

**Serbian Higher Educational Leadership
and the Ethnic Cleansing of the Albanian
Muslims in Kosova**
(Former Yugoslavia)

by

Dr. Hajredin Hoxha

Ph.D. in Qur'anic Exegeses

Taibah University

Al Madinah Al Munawarah

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

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ABSTRACT

Unfortunately, most of the Serbian historiographers, intellectuals and scientists since the middle of 19th century up to this date poisoned their people with a foolishness, fallacy and horrible plans in order to establish Serbian power and state in Balkans, missing the fact, that they were living as a minority under Ottoman Islamic Empire, more than five centuries.

Yet again, by all means they are suffering from the complex of inferiority towards the Muslims. Such a degenerated educational leadership by the time has created a degenerated consciousness and psychology to the majority of Serbo-Montenegrin people. People like this use to exaggerate the mythological conception how the Serbians are the martyred and victimized people since Kosova battle in 1389, claiming that they “won battle against Turks”. According to them, the Serbians pertain to “Heavenly people” (read: Satanic), which have the “holy blood”, “holy territories”, “sacred borders”, etc. To muddle peoples head, these ideas were supported and helped by Fundamentalist Orthodox Serbian Church ¹.

The main causes which led to the shattering and the destruction of the former Yugoslavia, as a multi religious, multi ethnic and multi racial country, were the Serbian ultra nationalism, its blind chauvinism, and its dead-end policies towards other ethnicities. These extreme statements and ideas, were cultivated by the Serbia's political, religious and educational leaders, especially Orientalists, which is seldom in modern times, that Orientalism had a such direct relationship to Serbian policy ².

Serbian blind ideology has produced numerous educational leaders and university professors, who adopted such an extreme views towards other ethnicities in former Yugoslavia, justifying the genocide and mass killing in Bosnia and recently in Kosova. The consequences of adopting and believing in such destructive ideas, has led them to lose their illusive kingdom, power, state and their superiority upon other Balkan Peninsula nations in the modern history.

Dr. Vaso Cubrilovic, an academican of former Yugoslavia, was one among the most famous educational and political leaders, whose ideas have had a strong and

1 For more details, refer to the study of prof.dr: Gashi, Musa; (1997), Some Facts About Kosova, Logos-Shkup, p.5-21

2 Cigar, Norman; (2003), The Role of Serbian Orientalists in Justification of Genocide against Muslims in Balkans, Logos - Shkup, p. 61-71

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negative impact in eradicating, eliminating and collapsing the former Yugoslavia. In order to understand his negative and destructive leadership in destabilizing and shattering former Yugoslavia, it would be very useful to shed some light on his ideas, statements and views, in his numerous memorandums, which he was presenting to the Serbian Government in Belgrade, on March 7th.1937, and on February 6th.1944. This study will enable us to understand this issue better

Keywords: *Myths, Ethnic Cleansing, Albanian Muslims, Serbian, Minorities*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent , the Most Merciful

PREFACE ³

All praises and thanks are due to Allah (s.w.t.), the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, who sent His messenger with guidance, mercy and true religion. Peace and blessing of Allah be upon him, upon his companion, his followers and upon all of those who follow his footsteps.

The war in Bosnia is of a piece with the war in Croatia that preceded it, and of the war in Kosova that is being waged at the time of this writing. These are not three separate, successive wars; they are three stages of a single process of the break-up of Yugoslavia...Both can only be understood as the Greater Serbian ideology at work ⁴. Like any other ideology, the Greater Serbian idea has been created, elaborated, and popularized by intellectuals ⁵, ...but Serbia's war on Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and now Kosova, is not just another unjust war. It is rather a systematic onslaught of a large and well-equipped army and police force, together with assorted militias, on the civilian population of these countries... The aim of this onslaught was - in the case of Kosova is - to conquer all or most of their territories, "cleanse" them of their non-Serb inhabitants and of all traces of their history and culture, settle them by Serbs, and annex them to Serbia. In the course of this war, the Serbs have perpetrated war crimes and crimes against humanity, including genocide, that had not been seen in Europe since World War II ⁶.

³ This study originally is a paper presented in the International Conference on **Educational Leadership in Cultural Diversity and Globalization**, organized by the Faculty of Education, Prince of Songkla University, Pattani Campus, April 8th -10th , 2008, Phuket Graceland Resort & Spa, Phuket, THAILAND

⁴ Professor. Dr. Igor Primoratz, Department of Philosophy, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel; <http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/prim.html>

⁵ Ibid

⁶ <http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/prim1.html>

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On Tuesday February 26.2008, *Guardian* Newspaper asked the famous historian and writer, Noel Malcolm, who is a senior research fellow at All Souls College, Oxford. He is also the author of *Kosovo: A Short History*, about whether Kosova is or belongs to Serbia or not ? Due to this important interview, we see reasonable in this preface to quote some excerpts from that interview:

“...History, for the Serbs, started in the early 7th century, when they settled in the Balkans. Their power base was outside Kosovo, which they fully conquered in the early 13th, so the claim that Kosovo was the "cradle" of the Serbs is untrue... Kosovo remained Ottoman territory until it was conquered by Serbian forces in 1912...But legally, Kosovo was not incorporated into the Serbian kingdom in 1912; it remained occupied territory until some time after 1918. Then, finally, it was incorporated, not into a Serbian state, but into a Yugoslav one...Until the destruction of the old federal Yugoslavia by Milosevic, Kosovo had a dual status... It was, in fact, one of the eight units of the federal system. Almost all the other units have now become independent states. Historically, the independence of Kosovo just completes that process⁷.

⁷ www.guardian.co.uk; also see: www.kosovothanksyou.com

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Section one

1. A SHORT PRESENTATION OF THE HISTORICAL DATA

1-1- Historical and Geographical Perspective

Kosova lies on the south of former Yugoslavia, bordered by Serbia to the northeast, Montenegro to the north, Macedonia to the south and Albania to the southwest. More than 95 % of its 2.5 million population are Albanian Muslims, (1% Albanian Catholics), and the rest minorities are Serbs, Turks, Bosnians (Gorans, Terbeshis), and Gypsies. Albanians also live in large numbers in areas bordering Kosova: 1 million in Macedonia; 100.000 in Montenegro; 60.000 in Serbia (Presheva, Medvegje, and Bujanovc); more than 500.000 live in Europe, USA, Australia, and 4 million in the mother country of Albania - a divided nation of 8 million people living side by side in the Balkans and in Diaspora.

Albanians in the former Yugoslavia are an indigenous population living in their historical homeland, settled already during the Stone Age. They inhabited these territories since the times of the ancient Illyrians, from whom they descended. Kosova, as well as the other territories inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia, was occupied by Serbia in 1913, and the Europe of those days approved the borders we have today.

After the division of the Roman Empire, until the end of the 8th century the Byzantium Empire ruled in Balkans, about 850, afterwards the Bulgars were the rulers of Balkans. The Serbo-Sllavs penetrated to Blkans arriving from Karpat's Mountains, Russia, during the 7th and 8th centuries, and settled around the river Danub. Stefan Nemanja's Serbia for the first time was created in 1180 and in 1219, and the Church has become auto cephalic up to the Ottoman's Empire. Beginning from 1373, the Serbian territories were under the Turkish Empire. From 1389 (the Kosova battle) up to 1918, till Turkish defeat in the Balkans, Almost the whole Balkan Peninsula was under Ottoman Empire rule ⁸.

Kosova was an Albanian-majority territory of the Ottoman empire until 1912. The Serbian army engaged in large-scale ethnic-cleansing designed to alter the demographic character of the population. After Serbia and Kosova joined Yugoslavia

8 See: Gashi, Musa; Some Facts About Kosova, Op. cit. 9-18

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in 1918, the Belgrade regime attempted to colonize Kosova with Serb and Montenegrin settlers. When Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy dismembered Yugoslavia in 1941, they dismembered also Kosova, which was partitioned between Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria

The new arrangement dismembered the Albanian territories leaving the predominantly Albanian lands of Eastern Albanian to Serbia, and later to Yugoslavia. Similarly, after World War II, Serbia succeeded in reannexing Kosova again by force.

With the creation of modern Yugoslavia in 1945, six federal "republics" emerged: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. Serbia included two autonomous provinces: Voivodina, with a large Hungarian population, and the predominantly Albanian Kosova.

The 1946 Yugoslav constitution recognized the separate identity of Kosova. At the same time, it divided Albanian - inhabited lands among Serbia, Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro. In 1963, under the influence of Serbian secret police, boss Alexander Rankovic, Kosova was incorporated as commune in Serbia. After Rankovic's fall in 1974, Kosova was reinstated as an autonomous Province.

Immediately following World War II and for a short period thereafter, Albanians in Kosova, who make up 95 percent of the local population, enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. This brief period was fully destroyed by Serbia after 1981.

The destructive process began in 1981, after the bloody student riots that left as many as 300 Albanians killed. More than (600,000) have gone through police hands since then, and over 7,000 have received jail sentences of up to 20 years. In 1988, 1989 and 1990, a wave of massive demonstrations by dissatisfied Albanians were mercilessly crushed by Serbian special police forces. Police brutality, operating on "emergency state laws" has reached monstrous proportions: house searches, massive beatings, torture and killings.

With the forced "constitutional changes" of March 1989, and the subsequent dismantling of Kosova's administration and economy (Serbia has taken over 250 large and medium-sized companies), Kosova has been transformed into an administrative and economic appendix of Serbia, with the violation of the basic human rights of Albanians. Faced with these "intolerable acts", 115 delegates from the Assembly of Kosova proclaimed the independence of Kosova within the Yugoslav Federation (July 2, 1990).

On September 28, 1990, Serbia adopted a new Constitution that completely eliminated Kosova's autonomy. As of mid-1991, the people of Kosova held a

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referendum in which 87% of the population participated, resulting in a 99% vote in favor of an independent state. In October 19th, 1991, based on this referendum, Kosova was declared a sovereign independent state and a transitional government was formed. On June 23, 1992, however, the Serbian police used armed vehicles to prevent seating of a newly-elected government in Kosova.

Serbian police have expelled nearly all Albanian physicians, dismissed 7000 students, prohibited the use of Albanian language of instruction, closed the University of Prishtina, replaced the Albanian judges with Serbian jurists, and engaged in random beatings, kidnappings, torture, house searches and killing. The Serbian government has shut down Albanian Radio and Television operations and used its own media to promote anti-Albanian racism in the region.

Economic strangulation has been a key element of Serbia's takeover of Kosova. "Compulsory administration" has been imposed on most of Kosova's more than one hundred economic centers, resulting in the collapse of Kosova's economy. More than 75,000 Albanian families were unemployed. It is estimated that close to half a million Albanians were suffering from food shortages, and there was real danger of widespread starvation.

With no real recognition and intervention at that time by the International community to prevent the daily brutality inflicted on innocent civilians, Albanians had no choice but to resort the self-defense of their honor, families, neighbors, property, and communities. The ill-equipped Kosova Liberation Army (KLA)- (UCK), emerged from this struggle to survive, and it has declared itself as a defense force with no terrorist aims absolutely, because the Albanian Muslims (Albania, Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, Presheva, Bujanovc, Medvegje) are very well known Muslim nation in Europe for their moderate version of Islam and their religious tolerance with the followers of other religions, especially the Christians, both Orthodox and Chatholics.

Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic effectively ended Kosova's autonomy and divested the Albanians of most of their national and human rights. Milosevic's repression culminated in a massive ethnic-cleansing campaign in 1999 — for which Nato intervention provided a cover and a pretext — in which more than 1.000.000 Albanians were driven from their homes, thousands murdered, mostly women, elderly and children, hundreds of girls and married women were massacred after being raped systematically by Serbian special troops (Chetniks and Ustashes). Nato's victory in the 1999 Kosova war ended Serbian rule in Kosova, and passed responsibility for the province to the International Community.

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1-2- FACTS AND FIGURES ON REPUBLIC OF KOSOVA

On February 17, Sunday, 2008, Declared it's Independence from Former Yugoslavia, becoming the newest European born country in the modern history.

Formally recognized by 26 out of 192 United Nations (UN) Member States or 13.54%

Formally recognized by 15 out of 27 European Union (EU) Member States or 55.56%

Countries that formally recognize Kosova make up 55.23% of the World's Total nominal Gross Domestic Products

Free Trade Agreements with: *Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia.*

Location: *Southeastern Europe (bordering Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia and Serbia)*

Area: *10,908 km²* , Capital: *Prishtina*

Religion: *Islam, Christianity (Catholics and Orthodox),*

Official languages: *Albanian, Serbian, Turkish*

Currency: *Euro (€)*

Population: *2,5 - 3 million, 95 % Albanian Sunni Muslims, others are minorities 5%*

The territory of Kosova represented 4, 25 % of the territory of ex Yugoslavia, or 12, 32 % of the territory of Serbia.

Note: Serbian wrong pronunciation: Kosovo – Albanian correct pronunciation: Kosova.



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Section Two

2. SERBIA'S MYTH ABOUT KOSOVA

2-1- Roots of the conflict

The present confrontation in Kosova dates back more than six hundreds years. In June 13.1389, in the " Kosovabattle filed " the allied Christian armies of Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania, under the command of the Serbian King Lazar, fought with Ottoman Empire, where they lost the battle against the advancing Ottoman Turks. From that year until 1913, nearly the entire Balkan area came under Ottoman rule, which ended only with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire on the eve of World War I.

Serbia's religious, educational and political leaders, for their part, view and believe Kosova as a "Serb land" , " *Serb Cradle* ", and consider the Albanians as a " *minority* " in this " *Serbian land* " ?, which scientifically, historically, and morally is a false and fabricated idea. "...That is why the Greater Serbian nationalism, if unchecked, ends up in " *ethnic cleansing*," and in the twentieth-century European context can be compared only to that of the Nazis.

Interestingly enough, some of the prominent Greater Serbian thinkers have been quite straightforward about this. The import of their ideology is spelled out in the titles of some of its basic texts: "Until Extermination, Yours [i.e. the Croats'] or Ours" by Nikola Stojanovic, " *The Expulsion of Albanians*" by Vasa Cubrilovic, " *Homogeneous Serbia*" by Stevan Moljevic.." ⁹.

This was demonstrated in a referendum for a new Serbian constitution organized by the Serbian government in October 2006 for the sole purpose of reaffirming the Serbian claim to Kosova.

By examining and shading some lights on the myths very briefly, we may learn how the members of one society, are linked to each other, as we may discover and understand through this study, why the people behave in a certain manner. More precisely, why the Serbian Political, Religious and Educational leaders behaved harshly and oppressed the other nationalities, especially Albanian Muslims, and why their leaders never dropped their mythological claims to Kosova in particular.

⁹ <http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/prim1.html>

2- 2 - What are Myths about ¹⁰

The scholars who studied the myths say that most of the myths can be divided into two groups; *creation myths* and *explanatory myths*. The creation myths try to explain the origin of the world, the creation of the human beings and the birth of gods and goddesses ¹¹.

The explanatory ones try to explain natural processes or events. Many societies developed myths to explain the formation and characteristics of geographic features, such as rivers lakes and oceans. Myths about national heroes points to the basic moral values.

2-3 - Mythical Places

According to the different scientific encyclopedias, that many myths describe places where demons, gods and goddesses, or the souls of the dead live. Most of the places are in the sky or on the top of high mountains. Mythical places exists in the mythologies of most peoples, like the Japanese sacred mount which is called: Mount Fuji, which is the tallest mountain in the Japan, and like the Greece's sacred mountain which is called Olympics mountain ¹², etc.

2- 4 -Comparing myths

We study the similar myths of various societies by comparing them to one another. This comparison can be done on *generic, genetic, or historical relationships*.

1- *Generic relationships*, among many myths are based on the way how the people react to common features in their environment. For example the Maoris of the New Zeland and the Ancient Grecs had myths that described the separation of the earth from the sky.

2-*Genetic relationships*, is when a large society develop a particular myth and than for some reason the society breaks up into several societies, and after that each society develops its own version.

10 Mircae Eliade, Macmilan; (1987),The Encyclopedia of Religion, NewYork, Publishing Company, vol.10, p:261-285.

11 The World Book-Encyclopedia World Book, Inc. a Scott Fetzer Company, Chicago, Printed in the USA,vol:13, p: 751 ; Also see: The Encyclopedia of Religion, Opt.cit. vol:10, p:261-285.

12 See: The Encyclopedia of Religion, Opt. cit. vol: 10, p.262

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3- *Historical relationships* appear when similar myths develop among the cultures that do not have a common origin. For instance many ancient Near and Middle Eastern societies had a myth in which they believed that several generations of sons overthrew their fathers who ruled as gods or kings ¹³.

2- 5 - What mythology tells us about the people

As we have seen earlier that there are many theories in understanding the myths. Some of these theories stress the role of myths in understanding society as a whole. Other theories emphasize the place of mythology in understanding why an individual acts in a certain way.¹⁴ (as in case of Serbs with another nationalities, especially Albanians). Again we stress upon this issue, as M.A. Bari in his article: *The Balkan Tragedy- Independent Kosova is the Answer*, said:

“ The fanatic nationalists of Serbia consider Kosova as the *centre of their world?*, *a frame of reference ?*, *a holy place? holier than Jerusalem to the Jews ?*, and *cradle of their civilization because of its rich heritage of orthodox monasteries ?*. These ultra-nationalistic feelings have created a myth in the Serb psyche that the Muslims are outsiders. The Serb paranoia for Kosova has resulted in their policy of extermination of the Muslim majority. Milosovic’s sadistic regime has created record in broken promises and has brought disgrace to the whole Slav race. The hysteria surrounding Kosova has also muzzled conscientious voice in the Slav world. The policy of hate against anything linked with Muslims has isolated Serbia and made her a pariah state in the world community. At the same time Russia, with her vain glory, has lost all her credibility by allying herself with the Serb genocide “ ¹⁵.

13 The World Book, Opt. cit. vol. 13, p. 753.

For more details about the Myths, you can refer also to this references:

Who’s Who - Classical Mythology, (1993), Michael Grant @John Hazl,London,; Who’s Who- Non Classical Mythology, (1952), Egerton Sykes, first published in, London; World Mythology-The Illustrated Guide, (1993), Simon @ Schuster,London; Encyclopedia of Creation Myths, (1994), David Adams Leening with Margaret Adams Leening,Oxford.

14Ibid

15 http://www.witness-pioneer.org/vil/Articles/issues/balkan_tragedy.htm

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Section Three

3. THE SERBIAN JUSTIFICATION FOR ITS RULING IN KOSOVA

There was a memorandum held in Belgrade in 1913 and it was sent to the Great Powers in Europe. In that memorandum were mentioned three important reasons why Serbia should rule the Kosova:

1. *The moral right of a more civilized people!!*
2. *The historic right on the area which contained the patriarchate buildings of the Serbian Orthodox Church and had been of Serbian Medieval Empire!!*
3. *A kind of ethnographic rights based on the fact, that at some time in the past in Kosova had a majority of Serb population, a right according to memorandum was unaffected by the recent invasion!!*¹⁶

These are the Serbian reasons and justifications about their claiming to Kosova. But, in fact it was a nineteenth century that the Serbian Ideology was created as a cult of the Medieval battle of Kosova.

3-1- The reality in the myth allegations

Professor Doctor Igor Primoratz, in his deep study about Serbian Intellectuals and the War in the Balkans, he too has confirmed the negative and destructive role of the Serbian Intellectuals in wedging the war in former Yugoslavia, against other ethnicities, based on Serbian ethnic cleansing project. Due to the length of this very important study, we are going to quote some excerpts, for the purpose of objectivity and humanity, in order to avoid the idea of criticism of this study, which someone can describe and view it, as “*pro-Albanian and one sided vision*”, written by an Albanian Muslim writer against the Serbs. He said:

“ In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as the Serbian writer Filip David points out, Institutions of culture...were transformed into noisy gangs whose trumpets and drums were announcing future bloody sunrises... Institutions of culture prepared the war. Politics put it into effect...The validity of this scathing judgment can be briefly

16 See: Malcolm, Noel; (1998), *Kosovo -A Short History* -xxxii, Harper Collins Publishers, New York University,; and also see: *Kosovo in the Heart of the Powder Keg*, the article: *The Minority problem in the New Yugoslavia, Memorandum of 3 November 1944 -Vaso Cubrilovic*, p:449

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illustrated by the activities of the two most important Serbian cultural institutions: **the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts**, and the **Writers' Association of Serbia**. The former has been in the very center of Serbian politics ever since the publication of the *Memorandum*... many Serbian writers have become ideologists and "joined day to day politics at various levels, both as individuals and through appropriate institutions... Furthermore, quite a few prominent intellectuals have held high political office in the Belgrade government, or in the main opposition parties, which have not opposed, but rather endorsed the Greater Serbian project " ¹⁷.

According to the most famous Kosova's historian, prof. Dr. Hakif Bajrami in his article published in " *Ditura Islame* " entitled:(*The myth of Kosova between the two extremisms*), he was quoted saying that:

" According to the historical relevant references and sources, myth in Kosova is not based upon the reasons and bases related on the battle (1389), rather than purposes and aims of the political strategies of the Serbo-Russian Church of Pan-Slavism. Based on this reality there was no destruction of any kind of Serbian Empire, because there did not exist any kind of Serbian Empire in the Balkans... This proves that the myth has been fabricated-created for the Serbo-Russian imperial political strategies in the Balkans. Later on, Kosova was part of Serbia from 1912-1914, and Serbia ruled only a certain part of Kosova... Internationally there is no single document in which Turkey has recognized the rule of Serbia on Kosova... We say this because Serbia and Montenegro during the years 1912-1914 ruled in Kosova like occupiers, and this is a myth of Kosova upon whom lays the lies of Serbia, with no single right.

In Noel Malcolm's study about the history of the Serbs and Albanians, we find that:

"..The myth of Kosova has been exaggerated and developed during the nineteenth century, through the glorification of lies and false stories, and through the different imaginations for the political purposes and objectives, and in the favor of Serbian - Orthodox Church, and for the homogenous Serbia and integral Yugoslavia. We believe in such realities because the Serbian politics and its tradition had, and has in its Vaseline genetics, anti-reformist, anti-protestant, anti-catholic, anti-Islamic and,

¹⁷ <http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/prim2.html>

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anti-civilization interests and, always was acceptable for them the contradictory issues...Therefore the myth of Kosova is an incarnation of practical and imperial political objectives “¹⁸.

The myth of battlefield in Kosova, made the Serbs to produce and to fabricate more and more false stories and baseless allegations. They believe that there was a massive migration of the Serbs from Kosova in 1690¹⁹, which is not true, because at that period, the whole Balkan Peninsula was under the Ottoman Islamic Empire, which never took such steps and policies against other ethnicities. The Ottoman Islamic Empire was known as a most tolerant Empire towards other religions in modern time. These claims has been refused by the Serb and international historians. This fabricated issue has been developed in the 19 century through the Serbian Church. You can refer to the work of: (J.Tomic, *O Arnautima*, Beograd, 1913, p:46, and to the work of: (I. Ruvarac, *Historiografia Serbe*, in Albanian language etc.²⁰

However, the historical undisputable fact is that the Serbs are those who expelled and forced the Albanian - Muslims to leave the country, to change their religion, and their names during the years of 1912, at the time of Serbian-Montenegrin rule, and historically, rationally and morally Serbia does not have any legitimacy over Kosova. The clock can not be turned backward. International community must accept the reality and go for a lasting solution based on justice. Power deceives people. Tyrants and brutes do not learn from the past and end up in ignominy and destruction. Like a rotating wheel history has its ups and downs. If human retribution fails to take revenge, divine one comes in²¹.

According to some historical sources, that on 10 March 1913, in the valley called: Lugu i Baranit, there were 68 Albanian Muslim families converted into Orthodox Christian religion by the force. There was a large scale campaign by the Serb and Montenegrin soldiers associated by the Serb priests in many villages and municipalities, like: Drenoc, Petric, Prelep, Jabllanice etc, the Muslims were forced to

18 Malcolm, Noel; Kosovo - A Short History, Opt. cit. p: 58 – 92, and see also: Serbia under Milosevic, p.12-25

19 Dituria Islame, p.34; and see: Kosovo-A short History , Opt. cit.p. XXXI

20Ibid,

21 http://www.witness-pioneer.org/vil/Articles/issues/balkan_tragedy.htm

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change their Islamic names offically. So they they chnged from: Ukshini into Vukashin, Rama-Rade, Selimi-Sime, Ramadani-Radivoj, Milaimi-Millorad etc ²².

3 - 2 - The Yugoslav crisis began in Kosova and ended in Kosova

Almost everyone among different political party members and everywhere in former Yugoslavia was saying that Yugoslav crisis began in Kosova and will end in Kosova, but how the story and crisis will end nobody knows ²³.

However, this statement of the respected writer was published few years ago, and it's my pleasure to add, that the terrible crisis and the deep conflict of Yugoslavia with Albanians, really began in Kosova, and I'm proud to announce that finally it ended in Kosova on February 17th Sunday.2008, when Kosova declared it's independence from Serbo - Yugoslavia, thus, becoming the newest born country in Europe in the modern time, after a long suffering and struggling with Serbo-Yugoslavian ruthless regime, more than 100 years. Thanks to the Almighty God, thanks to the International Community, especially USA, Britain, France, Germany and other many civilized countries who supported and recommended strongly for Kosova to be en independent country. We will never forget this historical event.

Kosova was in the Ballkans the most popular place for human right abuses in Europe, and the place which most of the political conflicts did exist.

The west described the war in Bosnia and Croatia as an *ethnic war*. According to some historians, this opinion was fully wrong and irrelevant ²⁴. They have forgotten or did not want to discover that the role of political and educational leadership was above all, and that was the most important role which caused the war. As we know on the top of this political apparatus was the Serbian Ultra Nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic. By his coming into the power, and during his reign, the crisis had been intensified and escalated ²⁵.

22 Zekaj, Ramiz; (1997), TheDevelopment of Islamic Culture at Albanians in XX-century, A.I.I.T.C in Tirana, Albania, p.15. For more details about the Serbian Church in developing the myth of Kosova see an important article written by Mr: Qemajl Morina which was published in: Dituria Islame- no:109, February 1999: (*The Role of The Serbian Church in the Kosova Events*)p. 4 – 7.

23Malcolm, Noel; (1998), Kosovo -A Short History, Harper Collins Publishers, New York University, Introduction, XXVIII

24 Ibid

25 For more details see: Serbia Under Milosevic-Politics in 1990s, (1999), Robert Thomas, Hurst - Company, London, Opt. cit. p.52.

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According to annalists and historians, that divisions between the Serbs and Albanians are wider and deeper than the divisions between the Bosnians and Croatians. The Albanian language belongs to the group of Indo- European languages and has no similarity with any other group of languages in Europe. It developed from the Illyrian language, with some traces of Latin²⁶. They use different language which is not the same with Serbian language. The Bosnians were Slavs²⁷ before their embrace of Islam, but their language with Serbian is almost the same. Among Albanian political leaders in the modern time, political religious sentiment or political religious parties never existed, but in case of the Serbian Orthodox political leaders, the religion was the main political factor through the history until the present time. The main task of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the past was to try to justify the defense of “*Sacred*” Serbian interests. This was their classic behavior and example of mobilizing and using the religion, to manipulate it for ideological purposes²⁸.

The whole Serbian ancient and modern history and its cultural tradition, was based on killing, atrocities, massacring, genocide and ethnic cleansing of other nationalities or minorities, particularly the Muslims. This is an undisputable reality and the most well known historical fact.

26 Gashi, Musa; Some Facts about Kosova, Opt. cit. p. 18

27See: Michael, A. Sells; (1996),The Bridge Betrayed - Religion and Genocide in Bosnia, University of California Press, Berkely, p.5-8; also see: Pregled Istorije Genocida nad Muslimanima u Jugoslavenskim Zemljama, Glasnik - Rijasetu Islamska Zajednica u SFRJ, n:6/91, p:55.

28See: The Bridge Betrayed, Opt. cit. p. 79. Also see: Kosovo - A Short History, Introduction, Opt. cit. xxxii.

Section Four

4. SOME EXTREME STATEMENTS OF SOME WICKED MODELS OF SERBIAN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Lessons to be learned

When we read these following shocking statements of the Serbian ultra-nationalist and radical educational leaders, we may understand the ideological myth of Serbia and its philosophy in a better way. Also we may learn the real reasons and internal ideological factors which led to the shattering and destruction of the former Yugoslavia, as a multi religious-ethnic-racial country. These radical views and extreme ideas were designed in Serbian parliamentary meetings and its repeated referendums. In this coming section we are going to shed some light by representing some of the most shocking extreme nationalist ideas of one of the most well-known Serbian educational leader in the modern history.

These extreme and destructive ideas towards other ethnicities, minorities, are not presented in this paper for the purpose of guiding and following the footsteps of the extremists. Rather, they are for the purpose of deterring, discouraging, preventing, restraining the new enthusiastic educational, political and religious leaders in becoming such wicked and evil personalities towards other ethnicities or minorities, in order to avoid the collapse and the shatter of the peaceful democratic, multi religious-racial-ethnic countries.

So we call upon educational, political, religious leaders in different countries in all over the world, that this bitter lessons and historical big mistakes of the Serbs with Albanian, Bosnian Muslims and other minorities, to be taken into consideration seriously and as a lessons to be learned.

Today's leaders instead of promoting destructive and subversive values of the hatred, the jealousy, the enmity, hostility, antagonism, malignancy, fanaticism, intolerance, antipathy among their fellow citizens with different ethnical, religious and racial background, rather they must be promoters and makers of sublime and superior moral values of mutual respect, love, passion, sincerity, honesty, loyalty, brotherhood, generosity, solidarity, peace and equality. Following these high moral values, we may become leading, peaceful and strong nations.

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Now, the time has come to present in the following pages some extreme views of some Serbian educational leaders, focusing more on the views and ideas of prof. Dr. Vaso Cubrilovich, the subject of this paper.

1- Slobodan Miloshević - Former President of Serbia and the War Criminal for his Genocide in Bosnia and Kosova

We know that the escalation of crisis in Kosova began when Slobodan Milosevic came to power in 1989²⁹. One year before his presidency, in an anniversary celebration of Kosova battle field while addressing masses of thousands of Serbs he said:

“We should expel Muslims from our territory and bring upon them the disgrace in the same manner they discredited us. We should always remind ourselves that the battle of Kosova had marked the end of the old Serbian Kingdom at the hands of Muslims. Therefore we should work together to liberate Kosova and to revive the glory of the greater Serbia, so that in the next year we may be able to celebrate the anniversary of erasure of the historical disgrace which has stuck to us for six hundred years”³⁰.

In the following year marking the same anniversary³¹, Slobodan Milosevic promised the Serbs greater rights, stressing on the idea that, he is going to build “Great Serbia”, by stressing on his speech, that *the place-land where there lives one single Serb; there is Serbia*³² !!

2- Prof. Dr. Vojislav Seselj – Radical Nationalist Professor

There are another extreme Serbian educational leaders. For instance prof.Dr. Vojislav Seselj, the most radical and ultra- nationalist professor and politician, was

29 See Aleksandar Pavkovic; (1997), The Fragmentation of Yugoslavia: Nationalism in a Multinational State. First published London Macmillan Press Ltd..Second New York ST.Martin`s Press, Inc. p.102-106.

30See Turkestani; (1997), Journal of Muslim minority affairs ,vol.17, no. 2 ,p. 325.

31See Christopher Bennett; (1995), Yugoslavia`s Bloody Collapse: Causes, Course and Consequences. London Hurst Company.,p. 94-96, p. 216-217.

32See: Dituria Islame, Opt. cit. p. 7

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known for his extreme views on the Kosova question. *He publicly advocated a policy of infecting the people of Kosova Albanians with HIV - AIDS virus !!*³³.

3- Prof. Dr. Radovan Karadzic³⁴ – Former Radical Nationalist Professor in Belgrade University – The most wanted war criminal for his Genocide in Bosnia.

Some other extreme Serbian educational leaders publicly uttered their hatred against the Muslims (*Bosnians, Albanians, Turks*), like prof. Dr. Radovan Karadzic, former professor of Psychology in Belgrade University, and later he became the main officer and top commander of Serbian paramilitary forces. He is wanted by the International War Tribunal, which up to this date he is on the run, and was not indicted for his crimes and atrocities in Bosnia and Hercegovina. He said: “ *We want to eliminate Islam from Europe*”³⁵.

4- Vuk Draskovic, Serbian Radical Ultra Nationalist Leader

Was a deputy prime minister of former Yugoslavia, when the NATO began bombing Yugoslavia he was interviewed by the broad coast-radio TV- station said: *We are Christians and Europe is Christianity, they should know, that they are bombing their fellow Christians and are helping Muslims, so pls. stop bombing us*³⁶.

As prof. Dr. Igor Imoratz has pointed out in his study, that: “ Academics and other intellectuals have promoted a picture of the Serbs as a nation inherently superior to, and destined for greater things than other nations; ...Theologians (and others) have been telling their fellow Serbs that they are a “*divine,*” “*heavenly,*” “*chosen*” people. Other nations of the former Yugoslavia have been depicted as lesser breeds: devoid of

33 Ibid, and also refer to: "A statement by Serb Deputy Prime Minister Voislav Seselj in Velika Srbija, The Greater Serbia Journal, Belgrade, Oct. 14.1995, - <http://www.cezarkurti.com/shesheli.html>

34 Thanks to the Almighty God, this wanted war criminal for many years, last year was captured in Belgrade, capital of Serbia and now is behind the bars waiting from the International War Crime Tribunal- Hague his final verdict. Let's us see and witness his final sentence.

35 See : Dituria Islame. Opt. cit. p. 6-7.

36 Ibid .

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any authentic culture, slaves by character and by destiny; incapable and undeserving of freedom and independence; by nature ungrateful, envious, treacherous, ect. Two of them, the Croats and the Muslims, have been portrayed as collectively prone to fascism and genocide...The latter, in particular, have been systematically dehumanized in a truly mind-boggling way: Serbian intellectuals have described them as a "*semi-Arab subculture*," "madmen infected with Asiatic plague," "*beasts with human faces*,"..³⁷.

The bottom line of all that is the famous thesis of Dobrica Cosic, the most acclaimed Serbian writer in recent decades: "*the Serbs have always won in war, and lost in peacetime*." Of course, if that is true, and if they do not want to lose again, the Serbs must wage war as long it takes to establish and secure for good a nation-state that includes all of them, while excluding all "*foreign elements*"³⁸.

5- Some other important Serbian educational leaders who played a very negative role in collapsing of Yugoslavia

The respected prof.dr. Igor Primoratz, in his study clarifies again by saying:

"...The most prominent Serbian philosopher today, Professor **Miailo Markovic**, one of the authors of the *Memorandum*, has served as Vice-President of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia. **Dobrica Cosic** has served as President of the rump Yugoslavia, while Professor **Svetozar Stojanovic**, another leading philosopher, was his advisor. Most of those who have been heading the opposition parties in Serbia are academics or prominent intellectuals: Professor **Vojislav Seselj** (Serbian Radical Party); Professor **Dragoljub Micunovic**, Professor **Kosta Cavoski**, and **Dr. Zoran Djindjic** (Democratic Party; **Dr. Vojislav Kostunica** (Serbian Democratic Party); **Vuk Draskovic**, a prominent writer (Serbian Renewal Movement); Professor **Nikola Milosevic** (Serbian Liberal Party). The situation is quite similar west of the Drina river, in the "Serb Republic" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Until recently it was headed by

37 Ibid

38 <http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/prim2.html>

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Dr. **Radovan Karadzic**, a psychiatrist and a poet, while his deputy was Professor Nikola Koljevic.." ³⁹.

6 - Prof. Dr. Vasa Cubrilovich – The most radical and ultranationalist academician of the Belgrade University, and the main subject of this study – Presenting some of his destructive views and ideas, for the purpose of lessons and warning.

CUBRILOVIC AND HIS MEMORANDUM ⁴⁰

" THE EXPULSION OF THE ARNAUTS"

Dr. Vasa Cubrilovich, academician of Yugoslavia, former political adviser on the monarchic regime, was born in 1897. In 1914 he became member of the New Bosna Serbian nationalist organization. He graduated from the University of Belgrade, in which, since 1930 he has been assistant, docent, and then professor in the Faculty of Philosophy.

After the Second World War, V. Cubrilovic was minister in various departments of the government of FSRY (Former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia), member of the Academy of Sciences and Art of Serbia, secretary of the sciences branch of this academy. He is member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In 1970 he held the post of director of the Institute of Balkanology in Belgrade.

On March 7, 1937, in Belgrade he presented the royal government of Stoyadinovic with his memorandum of **"The Expulsion of the Arnauts"- Albanians.**

Due to the length of this political extreme project and report about his views and visions about the expulsion of the Albanian majority Muslims and other minorities from their homelands to neighboring countries, we are going to quote some of the most important excerpts from his very long Memorandum, with no comment.

³⁹ <http://www.croatianhistory.net/etf/prim2.html>

⁴⁰ Albanian American Civil League: <http://www.aacl.com/expulsion1.html> , also see: The Institute of History, Prishtina, <http://www.kosova.com/expuls/contents.htm>, http://www.albalagh.net/current_affairs/expulsion.shtml,

1-THE EXPULSION OF THE ALBANIANS

“The problem of the Albanians in our national and state life did not arise yesterday.... This was the main reason why Serbia was unstable...Serbia began to cut out pieces off this Albanian wedge as early as the first uprising, by expelling the northernmost Albanian inhabitants from Jagodina... At that time, the regions between Jastrebac and Southern Morava were radically cleared of the Albanians.

From 1918 on wards it was the task of our present state to destroy the remainder of the Albanian triangle. It did not do this. There are several reasons for this, but we shall mention only the most important of them:

1. **The fundamental mistake of the authorities in charge at that time was that, forgetting where they were, they wanted to solve all the major ethnic problems of the troubled and bleeding Balkans by western methods... Even the Balkan Christians learned from the Turks that not only the state power and domination, but also home and property are won and lost by the sword...While all the Balkan states since 1912 have solved or are on the way of solving the problems of all minorities through mass removals...**

2. **Even the method of gradual colonization was not properly applied...The colonization apparatus was extremely costly and inflated loaded with people were not only incompetent but also frequently without scruple, so that their work truly constitutes a separate problem.**

3. **Without doubt...The only possible way for our mass colonization of those regions was to take the land from the Albanians. After the war, at the time of the rebellion and actions of the insurgents, this could have been achieved easily by expelling part of Albanian population to Albania, by not legalizing their usurpation and by buying their pastures...**

2- THE PROBLEM OF THE COLONIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONS – (where Albanians are located)

1- **... This block of Albanians around the Sar Mountain has great national, state and strategic importance for our state...The greatest force of the Serbian expansion ever since the beginnings of the first Serb State in the 9th century has always been based on the continuity of this expansion...This continuity has been**

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interrupted by the Albanians.... This they will achieve only through the destruction of the Albanian block.

2- ... In the 20th century, only that country that is inhabited by its own people can be sure of its security; therefore it is an imperative duty for all of us that we should not allow these positions of such strategic importance to be in the hands of the hostile and alien element. The more so since this element has the support of the national state of the same race (Albania).

3- Besides this block of 18 districts, the Albanians and other national minorities in the other parts of the southern regions are dispersed and therefore, not so dangerous to our national and state life. To nationalize the regions around the Sar Mountain means to bury any irredentism forever.

4 - The problem of Sandjak of Novi Pazar is solving itself and is no longer playing the role it played in our state life until 1912. We shall only mention that with the removal of the Albanians, the last link between our Moslems in Bosna and Novi Pazar and the rest of the Moslem world is cut. They are becoming religious minorities, the only Moslem minority in the Balkans, and this fact will accelerate their nationalization.

5- Summing-up

The Albanians cannot be repulsed by means of gradual colonization alone; they are the only people who during the last millennium managed not only to resist the nucleus of our state, but also to harm us by pushing our ethnic borders northwards and eastwards... The only way and the only means to cope with them is the brute force of an organized state, in which we have always been superior to them... and if we do not settle accounts with them at the proper time, within 20-30 years we shall have to cope with a terrible irredentism, the signs of which are already apparent and which will inevitably put all our southern territories in jeopardy.

3- THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM OF COLONIZATION

1- If we proceed from the assumption that the gradual displacement of the Albanians through our gradual colonization is ineffective then we are left with only one course - that of their mass resettlement. In this case we must consider two states - Albania and Turkey.

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2- **..With its large uninhabited and uncultivated territories in Asia Minor and Kurdistan, modern Turkey has almost boundless possibilities for internal colonization...**

3-**First, we stress that we should not limit ourselves to diplomatic steps with the Ankara government only, but should employ all means to convince Tirana to accept some of our displaced people...However, money plays great role in Tirana. In the talks about this question, the Albanian Government should be informed that we shall stop at nothing to achieve our final solution to this question...**

4- **As we have heard, Turkey has agreed to accept some 200.000 of our displaced people initially, on condition that they are Albanians...Turkey should accept the largest contingent, while from the financial aspect it should be given the maximum assistance...**

5- **World opinion, especially that financed by Italy will be upset a little. Nevertheless, the world today ...should not be a cause for concern. At a time when Germany can expel tens of thousands of Jews and Russia can shift millions of people from one part of the continent to another, the shifting of few hundred thousand Albanians will not lead to the outbreak of a World War...**

4- THE MODE OF REMOVAL

1- **As we have already stressed, the mass removal of the Albanians from their triangle is the only effective course for us...**

2- **As is known the Moslem masses, in general, are very readily influenced, especially by religion, are superstitious and fanatical. Therefore, first of all we must win over their clergy and men of influence, through money or threats to support the relocation of the Albanians.**

3- **Agitators to advocate this removal must be found, as quickly as possible, especially from Turkey if it will provide them for us. They must describe the beauties in the new territories in Turkey, the easy and pleasant life there, kindle religious fanaticism and awaken pride in the Turkish state among the masses...**

4- **Another means would be coercion by the state apparatus. The law must be enforced to the letter so as to make staying intolerable for the Albanians: fines, and imprisonment, the ruthless application of all police dispositions, such**

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as on the prohibition of smuggling, cutting forests, damaging agriculture, leaving dogs unchained, compulsory labor and any other measure that an experienced police force can contrive.

5- Health measures: the brutal application of all the dispositions even in the homes, the pulling down of encircling walls and high edges around the houses, the rigorous application of veterinary measures which will result in impeding the sale of livestock in the market etc. also can be applied in an effective and practical way.

7- When it comes to religion the Albanians are very touchy, therefore they must be harassed on this score, too. This can be achieved through ill-treatment of their clergy, the destruction of their clergy, the destruction of their cemeteries, the prohibition of polygamy, and especially the inflexible application of the law compelling girls to attend elementary schools, wherever they are.

8- Private initiative, too, can assist greatly in this direction. We should distribute weapons to our colonists, as need be. The old forms of cetnik actions should be organized and secretly assisted...

9- Finally, local riots can be incited. These will be bloodily suppressed with the most effective means but by the colonists from the Montenegrin clans and the cetniks, rather than by means of the army. There remains one more means, which Serbia employed with great practical effect after 1878, that is, by secretly burning down villages and city quarters.

5- THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REMOVAL

1- From the attached map it is apparent what regions must be cleared...These are border regions which must be cleared of Albanians at any cost.

During the resettlement the following must be kept in mind:

2- In the first place, resettlement should begin in the villages and then in towns. Being more compact, the villagers are more dangerous...Our state is not

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going to spend millions to make life easier for the Albanians, but to get rid of as many of them as possible...

3- Once they agree to shift, **all-round aid should be given them. The administrative procedure should be simplified, their property should be paid for on the spot, travel documents should be issued without the least formality and they should be assisted to get to the nearest railway station; trains should be made available for them...**

6- POPULATING THE DEPOPULATED REGIONS

The problems of the establishment of colonies in the depopulated regions is not less important than the removal of the Albanians.

1- The first question emerges: Who should be settled there?...in the first place Montenegrins are the most appropriate for several reasons...**Then, since they are akin to the Albanians in mentally and temperament, the Montenegrins are the most appropriate as instruments to overcome them...** in this way a new type of Montenegrin with a less local but broader, more Serbian outlook, will be formed.

2- For this reason, the colonists should be prevented by law from gaining full **ownership of the land for not less than 30 years... The first to be settled in these villages, should be the Montenegrins, as arrogant, irascible and merciless people, who will drive the remaining Albanians away with their behavior,** and then colonists from other regions can be brought in.

3- **This paper deals with the problem of the colonization of the Southern Serbia Only. The problem of Vojvodina especially the Hungarian triangle in Backa, Senta-Kula-Backa Topola is not less important to us.** To destroy this triangle in Vojvodina is tantamount to destroying the Albanian Block around the SAR Mountain.

7- THE COLONIZATION APPARATUS

1- ...**The greatest mistake of our colonization policy lay in the fact that the untrained and incompetent bureaucracy had the main say in it...Private**

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initiatives can operate in many directions. **The People's Defense, the Sokolosas, the Cetnik Association, etc. could undertake actions against the Albanians...**

2- **...Undoubtedly, our higher scientific institutions have begun their former prestige. The main reason for this is that the University and the Academy of Sciences are becoming more and more removed from real life and neglecting the chief task they have in a relatively backward country... In the first place, the Royal Serbian Academy of Sciences and the University of Belgrade ought to take the initiative to organize thorough scientific study of the whole problem of colonization in our country...The teachers and academicians at the University are independent workers, less subject to external political influence... and create a special institution, "The Colonization Inspection Office"...**

3- **...The Colonization Inspection Office must have its executive organs in the territory, made up of people selected for their enthusiasm and readiness for this work, ... while keeping in mind only one thing - the removal of the Albanians as quickly as possible and the settlement of our colonists.**

5- **The police apparatus will play a very important role in this matter. Therefore it is necessary to select the most energetic and honest officers and send them there... and for such a difficult job they should be paid from secret credits. Stern measures must be taken against any of them who commits the slightest infringement...**

6- **...The state Institute and the inspection Office for colonization will work out the technical details of organizing the removal of the Albanians and the establishment of our settlers...**

8- FINANCIAL MEANS

1- **Whenever our colonization policy has been criticized for its lack of success, its defenders have always excused themselves with the inadequate financial means the state has allocated for this work... For this problem, money can and must be found... Let us reckon approximately how much it would cost our state to transplant 200.000 Albanians and establish as great a number of our settlers...**

2- **The resettlement of 40.000 Albanian families - taking an average family as 5 members and an average of 15.000 dinars per each family would cost a total of 600 million dinars. The colonization expenditure for the settling of our 40.000 of our**

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families may reach a total of 200 million dinars. In any case the whole thing will not cost more than 800 million dinars. **This is why:**

3- The transplanted Albanians will leave not only the land but also their houses and implements. Thus, not only will the overwhelming majority of our settlers be established in the houses of the Albanians, but with little assistance with live stock and food, they will recover themselves economically and become independent...

9- CONCLUSION

In the view of all that has been said above, it is no accident that in our examination of the question of colonization in the south, we proceed from the view that;

1- The only effective method for solving this problem is the mass resettlement of the Albanians. Just as in other countries, gradual colonization has had no success in our country.

2- When the state wants to intervene in favor of its own element, in struggle for the land, it can be successful only if it acts brutally. Otherwise, the native with his roots in his birthplace and acclimatized there, is always stronger than the colonist.

3- In our case, this must be kept especially well in mind, because we have to do it with a rugged, resistant and prolific race, which the late Cvijic describes as the most expansive in the Balkans.

4- Our statistics of the 1921-31 period, which we have already mentioned, show that the fecundity of the Albanian women defeated our colonization policy too. From this we must draw a conclusion, and do so quickly while there is still time to correct matters.

All Europe is in a state of turmoil. We do not know what each day and night may bring. Albanian nationalism is mounting in our territories too. To leave the situation as it is would mean, in case of any world conflict our social revolution, both of which are possible in the near future, to jeopardize all our territories in the south. The purpose of this paper is to aver such a thing.

Dr. Vaso Cubrilovic
(signature)

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Section Five

5. THE DAMAGE OF THE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN KOSOVA DURING THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF ALBANIAN MUSLIMS IN 1998

(The Consequences of these Chauvinist ideas)

The Post -War report in Kosova was prepared by many scientific observers and historians from Kosova and abroad. From the overseas observers we choose the report which was prepared by Andrew Herscher and Andras Riedlmayer ⁴¹, about the Serbian destruction in Kosova, with special attention to the burning of Islamic manuscripts and documents at the Islamic Albanian Counsel in Prishtina etc. The report says: quoting some excerpts: ⁴²

“We found that architecture, manuscript collections, and archives of the period of Ottoman rule in Kosovo (mid-1400s to 1912) had been singled out for destruction during the “**Ethnic Cleansing**” campaigns of 1998-99.

1- Among the most serious losses of manuscript materials was the burning of the Central Archive of the Islamic Community of Kosovo (KBI), (Keshilli i Bashkesise Islame) which included the records of the religious endowments (Evkaf), of the Islamic law courts, and of other Islamic religious and educational institutions in Kosovo going back to the 17th century. The archive was set ablaze by Serbian policemen on June 13.1999, and was completely destroyed.

2- Several regional archives of the KBI, and waqf libraries in Peja (ipek, Pec), Gjakova (Yakova, Djakovica) and other towns in Kosovo,were also burned.

⁴¹The authors: Andrew Herscher is an architect, PhD candidate in architectural history and theory at Harvard University, and co-director of the Kosovo Cultural Heritage Project. Andras J. Riedlmayer directs the Aga Khan Program's Documentation Center for Islamic Art and Architecture at Harvard's Fine Arts Library and is co-director of the Kosovo Cultural Heritage Project.

⁴² Libraries and Archives in Kosovo: A Postwar Report
<http://www.bosnia.org.uk/bosrep/decfeb00/libraries.htm>.

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3- Major architectural losses include 219 mosques (1/3 of all mosques in Kosovo), 3 tekkes, three of Kosovo's four well-preserved historic urban centers, (Prizren escaped largely intact), as well as hundreds of other monuments⁴³.

4- Albanian League of Prizren (build in 1887) which was burned down on March 28, 1999, by Serbian police using rifle-propelled grenades...

5- In Gjakova, for example, we found the two Ottoman-era bridges, both alleged to have suffered direct hits to be completely intact.

6- Ottoman-era town houses (konak, shtepia) of prominent Albanian families, and the stone tower-residences (kulla) that are indigenous to this area of the Balkans and typical of Albanian traditional architecture, had clearly been singled out for destruction by Serb forces during the "**ethnic cleansing**" campaigns of the summer of 1998 and the spring of 1999. Of some 500 kullas in Kosovo, most built during the 18th-19th c. and inhabited by generations of the same families, barely 10 per cent are estimated to have survived the war intact.

7- Another category of historical architecture in urgent need of protection in Kosovo is Muslim houses of worship. This part of Europe is home to an indigenous Islamic tradition going back more than 600 years, with its own rich architectural heritage, mosques, tekkes (lodges of the Sufi lay brotherhoods), medreses (theological schools), Islamic libraries, hamams (Turkish baths), and bazaars built to support charitable foundations. This heritage suffered massive destruction during the recent conflict. In the majority of cases, it was evident from the statements of eyewitnesses, from the type of damage (mosques burned out from within, with no bullet or shrapnel holes; minarets that had been blown up with explosives placed inside, causing the stone spire to collapse onto the building), **and from visible signs of vandalism (Koran manuscripts ripped from bindings and burned or defaced with human excrement, crude anti-Muslim and anti-Albanian graffiti in Serbian on the walls of destroyed and desecrated mosques)**

8- According to statistics published before the war, there were 607 mosques in Kosovo as of 1993. Of these, 528 were congregational⁴⁴ mosques (xhamia) of which

43 "Libraries in Kosova/Kosovo" by Carsten Frederiksen and Frode Bakken
<http://www.faiife.dk/faiife/kosova/kosorepo.html>

"General Assessment of the Situation of Archives in Kosovo" by Bruce Jackson
@WladyslavStepniak: http://www.unesco.org/webworld/publications/jackson_report.rtf.

Sample images from our survey of damage to architectural heritage in Kosovo can be viewed on the Web at: <http://www.archnet.org/calendar/item.tcl?calenda>

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498 were in active use, and 79 smaller mosques (mesxhid) of which 70 were in active use; the majority dated from Ottoman times. More than 200 of these mosques a third of all Islamic houses of worship in Kosovo were destroyed or damaged during the recent conflict, according to our survey and documentation we examined in the offices of the Islamic Community.⁴⁵ Now some of these mosques are being rebuilt, often with the assistance of Islamic charities from abroad...

9- Though much concern was expressed during last spring's NATO bombing campaign about the fate of Kosovo's medieval Orthodox churches and monasteries, **in fact we found no evidence that any Orthodox site had suffered serious damage during the war either from NATO bombs or at the hands of Albanian rebels.** After the end of the war, however, the situation with respect to Serbian Orthodox heritage changed for the worse. Although international peacekeeping forces were deployed swiftly to guard the famous medieval churches and monasteries, many less well-known churches in rural areas abandoned by the fleeing ethnic Serb minority became easy targets for revenge attacks by returning Albanian villagers in the immediate aftermath of the war. Most of the Serbian Orthodox village churches that have been vandalized or destroyed are of relatively **recent vintage, built or "rebuilt on ancient foundations" (obnovljena) (In Serbian language) in the 20th century; 25 of them were churches constructed in the 1980s and 1990s**⁴⁶ About a dozen, however, were genuinely medieval structures and listed monuments..⁴⁷

44 Also to know the real statistics of Mosques destroyed, Imams and Students of Islamic Secondary School - Medresa "ALAUDDIN", who had been killed and massacred by Serbian military and paramilitary troops, see: Dituria Islame (Islamic Knowledge) A Monthly Islamic, Scientific and Cultural Magazine, Prishtina, no:143, Year 1999, p:39-42

45 A sample of our survey's documentation on the destruction of historical architecture in Kosovo can be viewed at:

http://archnet.org/calendar/item.tcl?calendar_id=2658

<http://www.geocities.com/kosovaheritage/kullas.html>

46 About the history of Serbian Church and its first establishment and foundations in Rashka in 1167 when Stjefan Nemanja established himself as the ruler of Rashka, and in 1219 his son Sava created the structures of the Independent Serbian Orthodox Church and he was venerated later as a patron saint and culture hero of the Serbian people..see: Serbia Under Milosevic-Politics in 1990s, p:12.

47 Pls. for more details refer to this useful links:

<http://www.kosova.com>

<http://www.kosovapress.com>

<http://www.dardania.com>

<http://www.serbia-info.com/news/1999-06/12/12509.html>

<http://www.mfa.gov.yu/bela/05.html>

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Section Six

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we may conclude that this was a very short presentation about this great historical event, and these were some key issues related to the Serbian myth in justifying its massacres and genocide of the Muslims in former Yugoslavia, in particular the Albanian Muslims. The destructive role of the Serbian educational extremist leaders has been so great and had a direct impact in collapsing and shattering the former Yugoslavia.

Following the 1999 war of Kosova, western leaders have never been prepared to allow a return of Serbian forces to Kosova that would inevitably involve a renewal of the bloodshed. Albanians during the ancient and modern history are noted for their extremely moderate version of Islam and their religious tolerance and co-existence with other ethnical and religious minorities. Independent Kosova will not be a threat to European security. Because of their great human civilized European values in modern time, the International Community supported and helped them to realize their 100 year old dream, in becoming the newest born Independent country in Europe on February 17th Sunday.2008, as a multi Religious, multi Ethnic and multi Racial Democratic Society.

Western leaders realize that Serbia's dead-end policies toward Kosova, can only prolong regional instability in Balkan Peninsula, especially with Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece already in the EU and Nato, and Croatia set to join soon. Serbia naturally belongs in both organizations, but it will be a better member of both if it drops its chauvinism, extremism, fanaticism, nationalism and it's unrealizable, false and fabricated historical claims to Kosova. Publicly and officially the Serbian nation must acknowledge, admit and apologize to Albanians for it's genocide and crimes committed against them. They must forget the past, try to open a new chapter of bilateral relations in it's modern history in order to establish better diplomatic, political and economical ties with new and independent Kosova.

In order to avoid the collapse and the shatter of the peaceful democratic, multi religious-racial-ethnic countries, we call upon educational, political, religious leaders in different countries in all over the world, that this bitter lessons and historical big

http://www.spc.org.yu/Svetinje/svetinje_e.html

<http://www.un.org/icty/index.html>

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mistakes of the Serbian educational leadership with Albanian, Bosnian Muslims and other minorities, must be taken into consideration seriously.

Today's leaders instead of promoting destructive and subversive values of the hatred, the jealousy, the enmity, hostility, antagonism, malignancy, fanaticism, intolerance, antipathy among their fellow citizens with different ethnical, religious and racial background, rather they must be promoters and makers of sublime and superior moral values of mutual respect, love, passion, sincerity, honesty, loyalty, brotherhood, generosity, solidarity, peace and equality. Following these high moral values, we may become leading, peaceful and strong nations. Thank You.

Yours truly,
Assist. Prof. Dr. Hajredin Hoxha,
Taibah University, Madina, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

drhafezi68@yahoo.co.uk
www.drhajredinhoxha.net

9. 03. 2008
Al Madina Al Munawarah

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