who, in the presence of the military and civil authorities, ordered to act by any means, even cruelly, to relocate the Albanians from their homes and near every Albanian village a new village should be built to settle the Montenegrins. It was ordered that the settlers' houses be built with the money of the fined Albanians.<sup>47</sup>

Inhabitants dissatisfied with the confiscation of property and colonization organized revolts, such as on August 22, 1934, when in the village of Bubël (Malisheva municipality), the villagers stood up with hoes and axes and blocked the way for Montenegrin settlers who wanted to enter their lands. In this situation, the authorities, in order to avoid the conflict, changed the plans they had to install 30 Montenegrin families in Bubël, placing them in another place.48

On September 6, 1934, the Albanian Minister of State (ambassador) Rauf Fico reported to the commission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the state of Albanians in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, their emigration and the politics of Yugoslavia. On this occasion, he emphasized that the issue of Kosovo should be studied from three points of view. According to him, the first point of view was the Albanian point of view, where the national interest demanded that Kosovo Albanians must not move from Kosovo, but if they are forced to move, they should come to Albania. The second point of view according to Fico was the point of view of the Serbs who, being a minority in Kosovo, want to eradicate the Albanian element from Kosovo in any way. In order to realize this goal, the Serbs have used every possible means, such as murder, robbery, burning, displacement, etc. Through the migrations, the Serbs aimed to eliminate the Albanians from Kosovo and other Albanian countries in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in a somewhat more peaceful manner. The third view was the Turkish one according to which Turkey has a lot of empty land and therefore needs to be populated. Kosovo Albanians, as a strong and hardworking element, attract the interest of the Turkish Government. Thus the national interests of Yugoslavia are united with the goals of Turkey. Rauf Fico based on the experience he had in the Legation of Ankara and the speeches of Tefik Ruzhdiu did not believe that the Turks will give up their point of view. Finally, Rauf Fico emphasized that the issue of settling Kosovo Albanians immigrants should be considered carefully and quickly.<sup>49</sup>

Shkodrës, për shtypjen nacionale në Kosovë nga autoritetet jugosllave dhe disa çështje të gjendjes politike, ushtarake të atjeshme, p. 26

Marenglen Verli, op.cit., p. 161 48

<sup>45</sup> Marenglen Verli, Reforma agrare kolonizuese në Kosovë..., p. 69

Prof. Dr. Jusuf Osmani, Kolonizimi, Reforma agrare dhe Shpërngulja e shqiptarëve nga Kosova 1918-46 1941 Dokumente: Shpërngulja 3, Dukagjini, Prishtinë, 2016, p. 255

Prof. Dr. Jusuf Osmani, Kolonizimi, Dokumente: Shpërngulja 3, Dukagjini, Prishtinë, 2016, p. 256 47

<sup>49</sup> AQSH, F. 150, V. 1934, D. I - 361, Raport i Ministrit Rauf Fico mbi gjendjen dhe politikën e Jugosllavisë

653

On November 22, 1934, the Royal Court informed King Zog that from October 1933 to April 1934, 148 immigrant families had arrived in the district of Fier, most of them from the province of Peja, a total of 629 people. Of these, 104 families with a total of 427 members were installed, while 44 families with a total of 202 members were not installed.<sup>50</sup>

In December 1934, the General Directorate of Agrarian Reform informed the secret office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that it does not have a single inch of land in the Durrës district for the settlement of immigrants. Furthermore, this Director emphasized that over 60 immigrant families in Durrës were waiting to be settled, since we have a lack of land, we are not able to settle them.<sup>51</sup> In Lushnje there was space for installation,<sup>52</sup> but there was a reluctance to settle there, probably because of the climatic conditions.

Malaria was reaping many Albanian families from Kosovo who had difficulties with acclimatization and climatic conditions. Few were those families that were not halved.<sup>53</sup>

The first information about the displaced people came from the Prefectures or the Command of the Royal Border Guard, which usually notified the secret office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the National Defense Command about the arrivals from Kosovo. After consultations with the relevant bodies, the displaced were directed to the place where they were expected to settle.

By date	Prefecture/Commands -informing	Name, surname and country of origin	The reason for the	Set in:
04.01. 1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Sulejman Sadiku from Gjakova	He does not want to live in	Letaj – Krumë. <sup>1</sup>
13.01. 1934	National Defense Commander General Xhemal Arianiti	Ismail Rustem Osmani Border from Gjakova. In same documents, his birthplace appears as Llapashtica of Skopje.	He kept in contact with the	Përmet. <sup>2</sup>

In addition to the data highlighted above, I am presenting below the data of Albanian families that have moved from Kosovo to Albania.

për emigrimin e kosovarëve në vendet e huaja, pp. 1–2

51 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/1, pp. 159,161

<sup>50</sup> AQSH, F. 150, V. 1934, D. III - 673, Dekretligj, raporte të inspektorit të Oborrit Mbretëror, korrespondencë e Ministrisë së Oborrit Mbretëror me Kryeministrinë, mbi instalimin e emigrantëve në tokat shtetërore dhe ankimet e tyre nga nëpunësit e Zyrës Agrare, p. 57

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 159

<sup>53</sup> Tafil Boletini, *Përballë sfidave të kohës, Kujtime II (1916-1963)*, përshtati dhe përgatiti për botim Dr. Marenglen Verli, Tetovë, 1996, p. 183

654



https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/jhf

20.01.1934	Royal Border Guard Corps Command	Jedullah Rexhepi from Reoveci (Rahoveci S.G)	He wants to besome an	Kukës. <sup>3</sup>
22.01.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Ramë Haxhiu, with his son – Rexhepin from Dobroshi -Gjakovë		Shënavlash, Durrës where he had his brother installed as an immigrant. <sup>4</sup>
22.01.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Jetullah Rexhepi from Peja district.	/	Durrës to brother Emrullahut where he was installed as an immigrant. <sup>5</sup>
26.01(.1934	Royal Border Guard Corps Command	Sahit Muja from Kashica - Istog	Desire to live in Albania (AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86: 21). <sup>6</sup>	/
30.01.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Lulo Nuredin Bokshi and Fatime Sulejmani from Gjakova	/	Kukës. <sup>7</sup>
02.02.1934	Deputy Commander of the Company of Royal Border Guards; Prefecture of Kosovo	Beg Isufi from the village of Popoc - Gjakovës;		Begu was alloved to stay in Tiranë. <sup>9</sup>



03.02.1934 & 08.02.1934	Royal Border Guard and Prefecture of Kosovo	Murat, Syl Begu (with his wife Hajrien), Gal, Mehmet Hasani participant of a family. Isuf Delia and Ram Delia, from Peja		Murat Hasani was in Kukës for treatment after his flesh had fallen off from the cold. Then he stayed in the Field of Shtoji- Shkodra. Jusuf and Ram Delija were allowed to stay in Gurëz i Kruja. <sup>11</sup>
03.02.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Bajram Vokshi Yugoslavia	Family reunion	Zadrime. <sup>12</sup>
07.02.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Seid Muja and Nezir Cena from Peja district and Isuf Brahimi from Gjakova district	His	Seid Muja settled in Durrës, while Nezir Cena and Isuf Brahimi settled in Tirana. <sup>13</sup>



https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/jhf

08.02.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Murat Hasani with six members from Peja. Jusuf Delija from Peja	Murat left after being charged with a crime and as a result of pressure from the	Jusuf and Ram Delija were allowed to stay in Gurëz i Kruja. Murat Hasani was in Kukës for treatment after his flesh had fallen off from the cold. <sup>15</sup>
/ .02. 1934	/	Shaban Ahmet Maloku from Gjakova	/	Tirana, served as a servant at the Technical School. <sup>16</sup>
01.03.1934	National Defense Command	Bejtulla Haxhia from Gjilan	Student in high school in	Tirana, to Professor Avni Gjilani, then left for Durres. <sup>17</sup>
06.03.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Beqir Latifi from Peja	/	In Tirana to Bahri Begoll. <sup>18</sup>
06.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Muradije Zaimi together with her daughter Fetije from Gjakova	/	In Kukës near brother Tahir Zaimi. <sup>19</sup>
08.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Sali Kadri Zeqirani Alil Zeqir Zeqirani Shaban Kadriu Binak Kadriu Ajna Zeqiraj Sali Deli Binaku, from Peja district	They wanted to settle in Albania	Shkodra. <sup>20</sup>



13.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Sheribane Aliu (13 year), from Gjakova	Joined his parents	Kukës. <sup>21</sup>
13.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Cen Zek Berisha Ruke Zeka (mother) Kade Cena (wife) Time Ceni (daughter) Zek Ceni (son) Arif Zeka (brother), from Peja district		Shkodra. <sup>22</sup>
13.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Hysen Mali Hate Mali (mother) Rexhep and Idriz Mali (brothers) from Peja district		Shkodra. <sup>23</sup>
13.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Mustafa Haredini Hajrie Hajredini (mother) Cyne Mustafa (wife) from Peja district		Shkodra. <sup>24</sup>
13.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Shaban Tahiri Nik Shabani (son) Adem Shabani (son) Sadri Alija (grandson) Dyke Sadria (daughter-in-law) Rustem Alija (grandson) Xufe Rustemi (daughter-in-law) Avdyl Alija (grandson) from Peja district		Shkodra. <sup>25</sup>



658

13.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Daut Tafa Saha Bajrami (mother) Xufe Tafa (wife) Ukë Bajram Tafa (cousin), Rabe Bajrami (cousin), Tahir Bajrami (cousin) Hasan Tafa (cousin) from Peja district	/	Shkodra. <sup>26</sup>
13.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Shaban Beqirit Emine Shabani (wife), Rustem Shabani (son), Time Shabani (daughter) dhe Mona Shabani (daughter) from Peja district	Të settle in Shkodra	Shkodra. <sup>27</sup>
14.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Ram Osmani Mihane Osmani (stepmother), Mane (sister) dhe Bajrami (brother); Tahir Klimenti Shahe (daughter); Islam Mustafa, Azize (wife) Xhyle (daughter) Beka (son) from Peja district	/	Shkodra. <sup>28</sup>
16.04.1934	Commander of Baon V of the Royal Border Guard	Zeqir Hetemi Brahim Tahiri from Prizren	To get	/
24.04.1934	Prefecture of Tirana	Gani Ahmet Begolli from Peja	To settle in Albania	Tirana. <sup>30</sup>
24.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Nurie Kabashi from Gjakova	To join his son Adem	Tirana. <sup>31</sup>



24.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Rexhep Bajrami with 4 member, Fakso Delija with 6 member from village Zallci (Zallçi municipality of Istog S.G); Jonus Kamberi with 7 member, Xhem Ismaili	For	/
		with 7 member, Asllan Halili with 3 member, Sokol Ismaili with 3 member, Arif Fazliu with 4 member , Uk Kuroshi with 5 member, from Istog		
25.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Hysejn Canhasi from Gjakova	To settle near to his son	Tirana. <sup>33</sup>
28.04. 1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Xhemë Tahiri with 9 member from village Bllagajë (Pejë); Islam Ademi with 4 member from village Grabanicë (Klinë); Ymer Abazi with 6 member from village Llukafçe (?) Peja district ; Rexhep Kadrija with 5 member from village Zallce (Zallçi – Istog); Seidin Ibishi with 3 member from village. Kliçinë – Pejë; Mehmet Alija with 5 member from village Cërrcë – Istog; Uk Bajrami with 4 member from village Lubozhdë- Istog		/



30.04.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Isuf Hasan Ejupi	install	Krumë. <sup>35</sup>
	Royal Border Guard	from Gjakova Ali Teta from village		,
01.05.1934	Corps Command	Novosell of Peja		/
04.05.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Rexhep Xheladini with 6 member from Prizren	install	Vlorë. <sup>37</sup>
11.05.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Ismet Ibrahim Iliasi from Gjakova	/	Wanted in Kukës. <sup>38</sup>
12.05.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Osman Beqir Islamit from village Zallac (Zahaq S.G) of Peja	To go near family. <sup>39</sup>	/
15.05.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Asllan Bajram Shandra with 3 persona from Peja district. <sup>40</sup>	/	/
17.05.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Kadri Abdyli from village Llaushë -Skenderaj	/	Shijak.41
17.05.1934	The chief commissioner of police in Durrës	Tahir Rexha, Zeqir Rexha with their third brother	Family	/
26.05.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Zeqir Etemi from village Gjonaj, Ibrahim Tahiri from Prizren, Sefer Tafa from village Kaznik, Rahovec	/	Zeqiri in Kolsh. Ibrahimi in Shkodra but according to Prefecture of Shkodra Ibrahimi was decided in Rrashbull of Durrës, <sup>43</sup> while Seferi in Berat. <sup>44</sup>
31.05.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Isuf Ismaili from Gjakova	To escape	Kukës.45
05.06.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Beqir Islami with 5 member and Deli Ramani with 10 member from Peja. <sup>46</sup>	/	/
07.06.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Jonus Hasan Rexha from Gjakova	/	Tirana.47

26.06.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Asllan Jakup Aliu and Gjylçe Daut Aliu from Gjakova	/	Krumë. <sup>48</sup>
28.06.1934	Commander of Baon V of the Royal Border Guard (Nesip Riza)	Ramadan Shabani from village Kiev. <sup>49</sup>	/	/
02.07.1934	Prefecture of Berat	Sefer Tafa from Kosovo	/	Plyktë Fier. <sup>50</sup>
04.07.1934	Royal Border Guard Corps Command	Ave Ibrahimaj, Leme Ibrahimaj, Hate Asllani, Mide Asllani, Hate Rustemi, Rushit Asllani, Vas Asllani, Shaban Asllani, Vefa (?) Asllani, Hamide Rustemi and Have Rustemi from the village Kushgjin (Kushnin S.G) in Prizren	In order to join their	/
05.07.1934	Ministry of Internal Affairs	Mursel Alushi from Gjakova, installed in Jub in Durrës	Served the	Shkodra. <sup>52</sup>
11.07.1934	Commander of Baon V of the Royal Border Guard (Nesip Riza)	Zef Doda with his wife Marie Prengën from Prizren		/
28.07.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Xheladin Ahmedi from Gjakova	/	Krumë. <sup>54</sup>
06.08.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Gjet Ahmeti together with his son Sylejman and the girl from Gjakova	To settle in	/
31.08.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Ramiz Malush Hana from Gjakova Sabit Zyhdi Mehmeti from Gjilan	/	Tirana. <sup>56</sup>
03.10.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Dervish Hasab Zhuri from Gjakova	Had refused to serve in the	Krumë.57

662



05.10.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Shahe Ramadani, Sade Coli, Zylfije Coli, Rivije Rexha, Bajram Syla, Syl Bajrami, Hiler Sadiku, Halim Sadiku, and Salih Mani participant of a family from village Gërqin of Gjakova.	/	Kukës.58
14.10.1934	Prefecture of Tirana	Hasan Zenel Can Hasi from Gjakova		Tirana. <sup>59</sup>
25.10.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Xheladin Rexha from Gjakova	Relapse in	/
31.10.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Ibrahim Beqiri from Gjakova	/	Krumë. <sup>61</sup>
09.11.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Haki Cen Daija	/	Kukës.62
13.11.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Mustafa Riza from Gjakova – 13 year	Family reunion with mother and brother	Tropoja. <sup>63</sup>
/ 1934	Prefecture of Shkodra	Cen Bajrami from Gjakova	/	The
/ 1934	Prefecture of Shkodra	Rexh Ademi from Gjakova	/	Koplik.65
22.11.1934	Ministry of Internal Affairs; Prefecture of Durrës; Prefecture of Kruja	<ul> <li>Hajdar Abdia,</li> <li>together with wife a</li> <li>child</li> <li>Shfqet Shasivari</li> <li>Vasfije Shasivari</li> <li>Sofije Shasivari</li> <li>from village</li> <li>Vinarcë of Mitrovica</li> </ul>	To be	Hasanaj- Krujë. <sup>66</sup>
12.12.1934	Ministry of Internal Affairs	Hysen Delia, Man Delia, Shaban Meta, Jusuf Zymeri, Metë Halili and Zylfije Deli Rahmani from the surrounding of Peja.	To settle in Albania	Lushnje,due to climatic conditions they had come to Kukes. <sup>67</sup>



31.12.1934	Prefecture of Kosovo	Dervish Kadriu, with his brother Rrustemin and Demush Halilin from Deçani, Man Syla from Gramaçeli, Musa Sadiku with his wife Zylen, the girl Fatën and three boys(Jusuf, Ramë, Arif) from municipality of Peja. <sup>68</sup>	/	/
/. /. 1934	/	Qazim Vraga from Orobërda of Istog	/	Mamuras.69
/./. 1934		Qazim Fejzullahu	/	Karbunar, Lushnjë. <sup>70</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 710, dated 12. 12.1935 for citizenship registration	Halime, the widow of Emin Nuçi born in Gjakova completed the conditions specified in paragraph 5 to art. 7 civil code for obtaining Albanian citizenship.	/	Kolgecaj. <sup>71</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 661, dated 2. 12.1935 for citizenship registration	Hajrullah Kabashi born in Gjakova, together with mother Xhylqe, wife Xhevahire, children Mandush and Sadif	/	Tropoja. <sup>72</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 657, dated 2. 12.1935 for citizenship registration	Rexhep Puka born in Gjakova, together with wifeNaile, with son Fatmir born in Kukës. <sup>73</sup>	/	



1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 96, dated 15. 02.1936 for citizenship registration	Ibrahim Hasimja born in Gjakova, together with wife Nasife, with two sons Selim unmarried and Ali married with Sanije and with son Musa (granson of Ibrahim) all born in Gjakova .	/	Luzhë – Tropoja. <sup>74</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, dated 22. 01.1936 for citizenship registration	Ahmet Bruti born in Gjakova, together with two sons Qamil born in Gjakova and Nazim born in Qerret of Puka, the girls Hilmije and Zykije born in Qerret in Puka acquired the right to Albanian citizenship	/	Qeret – Pukë. <sup>75</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.116, dated 24. 02.1936 for citizenship registration	Xhemile Agusholli, born in Peja, together with girl Makbule	/	Tirana. <sup>76</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.151, dated 19. 03.1936 for citizenship registration	Rexhep Nushi, born in Gjakova together with wife Fatime born in Prizren and with son Refik born in Gjakova	/	Pukë. <sup>77</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 208, dated 16. 04.1936 for citizenship registration	Xheladin Godeni, born , together with wife Hatixhe born in Gjakova, with girl Servete born in 1935 in Kukës	/	Kukës. <sup>78</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 468, dated 9. 07.1936 for citizenship registration	Hysni Bakia, born in Gjakova	/	Tropoja. <sup>79</sup>

1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 418, dated 22. 06.1936 for citizenship registration	Hul Isniqaj, born in Isniq, together with wife Fane, born in Botush, with girls Zylfie, Ajshe, Ademe and with son Haxhi married with Zejnepe from Isniq.	/	Tropoja. <sup>80</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.653, dated 27. 08.1936 for citizenship registration	Ali Berisha, born in Peja. Unmarried	/	Tirana. <sup>81</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.710, dated 12.09.1936 for citizenship registration	Ibrahim Sheremeti, i born in Gjakova. Unmarried. <sup>82</sup>	/	/
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.225, dated 24. 02.1937 for citizenship registration	Mahmut Bajrami born in Gjakova, together with Zyhra Bajramin (wife), Ismet Bajrami, Lite Bajrami (brothers).	/	Krumë. <sup>83</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.423, dated 10. 05.1937 for citizenship registration	Ramadani Shabani born in Prizren	/	Krumë. <sup>84</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 547, dated 25. 05.1937 for citizenship registration	Ali Mehmeti, born in Peja,together with Dude (mother), Fatime (sister) and Mustafa (brother)	/	Koplik. <sup>85</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.431, dated 10. 05.1937 for citizenship registration	Shuret Popocaj born in Gjakova.	/	Gegaj, Tropojë. <sup>86</sup>



https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/jhf

1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.79, dated 24.01.1938 for citizenship registration	Emine Berisha, born in Peja	/	Tirana. <sup>87</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 142, dated 2.02.1938 for citizenship registration	Shefki Shasivari, born in Gjakova	student	Tirana. <sup>88</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.593, dated 27.05.1938 Decision of the Council of Ministers	Ruzhdi Suraje, born in Prizren	/	Tirana. <sup>89</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 1055, dated 15.09.1938 for citizenship registration	Elmaze Ejupi, born in Gjakova together with other family members : Servete (daughter), Rakibe (daughter), Zija (son )and Ilhami.	/	Durrës. <sup>90</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 957, dated 23.08.1938 for citizenship registration	Zeqir Lushi, born in Prizren	/	Kukës. <sup>91</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no.119, dated 13.10.1938 for citizenship registration	Ahmet Çevolli, born in Peja together with family members : Fetije (wife) dhe Rifati ( son) .	/	Tirana. <sup>92</sup>
1934	Decision of the Council of Ministers, no. 271, dated 9.03.1939 for citizenship registration	Sose Saraniqi, born in Gjakova the widow, together with children: Xhane, Dije and Rexhep.	/	Berishë- Kukës. <sup>93</sup>

gusht 1941	High Civil Commissariat for Kosovo, Dibër and Struga	Gjylka Belegu the widow of Bajram Qorr Kadiut, with children from Peja	Seizure of property in Peja. Difficult	/
1941	High Civil Commissariat for Kosovo, Dibër and Struga	Fejzullah Çerkin Zeka from village Poturos municipality of Lipjan		Lushnjë.95

Immigrants were transported from the border to the place of installation at the expense of the state. They were provided housing, food and 3 lek per day for each member, until they received the first produce from the land that was given to them.<sup>54</sup>

Belgrade's goal was the denationalization of Kosovo and other countries in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, therefore programs and plans were drawn up for the relocation of Albanians. This task was entrusted to the so-called "Serbian Culture Club", which operated in the mid-1930s based in Belgrade.

This organization included people from different professions such as: historians, sociologists, publicists, economists, soldiers, senior officials and politicians. They wanted the forced displacement of Albanians to continue in a more organized and forceful manner. The most right-wing organs of the Serbian press, such as "Srbs' voice", "New Serbia", etc., became the public spokesmen of the "Serbian Culture Club", which under the slogan "Serbs unite!" they encouraged the spirit of Serbian hegemony in the Yugoslav Kingdom.<sup>55</sup>

In conclusion, we can assume that with all the data provided, there were also many cases when the displaced Albanian families from Kosovo had crossed the border illegally and had stayed in Albania without being registered. People who were displaced as a result of Serbian pressure, violence, agrarian reform and institutional colonization against Albanians. Belgrade was engaged in the Albanians who moved from Kosovo to Albania being unconsolidated and unframed in the political scene. Being consolidated, they could undertake various actions against the violence that was used against the Albanians in Kosovo, while being an active part of the politics in Albania at any moment, both inside the country and in the external diplomatic plan, they would internationalize the situation of the Albanian population in Kosovo and other countries that were left in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

<sup>54</sup> Tafil Boletini, *Përballë sfidave të kohës, Kujtime II (1916-1963)*, përshtati dhe përgatiti për botim Dr. Marenglen Verli, Tetovë, 1996, p. 182

<sup>55</sup> Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, vëllimi i tretë..., p. 485



## References

## Central State Archive of the Republic of Albania

Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror i Republikës së Shqipërisë, (further on cited as: AQSH), Fondi (further on cited as: F) 150, viti (further on cited as: v) 1934, Dosja (further on cited as: D) I-361

AQSH, F. 150, V. 1934, D. III - 673 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/1 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/1A AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/2 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83.2A AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 84 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86 AQSH, F. 151, V. 1934, D. 142 AQSH, F. 167, V. 1941, D. 45 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618

#### Archive of the Institute of History, Tirana

Arkivi i Institutit të Historisë, Tiranë, Public Record Office - London, Foreign Office, viti 1935, Albania General Correspondenc, Political British Legat, Durrazo, përkth. A. Dako, A - 98, FO 371/19477

#### Archive of Kosovo – Pristina

Arkivi i Kosovës – Prishtinë, Arkivi i Institutit Historik ushtarak - Beograd, Fondi: Arkivi i ish ushtrisë jugosllave, Njësia organizative: "Popisnik" 17, Elaborat – 20, viti: 1920-1940, Nr. Kutisë: 5, Popisnik, 17, K. 95 – vit F. 2 nr.10

#### **Published archival sources**

Arkivi Shtetëror i Republikës së Maqedonisë & Agjencia Shtetërore e Arkivave të Kosovës, *Politika e Mbretërisë Jugosllave ndaj Shqiptarëve dhe Shqipërisë 1929 – 1941,* me përzgjedhje, parathënie dhe redaktim nga Mr. Qerim Lita, Shkup – Prishtinë, 2012

Prof. Dr. Jusuf Osmani, Kolonizimi, reforma agrare dhe shpërngulja e shqiptarëve nga Kosova 1918-1941, dokumente: Shpërngulja 3, Prishtinë, 2016

Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Premte, 17 kallnduer 1936, nr.2

Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hënë, 20 kallnduer 1936, nr. 3

Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Martë, 4 fruer 1936, nr. 6

Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hënë, 17 fruer 1936, nr. 9

Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hane, 9 marc 1936, nr. 11 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Shtunde, 25 prill 1936, nr. 23 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hane, 27 prill 1936, nr. 24 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hane, 23 korrik 1936, nr. 49 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Prende, 3 korrik 1936, nr. 43 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Merkure, 9 Shtatuer 1936, nr. 59 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hane, 21 Shtatuer 1936, nr. 36 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Prende, 5 Marc 1937, nr. 13 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Shtunde, 5 Qershuer 1937, nr. 41 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Prende, 11 Qershuer 1937, nr. 43 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Prende, 18 Fruer 1938, nr. 8 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Merkure, 20 korrik 1938, nr. 54 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hane, 26 Shtatuer 1938, nr. 73 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Shtunde, 10 shtator 1938, nr. 68 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hane, 24 Tetuer 1938, nr. 82 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Prende, 31 Marc 1939, nr. 24

#### Literature

Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike, Instituti i Historisë, *Historia e Shqiptarëve gjatë shek XX (1925 – 1939)*, vëllimi III, Tiranë, 2020

Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, vëllimi i tretë (1912 - 1939),* Toena, Tiranë, 2007

Bajrami, H. (1981). Rrethanat shoqërore dhe politike në Kosovë më 1918 – 1941. Prishtinë.

Bajrami, H. (2004). Antimemorandum. Prishtinë.

Bajrami, H. (2010). Shqiptarët në mes dy totalitarizmave 1918 – 1999. Prishtinë.

Boletini, T. (1996). Përballë sfidave të kohës, Kujtime II (1916-1963). Tetovë.

Gashi, B. (2018). Ah..., Shqipni..., mos thuj mbarova!, Durrës.

Hoti, I. (1997). *Qëndrimi i diplomacisë italiane ndaj Shqipërisë dhe Shqiptarëve (1930-1934)*, Prishtinë.

Osmani, J. (1996). Lënda arkivore për kolonizimin dhe reformën agrare në Kosovë (1918-1941), Prishtinë.

Ushtelenca, I. (1997). Diplomacia e Mbretit Zogu I -rë, Ermir, Tiranë.

Verli, M. (1992). *Reforma agrare kolonizuese në Kosovë (1918 – 1941)*, Iliria, Tiranë. Verli, M. (2014). *Interesimi i shtetit shqiptar për shqiptarët në Jugosllavi në vitet 20* 

-30 të shek. XX, në: Aspekte rreth krijimit dhe zgjidhjes së çështjes shqiptare (shek. XIX – XX), Vëllimi I, Klean, Tiranë.

Zamir Sh. (1992), Aspekte të politkës së shpërnguljes me dhunë të shqiptarëve nga Kosova në vitet 1936-1941, në: *Shpërnguljet e shqiptarëve gjatë shekujve*, libri, I, Shoqata për kthimin e shqiptarëve të shpërngulur nga Kosova, Prishtinë.

### (Footnotes in Table)

1 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83, Korrespondencë me disa prefektura, Ministrinë e Punëve të Jashtme etj., për ardhjen, kalimin transit ose qëndrimin në Shqipëri të disa shtetasve jugosllavë (kosovarë e kombësi të tjera) si emigrantë, dezertorë, gazetarë, diplomatë, agjentë si dhe survejimi, gjurmimi dhe shërbimi përkatës nga ana e autoriteteve shqiptare, p. 168

2 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, Korrespondencë me disa prefektura, Ministrinë e Punëve të Jashtme etj., për ardhjen, kalimin transit ose qëndrimin në Shqipëri të disa shtetasve jugosllavë (kosovarë e kombësi të tjera) si emigrantë, dezertorë, gazetarë, diplomatë, agjentë si dhe survejimi, gjurmimi dhe shërbimi përkatës nga ana e autoriteteve shqiptare, pp. 259, 260, 261, 271

3 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, Shkresa njoftimi të Komandës së Mbrojtjes Kombëtare, për kalim kufiri të *shtetasve të huaj ose shqiptarë në Greqi e Jugosllavi e anasjelltas me pasaportë ose arratisje dhe incidente në kufi*, f. 17; Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Merkure, 25 gusht 1937, nr. 66, p. 1

4 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 297 5 Ibid., p. 296 6 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, p. 21 7 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 384 8 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 386 9 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, p. 37 10 Ibid., p. 34 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, pp. 388, 302, 304 11 12 Ibid., p. 298 13 Ibid., p. 300 14 Ibid., p. 386 15 Ibid., p. 388 16 Ibid., pp. 410, 411 17 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/1, pp. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8

e-ISSN 2458-7672 https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/jhf

- 18 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 306
- 19 Ibid., p. 311

20 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, Kërkesa të emigrantëve jugosllavë dhe korrespondencë e Ministrisë së Punëve të Brendshme me prefekturat, për dhënie vize pasaporte për ardhje dhe ikje nga Shqipëria, si dhe lista të emigrantëve që kanë marrë vizë pasaporte për në Shqipëri, p.47

21	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 313
22	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, p. 54-55
23	Ibid., pp. 56, 57
24	Ibid., pp. 58, 59
25	Ibid., pp. 60,61
26	Ibid., pp. 63, 64
27	Ibid., pp. 65, 66
28	Ibid., p.48
29	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, p. 78
30	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 315
31	Ibid.
32	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, p. 52, 53
33	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 317
34	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, pp. 50, 51
35	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 383
36	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, p. 105
37	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 322
38	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, p.44
39	Ibid., p.43
40	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, p.40
41	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 324

42 AQSH, F. 152, V.1934, D. 83/1A, Korrespondencë me disa prefektura, Ministrinë e Punëve të Jashtme etj., për ardhjen, kalimin transit ose qëndrimin në Shqipëri të disa shtetasve jugosllavë (kosovarë e kombësi të tjera) si emigrantë, dezertorë, gazetarë, diplomatë, agjentë si dhe survejimi, gjurmimi dhe shërbimi përkatës nga ana e autoriteteve shqiptare, p. 276

43 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, pp. 325, 329, 345

44 Ibid., p. 329



45	Ibid., p. 327
46	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, p. 41,42
47	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 423
48	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, p. 62
49	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, p. 140
50	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 337
51	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, p. 179

52 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/2, Korrespondencë me disa prefektura, Ministrinë e Punëve të Jashtme etj., për ardhjen, kalimin transit ose qëndrimin në Shqipëri të disa shtetasve jugosllavë (kosovarë e kombësi të tjera) si emigrantë, dezertorë, gazetarë, diplomatë, agjentë si dhe survejimi, gjurmimi dhe shërbimi përkatës nga ana e autoriteteve shqiptare, p. 8

53	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 86, p.187
54	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 336
55	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, p. 166
56	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, pp. 334, 343, 344
57	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 347
58	Ibid., p. 348
59	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/2, pp. 180,181
60	AQSH, F.152 MPB, V.1934, D.83.2A, Korresponder

60 AQSH, F.152 MPB, V.1934, D.83.2A, Korrespondencë me disa prefektura, Ministrinë e Punëve të Jashtme etj., për ardhjen, kalimin transit ose qëndrimin në Shqipëri të disa shtetasve jugosllavë (kosovarë e kombësi të tjera) si emigrantë, dezertorë, gazetarë, diplomatë, agjentë si dhe survejimi, gjurmimi dhe shërbimi përkatës nga ana e autoriteteve shqiptare, p. 239

6	1	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/A, p. 351
6	2	Ibid., p. 352
6	3	Ibid., p. 353
6	4	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 83/1, p. 111
6	5	Ibid., p. 113
6	6	AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, pp. 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130

- 67 AQSH, F.152 MPB, V.1934, D.83.2A, pp. 247, 248, 249
- 68 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 84, p. 11
- 69 Bajram Halil Gashi, Ah..., Shqipni..., mos thuj mbarova!, Durrës, 2018, p.

56

- 70 AQSH, F. 152, V. 1934, D. 618, pp.10,11,12,13
- 71 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e premte, 17 kallnduer 1936, nr. 2, p. 7
- 72 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e hënë, 20 kallnduer 1936, nr. 3, p. 1
- 73 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e hënë, 20 kallnduer 1936, nr. 3, p. 2
- 74 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e hënë, 17 fruer 1936, nr. 9, p. 3
- 75 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e martë, 4 fruer 1936, nr. 6, p. 1-2
- 76 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e hane, 9 marc 1936, nr. 11, p. 2
- 77 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e shtunde, 25 prill 1936, nr. 23, p. 6
- 78 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e hane, 27 prill 1936, nr. 24, p. 2
- 79 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e hane, 23 korrik 1936, nr. 49, p. 5
- 80 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e prende, 3 korrik 1936, nr. 43, p. 3
- 81 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e merkure, 9 Shtatuer 1936, nr. 59, p. 3
- 82 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e hane, 21 Shtatuer 1936, nr. 36, p. 5
- 83 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e prende, 5 Marc 1937, nr. 13, p. 3
- 84 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e shtunde, 5 Qershuer 1937, nr. 41, p. 9 10
- 85 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e prende,11 Qershuer 1937, nr. 43, p. 4
- 86 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Shtunde, 5 Qershuer 1937, nr. 41, pp. 10 11
- 87 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Prende, 18 Fruer 1938, nr. 8, p. 3
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Merkure, 20 korrik 1938, nr. 54, p. 3
- 90 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hane, 26 Shtatuer 1938, nr. 73, p. 2
- 91 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Shtunde, 10 shtator 1938, nr. 68, p. 2
- 92 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Hane, 24 Tetuer 1938, nr. 82, p. 1
- 93 Fletorja Zyrtare, Tiranë, e Prende, 31 Marc 1939, nr. 24, p. 6

94 AQSH, F.167, V. 1941, D. 45, Korrespondencë e Komisariatit të Naltë Civil me Prefekturën, Intendencën e Financave, Zyrën e Myftinisë në Prizren, Komandën e Divizionit "Puglia" etj., dhe lutje të pronarëve mbi zgjidhjen e disa problemeve (njohje, humbje etj.) të pasurive të tundshme e të patundsme të tyre të ndodhura në Jugosllavi edhe sekuestrimin e pasurive të të arratisurve, pp. 16 - 17

95 Ibid., p. 34