Professional paper

THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS OF KOSOVO AND ITS REFLECTION IN POLLOG 1999

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Abstract

The history of the Albanian people knows many personalities who have given their humanitarian contribution so that the people can enjoy freedom as a universal right. However, within the history of each nation there are figures who, although not well known by the general public, nevertheless, their contribution is extraordinary. The population of Polog is an indivisible part of the Albanian people who made a valuable contribution and showed their humanity towards their blood brothers, which is the object of our paper's study. By providing detailed documents and information, we aim to shed light on this humanitarian event, the effort and sacrifice of this side has been an essential support within the main developments of the history of the Albanian people. We hope that the paper will be an incentive for further studies in this field.

Keywords: Humanity of Makedonian Albanian (Polog), violent expulsion of Kosovo Albanian, human rights, Great Powers.

Kosovo's humanitarian crisis and its reflection in pollog

"(...) I will never forget the Kosovar refugees I have met recently (June 1999, Z.I.)*. Some of them barely managed to talk about what had happened to them. And they had left with the hope that the world would not turn its backs on them. Finally, our determination managed to stop the evil campaign of ethnic cleansing. (...) "

Bill Clinton

Serbian shevenist platform with geopolitical concepts

Albanians in the late twentieth century experienced the most difficult days, especially in regions such as Kosovo, the Presevo Valley, and Macedonia. In this war and during those crucial moments, they faced Serbian and Slavo-Macedonian chauvinism, characterized by racism and fascism, which periodically manifested itself with the aim of exterminating Albanians.

As evident from the platforms and scenarios enacted by Serbia and Macedonia, anxiety and horror prevail. These include burning and looting, mass murders, destruction of homes, violent evictions, and heart-wrenching scenes such as mothers with breastfed babies, hungry and defenseless children. These scenes reminiscent of the war against the Albanian people during the years 1999-2001.

Massacres, forced evictions, and ethnocide have roots not only in the present but also trace back to earlier times, notably from events such as the Berlin Congress and the Balkan wars. Inter-Albanian movements within ethnic territories began as early as 1878 and continued thereafter. Serbian extermination operations, in various measures and forms, forcibly displaced the Albanian population to the depths of ethnic lands, a situation mirroring contemporary events. Migration is a theme as old as biblical times for the Illyrians, Arbers,

and Albanians themselves. The relentless historical waves and tides have shaped this people, one of the oldest in southeastern Europe, with a 'tradition' of displacement. Over the years and decades, sometimes calmly and almost imperceptibly, other times like a raging river that occasionally overflows, the flow of Albanian displacement continues uninterrupted.

Throughout the centuries, marked by the weight of changing occupiers, rulers, and empires, Albanians made superhuman efforts to resist assimilation. They were often forced to temporarily relocate, only to return and repatriate, delivering decisive blows to aggressors and colonizers. Displacement consistently altered the composition and ethnic landscape, gradually narrowing the identity of the Illyrians, Arbers, and Albanians.

They were the first to resist the Roman invasion and were subsequently exiled by the Byzantine Empire during the bloody wars for land preservation. Under the five-century Ottoman rule, Slavic penetration exerted significant influence, leading to the shrinking of the map to the detriment of Albanians. This is because the preservation of their autonomy and unity posed the greatest challenge for the Illyrians and other peoples between the Carpathians and the Aegean Sea"1... This particularly applied to Albanians, who early on perceived the prolonged Serbian predatory actions akin to those of Russia itself. The foreign policy platform of the Serbian chauvinist bourgeoisie was developed following the consolidation of its political positions within the Serbian state, led by I. Grashanin (16th January 1812 – 16th June 1874), initially serving as Minister of Internal Affairs and later as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister of Serbia. This platform played a role in the overthrow of Knjaz Mihajlo Obrenović and the ascension of Alexander Karađorđević to the throne. The secret program, influenced by Adam Czartoryski - a leader of the emigrant community in Paris, and Franjo Zach, Serbia's first agent - originally outlined Serbia's foreign policy objectives, but Grashanin modified it by aligning it with geopolitical concepts in pursuit of a Greater Serbia. In the document, instead of prioritizing principles of nationality, the idea of a Greater Serbian state was promoted, based on the notion of 'historical state rights,' wherein the new Serbian state aimed to claim direct inheritance from Stefan Dušan's medieval empire. In addition to the aim of unification around the Serbian state, the territories inhabited by the southern Slavs (including Bosnia and Herzegovina, considered Serbian land) were also targeted for annexation in Nachertania. This included the Albanian lands of the vilayet of Kosovo, as well as all of northern and central Albania. The Serbs regarded this as 'one of the most important documents in Serbian history of the 19th century.. ".3

This program remained central to Serbia's foreign policy from 1844 until the end of the First World War. It was partially implemented during the First Balkan War, when Serbia, in accordance with decisions made at the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1912-1913, annexed Kosovo, Polog, and other eastern areas of Albania. This annexation led to the establishment of a brutal regime marked by violence and followed by policies of genocide and denationalization.

Since ancient times, and particularly in the last two decades (since 1981), the national-chauvinist and hegemonic attitudes of Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians have posed a threat to Albanian life, wealth, health, morals, culture, and the Albanian flag, as well as the lands inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia. Albanians have been the primary target of their attacks, aimed at both the land and heritage of the Albanian people, often resulting in the deliberate concealment and denigration of Albanian identity in the eyes of the world. Beginning with the era of "Tsar" Dusan and continuing after Milos Obrenovic (1815-1839), who was among the first to forcibly remove Albanians from their lands in Aleksinci and

¹Migrations of Albanians over the centuries, 1992, Prishtina, p. 256.

³ Opça enciklopedija JL2, Zagreb, 1977, p. 106.

Chuprija through violence, terror, and mass massacres, the displacement of Albanians became institutionalized with the infamous program of Ilija Grashanini (1844) known as "Nachertania." This program was implemented using the most barbaric measures, ranging from religious persecution to the cruelest attacks by the police and other government instruments. The same road was followed by Nicholas Pashic, King Nicholas, Chubrillovic, Ivo Andric, Alexander Rankovic, Ivan Millotinovic, Dushan Mugosa, Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, Lazarus Kolisevski, Kiro Gligorov, Lazar Moisov, Slobodan Milosevic, Branko Cervenkovski, Ljupco Georgievski, Boris Trajkovski, the President of the Republic of North Macedonia, as well as the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Macedonia, which follows the path of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Serbia.

The goal of Serbs and Slavo-Macedonians towards Albanians in general, especially those in Yugoslavia and particularly today towards Albanians in Macedonia, has always been and continues to be their denationalization, forced expulsion from their lands, assimilation, and even extermination. This is despite the scientifically undeniable fact that the Illyrians, and consequently the Albanians as their direct descendants, are the oldest and most widespread inhabitants of the Balkans. This assertion is supported by numerous scholars. For instance, the Greek geographer Skylax states: 'The Illyrians, as a people, are the oldest inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula, dating back to before the 6th century BC.' This claim is further corroborated by Greek authors from the 5th century BC, including Herodotus, Hecataeus, and Thucydides. Additionally, the great Greek philosopher Aristotle, writing in the 4th century BC, provides further evidence through his observations and judgments.

It is an undeniable fact that, as a result of the underhanded agreements of imperialist powers and the pressure and betrayal by the Serbs, more than half of Albanian lands and the Albanian nation find themselves enslaved, exploited, poisoned, unemployed, and homeless. These conditions persist in the three artificially created chauvinist national republics of Yugoslavia, which continue to exist as separate states under Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. We have learned about these injustices from numerous scientific-historical books and archival sources across various Balkan and European countries, including Serbian scientific literature. For example, archival documents from England and Turkey, collected and published in 1978 in Prishtina, shed light on the events surrounding the allocation of our cities and territories.² From them, it is deduced on which date our cities and territories were handed over to the Serbian chauvinists. This occurred after a martyrdom war and a dignified and brave stance by the Albanians against numerous enemies, who were more numerous and technologically equipped for war, including Serbs, Turks, Russians, and other imperialist states Z.I.

The regimes of the Obrenovic dynasty (1870-1903) initiated a policy of state terror against Albanians in the 1830s, aiming for ethnic cleansing. In line with this policy, the government of the Principality of Serbia ordered, in 1832, that every Albanian caught on Serbian territory be given 25 lashes with a stick, while in 1834, it ordered the use of the army to burn villages. Various Serbian authors have documented the expulsion of Albanians from their lands. The inhumane actions of the government of the Serbian Principality intensified, especially during the 1870s-1880s, after the Congress of Berlin (1878), when unjust decisions led to the "donation" of Albanian lands in the Sandzak of Nis to Serbia. At that time, in parallel with the occupation of Albanian territories, starting from Nis, Toplica, and Leskovac to the border of the province of Kosovo with Serbia, there was a mass expulsion of Albanians from their centuries-old lands. Data proves that during this period, tens of thousands of Albanians were forcibly displaced in extremely difficult conditions, persecuted, and left to the mercy of fate.

²Albanian League of Prizren in English documents, Prishtina, 1978, Albanian League of Prizren in Ottoman documents, Prishtina, 1978.

³Albanological Research, Historical Sciences Series, no.9, 1979, p. 137

They were forced to settle mainly within the Albanian provinces. Official sources from the Serbian government testified that in Prokuple, Korshumli, Pusta-Raka, Nis, Leskovac, and Vranje, there were tens of thousands of Albanian houses, the inhabitants of which were almost completely displaced. Their displacement was massive and accompanied by terrible panic. "In addition to the Congress of Berlin, between June 21 and July 11, 1878, 145 petitions were sent to representatives by the endangered Muslim population (Albanians, Turks, Bosnians, Circassians) from Ioannina, Manastir, Shpuza, Gruda, Hoti, etc. The inhabitants of these provinces protested against the partition of their lands and demanded that they remain within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. The petitioners also demanded compensation for the damages caused to them and requested to be taken under the protection of the great powers.

Regarding the displaced individuals, discussions were held in the Ottoman parliament in January 1878. Albanian MPs such as Haxhi Ymer Efendi Prizreni, Zija Prishtina, Abdyl Frashëri, etc., participated in these discussions. Deputies also provided material assistance to the poor Muhajirs.⁵

Derall's contribution to national movements and their humanity

The processes of colonization and Slavization that occurred in these regions after the forced displacement of the vast majority of the Albanian population completed the full framework of the initial attempt by Serbian chauvinism to realize the expansionist plan of 'Nachertania.' The results achieved by the Serbian government of that time remained a guiding inspiration in the century that followed, illustrating how to act and which tools should be used to realize the dreams of the Serbs. These mass deportations of hundreds of thousands of Kosovo Albanians to countries inhabited by Albanians - ethnically, also occurred during the time of the great Hasan Deralla. The Deralla family ranks among the large families that contributed to national issues and movements. The Derallas owned a fortune as well as estates in the eastern Albanian Vilayet, which stretched in the area of Tetovo, Skopje, and Custendil.⁷ In the 1940s they owned approximately 12,000 ha of land in the Tetovo area up to the village of Rrataje. However, as a result of the Sublime Porte's intervention to narrow the economic power and limit the military resources of Albanian leaders, along with the process of property fragmentation and dissolution of the feudal system as a whole, the property holdings of the Deralla family decreased to 8,500 hectares at the beginning of the 19th century. The lands previously owned by the Derallas served to keep the national cause alive in these territories. The violent Serbo-Slavic spiritual, geographical, cultural, and military colonization has been ongoing in these lands for more than a century.

The centuries-old Serbo-Slavic colonization could not assimilate the language, customs, and, above all, the great spirit of the Albanians, including the Deralla family. Without a doubt, this family stood at the forefront with its best sons.

The noble genealogy of the Deralla family is closely related to Gradec, a village located at the foot of the Sharr Mountain between Tetovo and Gostivar, which belongs to Upper Polog and has always been inhabited by local Albanians. The traces of Gradec date back to ancient times. For illustration, we mention Roman authors Titus Livy and Polybius, who refer to Gradec as Draodacum⁹ in their work "Illyrians from Ancient Authors," as well as in the work

⁴Ibid

⁵Dr. Skender Rizaj, The issue of the Muhajirs, The migrations of Albanians during the centuries, 1992, Prishtina, p.161.

⁶History of Albania, v. II, Tirana, 1984, pp.73-74; Pance Kirovski, Ćifligarskite odnosi i çiflizite vo Pollog, Kiril Pejçinovi i i negovoto vreme, Tetovo, 1973, p. 117. Flaka Newspaper, 9-10 May, 1998.

⁸Village near Tetovo-Derala ranch

⁹Illyrians and Illyria in ancient authors, Prishtina, 1979, p.125.

of Mr. Mirdita. According to them, this settlement falls within the territory of the Dardanians, which is evidenced by archaeological discoveries made in 1989 in Gradishte¹⁰ of Gradec by a team of archaeologists from Skopje, as well as by Mr. Idrizi, also from this village.

The contribution of the citizens of Gradec, especially the Deralla family, is closely related to their strong patriotic activity. The best sons, such as Myri, Redzep, Kurta, Abdirahman, Hivzi, Hasan, and Memet, ¹³ as well as their sons, Halim, Gajur, and Hysen, were actively involved in Albania's National Movement and the struggle for independence. Subsequently, they fought for the unification of Albanian lands under a single entity - Albania.

From the genealogical tree of the Deralla family, we express gratitude to the great-grandchildren for the lineage of two centuries. From this lineage, we highlight Hasan Pasa Deralla. The surname Deralla, as well as Hasani, has left a mark not only on Polog, Gradec, Tetovo, or Gostivar, but, in a word, on all ethnic lands.

Hasan Deralla was known for his military tradition in the Tetovo region and in the Vilayet of Kosovo, participating in assemblies, events, and major historical decisions during the 19th century. He was valued in the Albanian territories as a virtuous figure, shrewd, generous in spirit, humane, and education-loving, and he was at the forefront of the struggle for national freedom. Although known as "Pasha," Hasan Deralla was entirely committed to the interests of the nation. As a prominent patriot, he held positions in local government during the League of Prizren and was considered one of its leaders and organizers. For this reason, our esteemed poet Gjergj Fishta, in his work "The Highland Lute," pays tribute to the League of Prizren, writing with the utmost respect: Do you see others and do you know them? The one who is speaking and who has a tongue like a sword is Abdyl bej Frashëri, without whose door Albania cannot live or thrive. After him come men of word and rifle, of faith and custom, who give everything for the homeland like Preng Dode Biba, the captain of Mirdita, Gete Shllaku and Begolli, and Hasan Deralla¹¹, Cun Mula and Mar Lula, Docë Preci and Vrioni, and the following is sung:

That is why there is no king That will cedeor sell this land 'till there's an Albanian bird To make shadow upon the land.

According to this writing used by the great Albanian Homer, it turns out that Hasan Deralla was really an Albanian bird of Gradec of Polog and the whole Vilayet of Kosovo.

According to the writing used by the great Albanian Homer, it becomes evident that Hasan Deralla was indeed an Albanian figure from Gradec of Polog and the entire Vilayet of Kosovo. His anti-Serbian activities included discussions in towers and assemblies, where he pledged allegiance and even engaged in open armed battles against annexationist intentions, amidst the fires raging in Belgrade. His generosity was also evident in 1878 when the Serbo-Slavs launched one of their most ruthless campaigns for the expulsion of Albanians from their ethnic lands in the northeast, as well as in the areas of Toplica, Nis, Vranje, Leskovac, Perkupa, Kursumlija, etc. This violent displacement affected more than 300,000 Albanians, motivated by a desire for ethnic cleansing. The Serbian government went so far as to order that 'the fewer Albanians remain with us, the more we serve the homeland, and the one who displaces more Albanians, the greater his merits for the homeland'. ¹² With these genocidal

¹²Shaban Braha, The great Serbian genocide and the Albanian resistance, 1844-1990, Gjakova, 1991, p.33

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¹⁰Site above the village where the old Iliro-Dardane tombs were discovered, by the team of Archaeologists from Skopje and by. Zeqirja Idrizi.

¹³Zeqirja Idrizi, Mehmet Pashë Derralla - The first Minister of the Albanian Army, Albanological Research, Series of Historical Sciences, 28-29, 1998-1999, Prishtina, 2002, p. 171.

¹¹Odhise Grillo, The Highland Lute, by Father Gjergj Fishta, ninth song, Tetovo, 1997, p. 44

measures, Serbia removed them from their homes and made the ethnic cleansing of these territories more real.

It must be emphasized that killings, massacres, burnings, rapes, robberies, and mass looting were not isolated incidents during the wars of 1876 and 1877. The accusations made by chauvinist circles in Belgrade against Albanians for the "burnings," "slaughters," and "outrages" committed during the war of 1876 were driven by malicious intentions, aiming to justify even greater acts of genocide during the war of 1877-1878. This genocide did not target the Turkish Muslim minority but rather the indigenous Albanian population. ¹³ The Serbian and Montenegrin extermination operations on the local population during the years 1876-1878 severely disrupted Albanian cohesion. These operations, conducted by the Serbs, took various forms and sizes, resulting in the forced displacement of the Albanian population to distant parts of the empire. This strategy aimed to prevent their return to their native lands. Unfortunately, the Berlin Treaty and the principles of public international law proved powerless to protect us. The Serbian authorities went beyond the actions of the civil war and the Russian armies, confiscating our pack animals, working animals, agricultural tools, seeds, crops in fields or warehouses, and invading our lands, houses, and warehouses. In other words, they behaved like enemies in enemy territory. 14 In response to this tragic situation, protests arose from Pashko Vasa and Omer Vrioni of the Patriotic Society of Istanbul, as they addressed Europe and Bismarck. They emphasized that 'an ancient people with traditions and a desire to live in peace with their neighbors suddenly found themselves confronted with existential threats. Having been torn apart, they now face the prospect of unprecedented massacre". 15 But the Albanian people with their far-sighted leaders were clear that the Serbian strategy aimed at restoring and reviving the time of Tsar Dushan, with which they are nourished to this day.

The Sublime Porte, in defense of its own interests, had no qualms about determining the destinies of other peoples, including the Albanian people, both on the diplomatic tables and on the battlefield within its imperial periphery. Therefore, the mass exodus of hundreds of thousands of Muhajireen, mostly Albanians, was understandable and expected:

Oh king, O black king
Have you not eating, have you not drunk?
You sold Bosnia, Oh Rumelia,
Four kingdoms were put on our backs
You made us all Muhajireen
Death is upon all in snow and rain,
With no bread to eat, with no water to drink,
There are ten men who enter the grave. 19

How difficult it was for them, as they left behind hearths with uncovered corpses, ruined towers, looted property, and shattered lives. Tragedy unfolded in both expected and unexpected ways during their journey into uncertainty and the unknown, amidst disorder and chaos. Josif H. Kostic, a teacher in Leskovac, wrote: 'That night, many children perished from the bitter cold, cradled in their mothers' arms or in their cribs... Near the road through the Gudelica Gorge to Vranje and Kumanovo, abandoned and lifeless children and frozen elderly were observed". ¹⁶

¹⁴Albanological Research, series of historical sciences, IX, 1979, Prishtina, 1980, p.153

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¹³Sh. Braha, cit. work, p. 44

¹⁵Acts of the Albanian national renaissance, 1878-1912, Tirana, 1978, p.90.

¹⁹Sh. Braha, cit. Work, p.49.

¹⁶Sh. Braha, cit. Work, p.49.

What was expected from the Berlin Congress and what transpired for Albania became evident. The Albanian platform and its program were set into motion solely based on its own resources, amidst the interference of the Sublime Porte, neighboring chauvinist governments, and the great powers with their own intentions in Albania, which sowed seeds of discord and betrayal. The people stood alone in the midst of chauvinist wolves, as expressed in the meaningful verses: 'No king to help us, when a friend there is none.' Nevertheless, Albanian life and struggle continued steadfastly along the path of their national strategy, without wavering and with full determination towards their future. Abdyl Frashëri declared: "If the great powers condemn this brave and loyal people to remain in captivity, or worse, to be divided among neighboring countries, the Balkan Peninsula will never know peace, for the Albanians will never cease fighting for their national independence. Conversely, if the Albanians are granted their national rights, Albania will become a beacon of peace and serve as a bulwark against tsarist expansion, which threatens not only the Balkan Peninsula but also the European continent". ¹⁷ And time, passing through days, weeks, and months, would begin to prove this, continuing for many years to come.

Severed from their roots by the iron fire, these Albanians could not be swept away like dry leaves by the chauvinist storm raging everywhere. Such expulsions, both then and now, have surfaced in other Albanian territories. In response, the great Hasan Pasha Deralla addressed the assembly in Gradec, taking positions and protective actions to ensure the security of these Albanian brothers, who had become refugees in their own homeland. He personally cared for 200-250 families, providing for their needs for months with food and other essentials. Hasan earned the reputation as the most humane man in the region. In the 'Acts of the Albanian National Revival 1878-1912,' we find that the thoughts and actions of Hasan Dërralla are prominently featured in memoranda, decisions, protests, and annals of that period. In the document known as the 'Kararname,' the first program of the Albanian League of Prizren, Hasani was listed in the sixth position in the political and military organization hierarchy from the central to the grassroots level. According to the League's decision, as stated in Article 16, 'We are ready to shed blood for our homeland. We have chosen Prizren as our capital, and from now on, united, we will never allow the oppression of our homeland. May this League of ours be passed down from generation to generation among our children and grandchildren, and whoever abandons it will be deemed a deserter and a traitor, cursed and despised by all. We are committed to faithfully implementing the orders issued by this decision, to give it the binding power that we all acknowledge by signing" 18 It is evident that Hasan Deralla, along with the entire tribe, was among the first in the region to accept and respond to the necessity of a nationwide meeting. He was known as a diligent organizer and leader, alongside his son Mehmet Pasha Deralla. Hasan Deralla actively participated in the significant events of the Albanian League of Prizren and played an important role as a commander in Tetovo and the surrounding area, including his hometown Gradec. He led Albanian forces in Tetovo against the implementation of anti-Albanian decisions made at the Treaty of St. Stephen and the Congress of Berlin, which severely fragmented Albanian territorial integrity in favor of neighboring states. Furthermore, he frequently aligned with local units and Kosovar brothers led by Ali Pasha Gucia.

The heroism of Dërralla, the great personality of the pen, was hymnized by Gjergj Fishta in the 'Highland Lute:

¹⁷History of Albania II, Tirana, ...1984, p.204.

¹⁸Dr. Femi Pushkolli, National Defense of Kosovo 1878-1990, Prishtina, pp.31-33.

The strong for the rifle
The wise for the word
Like that Dode Preci from Kastrat
With the Vrioni of Berat
With the brave Deralla
Who in words was rare
When there was a need to behold
For the blessed motherland. 19

This attitude, this education, and this valuable heritage, not only in terms of wealth but, above all, in terms of patriotic, humane, and national perspectives, would naturally be transplanted and rooted from generation to generation among the Deralls and the citizens of Gradec. Albanian movements led by the Deralls did not end here; they reached the peak of Albanianism as a work started and increasingly embraced end masse, always hindered but unfinished to this day.

Humanism of the Pollogas and care for Kosovar exiles

Today's movements in ethnic lands, like a century ago, experience almost the same pain. The Serbo-Slavs insist on forcibly appropriating Albanian lands – specifically Kosovo. This animalistic aggression aims at emptying and exterminating the area through ethnic cleansing. However, these deportations, happening today with a large influx, cannot and will never defeat Kosovo and its borders. Until the Albanians recognize and accept the borders set between them, as evidenced by their habitation in Albania, Montenegro, and Western Macedonia (in ethnic lands), they will remain united as one body and soul bound by blood, language, flag, history, and a glorious present - their homeland. This is precisely what the Gradecans of Deralla prove with their humanity, caring for their blood brothers even in these difficult times. Both then and now, the Gradecans of Derala demonstrate their humanity by sheltering and supporting many families of their blood brothers. As an old folk proverb says, 'When a part of your whole-body hurts, the body is sick.' This understanding was well-known to the Gradecans, who, bearing witness to their humanity from the past, opened their doors and hearts to their Kosovar brothers, offering shelter to many families who have been in exile for years.²⁰

| Table 1 | l - '. | Γable | of | Kosovar | refugees | in | Gradec |
|---------|---------------|-------|----|---------|----------|----|--------|
|---------|---------------|-------|----|---------|----------|----|--------|

| | The name and surname of the heads of the families | Members | Address | Host |
|-----|---|---------|----------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Terisha Tefik | 7 | Pristina | Taip Shabani |
| 2. | Nazif Berisha | 7 | Pristina | Metal and Xhelal Bajrami |
| 3. | Elvis Stublla | 4 | Ferizaj | Elez Rushani |
| 4. | Muhedin Kavaja | 1 | Pristina | Elez Rushani |
| 5. | Avdil Lazimi | 3 | Pristina | Qamil Fejzullahu |
| 6. | Shefki Konjuhi | 6 | Pristina | Ruhit H. Mustafa |
| 7. | Bajrush Qiriqi | 2 | Ferizaj | Murat Dervishi |
| 8. | Hasi Ymeri | 3 | Pristina | Mesut Ibrahimi |
| 9. | Selvet Mustafa | 1 | Pristina | Mesut Ibrahimi |
| 10. | Mustafa Muhammad | 1 | Pristina | Isaac Sulejmani |

¹⁹Gjergj Fishta, The Highland Lute, the ninth song.

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²⁰Data on persons sheltered in the village of Gradec 1999.

| 11. | Naser Ramadani | 12 | Ferizaj | Jamaledin Shaqiri |
|-------------|--------------------|----|-----------|--------------------|
| 12. | Kabul Kabashi | 2 | Pristina | Qatip Havziu |
| 13. | Naim Abazi | 7 | Pristina | Haki Ademi |
| 14. | Fari Bosniaku | 15 | Pristina | Rami Rufati |
| 15. | Safet Merovci | 7 | F. Kosovo | Servert Rufati |
| 16. | Albin Regani | 1 | Pristina | Basri Rufati |
| 17. | Shukrije Muqolli | 1 | Pristina | Basri Rufati |
| 18. | Jamie Hoti | 6 | Pristina | Nusret Jonuzi |
| 19. | Mirvete Musliu | 1 | Pristina | Nusret Jonuzi |
| 20. | Kumrije Maloku | 2 | Pristina | Nusret Jonuzi |
| 21. | Latif Mulaku | 2 | Pristina | Sefedin Hartuni |
| 22. | Fehmije Hamza | 6 | Pristina | Sefedin Haruni |
| 23. | Kadri Krasniqi | 6 | Pristina | Hetem Adam |
| 24. | Bedri Gashi | 9 | Pristina | Ali Bajrami |
| 25. | Qazim Sollova | 4 | Pristina | Gajur Mahmudi |
| 26. | Fadil Sinani | 5 | Pristina | Musa Musai |
| 27. | Hope Gashi | 3 | Pristina | Ramadan Bajrami |
| 28. | Eagle Khemshiti | 16 | Pristina | Ismail Bajrami |
| 29. | Magbule Jitija | 1 | Pristina | Ismail Bajrami |
| 30. | Qamil Gashi | 10 | Pristina | Musli Bajrami |
| 31. | Nafije Mulaku | 11 | Chest | Shauki Iljazi |
| 32. | Safet Krasniqi | 2 | Suharek | Xhevat Bajrami |
| 33. | Aphrodite Kicaj | 3 | Suharek | Xhevat Bajrami |
| 34. | Kabashi lights | 1 | Rahovec | Naser Bajrami |
| <i>35</i> . | Veli Deva | 6 | Pristina | Adam's pockets |
| <i>36</i> . | Near Nishevci | 1 | Pristina | Adam's pockets |
| <i>37</i> . | Amet Brahimaj | 1 | Pristina | Adam's pockets |
| <i>38</i> . | Zogza Mulaku | 1 | Pristina | Adam's pockets |
| <i>39</i> . | Union Zuha | 2 | Pristina | Adam's pockets |
| 40. | Sulejmani Nexhbi | 11 | Pristina | Berzat Mehmedi |
| 41. | Hope Zulfiu | 5 | Pristina | Hajri Bajrami |
| 42. | Pythamet Pirraku | 7 | Pristina | Ismail Murati |
| 43. | Enver Ramadani | 5 | Pristina | Ismail Murati |
| 44. | Artan Bajractari | 2 | Suharek | Abdiljammil Aliu |
| 45. | Sebahate Behestrai | 1 | Pristina | Abdiljammil Aliu |
| 46. | Dugolli Sker | 7 | Ferizaj | Ilijaz Beqiri |
| 47. | Ramadan Krasniqi | 4 | Podujeva | Bajrami Muhammadam |
| 48. | Riza Matarova | 3 | Pristina | Bajrami Muhammadam |
| 49. | Sebahate Mulolli | 5 | Pristina | Nexhbedin Veliu |
| 50. | Nebije Kurshumiu | 5 | Pristina | Nexhbedin Veliu |
| <i>51</i> . | Lime Lymph | 5 | Pristina | Nexhbedin Veliu |
| <i>52</i> . | Sulejman Sahiti | 3 | Pristina | Nexhbedin Veliu |
| <i>53</i> . | Ali Hashani | 5 | Pristina | Bilelli's façade |
| <i>54</i> . | Abdullahi zulfije | 1 | Pristina | Shabani Shukri |
| 55. | Ibrahimi Rexhp | 5 | Pristina | Basri Saliu |
| 56. | Bislim Neziri | 4 | Pristina | Distortion Ali |
| <i>57</i> . | Adem Ibrahimi | 5 | Pristina | Ramadan Sejfulahi |
| 58. | Muharrem Bulliqi | 5 | Pristina | Jahja Murati |

| 59. | Halim Demiri | 1 | Pristina | Jahja Murati |
|-------------|------------------|----|-----------|------------------------|
| 60. | Asllan Konjuhi | 1 | Pristina | Jahja Murati |
| <i>61</i> . | Rasim Thachi | 5 | Pristina | Refik Zulbehari |
| <i>62</i> . | Hasan Stublla | 6 | Pristina | Qaim Zulbehari |
| <i>63</i> . | Ramiz Dmushi | 7 | Pristina | Sulejmani Qufli |
| 64. | Emine Restelica | 1 | Pristina | Faik Arsllani |
| 65. | Sabrije Hoxha | 1 | Skenderaj | Faik Arsllani |
| 66. | Linda Begiri | 1 | Skenderaj | Faik Arsllani |
| <i>67</i> . | Mynavere Hasanaj | 1 | Istog | Faik Arsllani |
| 68. | Sofije Qeringi | 2 | Pristina | Harun Bajrami |
| <i>69</i> . | Sami Rama | 2 | Pristina | Shaban Abdylvehapi |
| 70. | Sami Abdullahu | 6 | Pristina | Shaban Abdylvehapi |
| 71. | Hadije Selimi | 3 | Obiliq | Shaban Abdylvehapi |
| 72. | Maqedonci | 2 | Pristina | Shaban Avdylvehapi |
| <i>73</i> . | Zejnel Mrajsori | 1 | Rahovec | Adem Bajrami |
| 74. | Fehmi Bega | 1 | Ferizaj | Zejdi Bilalli |
| <i>75</i> . | Arijeta Marevci | 1 | Ferizaj | Zejdi Bilalli |
| <i>76</i> . | Ramadan Krasniqi | 7 | Obiliq | Nuhi Imeri |
| 77. | Nazif Gashi | 5 | Pristina | Shaban Adam |
| 78. | Ali Hoxha | 3 | Pristina | Shaban Adam |
| 79. | Mustafa | 5 | Pristina | Refik Hasani |
| 80. | Ismail Jakapi | 5 | Pristina | Naser Sylejmani |
| 81. | Idriz Neziri | 5 | Pristina | Fuad Nebiu |
| 82. | Zymber Zeka | 10 | Pristina | Nijazi Abdurrahimi |
| 83. | Safet Behrami | 4 | Pristina | Hebib Iljazi |
| 84. | Spring Behrami | 3 | Pristina | Idriz Ilijazi |
| 85. | Arsim Menjqi | 1 | Podujeva | Idriz Ilijazi |
| 86. | Nefise Salihu | 7 | Pristina | Begir Sadiku |
| 87. | Ilir Dibrani | 1 | Pristina | Beqir Sadiku |
| 88. | Blessing Osmani | 4 | Pristina | Rushit Rushiti |
| 89. | Krasniqi Mustaf | 7 | Podujeva | Aziz Bajrami |
| 90. | Ferid Behestrai | 6 | Pristina | Qatip Rakipi |
| 91. | Safete Zeka | 3 | Pristina | The Ametheus |
| 92. | Elhame Namani | 8 | Pristina | Garip Demiraliu |
| 93. | Shave Ruhani | 2 | Pristina | Garip Demiraliu |
| 94. | Hashani misty | 1 | Pristina | Garip Demiraliu |
| 95. | Fetah Krasniqi | 12 | Podujeva | Ibrahim Adam |
| 96. | Eat Abdullahu | 1 | Podujeva | Ibrahim Adam |
| 97. | Flag | 5 | Prishtina | Abedin Bilalli |
| 98. | Jahir Ibrahimi | 22 | Pristina | Muzafer Farizi |
| 99. | Ramadan Ibrahimi | 5 | Pristina | Xhevair Sinani |
| 100. | Fetah rep | 5 | Pristina | Mesut Rakipi |
| 101. | Kumrije Parduzi | 4 | Pristina | Mesut Rakipi |
| 102. | Zeqir Stublla | 4 | Ferizaj | Mamut joy |
| 103. | Stublla Mustafa | 5 | Ferizaj | Abdurrahim Abdurrahimi |
| 104. | Ramadan Osmani | 10 | Pristina | " |
| 105. | Hakif Gashi | 4 | Pristina | Jamie Adam |
| 106. | Ismet Salihu | 4 | Pristina | Naser Ademi |

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| 150.Ilmi Sinani5PristinaIbrahim Ibrahimi151.Fatmir Guri5PristinaChief Bajrami152.Haki Ibrahimi4FerizajGas Bajrami153.Sadete Sulejmani4Ferizaj" | 148. | Hamdi Hamdiu | | Ferizaj | Fauzi Ameti |
| 151. Fatmir Guri5PristinaChief Bajrami152. Haki Ibrahimi4FerizajGas Bajrami153. Sadete Sulejmani4Ferizaj" | 149. | Shaban Sinanaj | | Pristina | Ismet Hasan |
| 152. Haki Ibrahimi4FerizajGas Bajrami153. Sadete Sulejmani4Ferizaj" | <i>150</i> . | Ilmi Sinani | | Pristina | Ibrahim Ibrahimi |
| 153. Sadete Sulejmani 4 Ferizaj " | <i>151</i> . | Fatmir Guri | 5 | Pristina | Chief Bajrami |
| 153. Saaete Sulejmani 4 Ferizaj | <i>152</i> . | Haki Ibrahimi | 4 | Ferizaj | v |
| 154. Rexhep Qela 2 Pristina Hasan Mamuti | <i>153</i> . | Sadete Sulejmani | 4 | Ferizaj | " |
| | <i>15</i> 4. | Rexhep Qela | 2 | Pristina | Hasan Mamuti |

| 155. | Hajrije Qela | 5 | Vushtria | Mahir Bilalli |
|--------------|-----------------|----|-----------|---------------------------|
| 156. | Ilmije Foniqi | 4 | Vushtria | Muzafer Bilalli |
| 157. | Milot Salihu | 1 | Pristina | Qebir Beestrai |
| 158. | Enver Rama | 3 | Pristina | " |
| 159. | Shaban Havolli | 8 | Pristina | Hajrullah Kadri |
| 160. | Maliq Sopjani | 3 | Podujeva | Ekrem Hasani |
| 161. | Gani Menjqi | 5 | Pristina | Sheriff Rushiti |
| 162. | Jajrullahu | 7 | Pristina | Enver Islam |
| 163. | Menjqi Rama | 19 | Gjilan | Lutfi Jonuzi |
| 164. | Selatin Sejdiu | 4 | Pristina | Isak Ramani |
| 165. | Nazmi Medaliu | 5 | Pristina | Safer Iljazi |
| 166. | Hivzi Sojeva | 4 | Pristina | Irfan Islam |
| 167. | Union Hasan | 5 | Pristina | " |
| 168. | Qazim Jahiri | 1 | Pristina | Muzafer Farizi |
| 169. | Hasim Krasniqi | 10 | Ferizaj | " |
| <i>170</i> . | Jahir Hoxha | 2 | Obiliq | Ismet Bajrami |
| 171. | Hysen Berisha | 3 | Ferizaj | Bajram Hiseni |
| <i>172</i> . | Naim Sadiku | 13 | Kaçanik | Ramadan Bajrami |
| 173. | Enver Rejah | 4 | Pristina | Zeqirja Idrizi |
| 174. | Naman Rare | 16 | Ferizaj | Atif Ali |
| <i>175</i> . | Fatmir Elmazi | 2 | Ferizaj | Bajramali Imeri |
| <i>176</i> . | Luljeta Hashani | 3 | Ferizaj | " |
| <i>177</i> . | Raif Hysen | 4 | Pristina | Esad Muharremi |
| <i>178</i> . | Bardhyl Buçaj | 2 | Malishev | Irfan Islam |
| <i>179</i> . | Ismet Gashi | 1 | Suharek | " |
| 180. | Mehdi Kurnova | 4 | F. Kosovo | Ibrahim Saliu |
| 181. | Abdullah Sejdiu | 5 | Lipjan | Sheriff Rushiti |
| 182. | Bajram Hasan | 6 | Gjilan | Abedin Bilalli |
| 183. | Lumnije Dushica | 1 | Gjilan | " |
| 184. | Nijazi Nebiu | 5 | Ferizaj | Jamalidin Shaqiri |
| 185. | Mimosa Havolli | 3 | Podujeva | Ekrem Hasani |
| 186. | Hamdi Shabani | 2 | Pristina | Ali Bajrami |
| | Alush Hajzeri | 2 | Pristina | Selman Ramadani |
| 188. | Afrim Sejdiu | 9 | Lipjan | Ismail Ahmeti |
| 189. | Loyal -Bega | 1 | Ferizaj | Nasuf Ademi ²¹ |

Viewed from the numerical aspect, Gradec has sheltered around 189 families, while the number of members reaches 849 which increased each day. However, it should be noted that in the municipality of Negotino of Pollog, as a whole, there were 419 sheltered families, with the number of members reaching 2238 people: Negotino in 92 families has accepted 575 members, Senokos in 35 families has accepted 244 members, Dobridol in 81 families has accepted 477 members, Kalishte in 5 families has accepted 41 members, The Gurgevište in 3 families has accepted 34 members, Lomnica in 2 families has accepted 18 members, Gradec in 189 families accepted 849 members. A total of 419 families of the Municipality welcomed and sheltered 2238 members.

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²¹In these lists are given the names and surnames of the sheltered in the families of Gradec 1999.

However, it should not be forgotten that in this municipality and in the localities of Gradec and Senokos, a housing camp has been set up where, in those moments (April-May 1999), there were over 2,000 people, a number which increased to above 10,000 people.²⁷

Unfortunately, this big wave is also felt in the Municipality of Çegrane, where 2,558 people from the Republic of Kosovo were sheltered, and in Čegrane 1,487 people were settled in 248 families, while in Forino 1,049 people were settled in 169 families, and in Korito, 22 people are settled in three families. Simultaneously in the locality of Čegrane and Forino in the part called Rudina camp was set up for the reception of the persecuted and deported from the Republic of Kosovo where around 35000 people were accommodated, who did not have sufficient hygienic conditions, and for this the main burden fell on the citizens of these localities who in order to alleviate the need for cleanliness, these citizens left in their service the baths to those who were in the camps, with a goal to protecting them from various epidemics that may have arisen at any moment, and this shows spiritual humanity for those mentioned above.

These two camps established in Upper Polog carried significant weight as they were surrounded by fellow blood brothers, which instilled a sense of greater security and brought hope for a closer return to Kosovo.

It's important to note that the sufferings, executions, and various forms of torture, as well as the daily occurrences of mass house burnings in these suburbs, are viewed as two major concerns among Kosovar Albanians regarding the fate and future of the nation.

All of us, as Albanians from Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Presevo, Bujanovac, and Chameria, are the indigenous population of this land, and our roots cannot be shaken or moved because the master of these lands has been, is, and will remain the Albanian. There is no force that can destroy or assimilate the Albanians and erase their presence, especially now that we have the support of the largest world powers. This is evidenced by the visits of prominent political and diplomatic figures from Europe and around the world, who have visited the displaced from Kosovo in the Macedonian camps (Stenkovc, Čegrane, Neproshten, and Senokos-Gradec). However, the displacement of Albanians from their ancestral homes and their journey to other countries around the world, without having anyone to call their own or any sense of safety, has not ceased. This displacement is caused by the tyranny and totalitarian system of the Macedonian police, and it continues despite asylum ties and the efforts of Slavic SSA.

It is a fact that the aforementioned chauvinists have committed countless massacres against Albanians, as they have done many times before, especially since 1990 and particularly after the adoption of the constitution. These massacres have increased, and a clandestine expedition has been silently prepared to eradicate the Albanian presence on a larger scale, targeting Albanians and their property. The goal is to assimilate Albanian lands, as seen previously with Albanian cities in Macedonia, such as the city of the alphabet which became the city of consuls, and has been Macedonianized, such as Ohrid and Veles. This is evidenced by the influx of a large number of Aegean people (Macedonian-Greek) into western Macedonia during Tito's era.

The collapse of the totalitarian system and the beginning of the process of democratization in Eastern Europe were welcomed by the Albanians of the former Yugoslavia. In the Albanian territories of the former Yugoslavia, several political parties were formed, each presenting solution to the national question within the framework of the Yugoslav state. Interestingly, on

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²⁷The data were provided by the Emergency Headquarters of the Municipality of Negotino, Polog (1999).

²²These data for the Municipality of Cegran were provided by Dr. Mahir Iseini, chairman of the Emergency Council at the Municipality of Cegran, who at the same time seven years ago was chairman of the Emergency Council for refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina where then in the former Municipality of Gostivar there were 1100 refugees all sheltered in Albanian families.

²³Place between Çegran and Forina - Gostivar.

the eve of the beginning of the dissolution of the Yugoslav federation, the leaders of the largest Albanian political parties in the former Yugoslavia formed a coordinating council with Ibrahim Rugova to resolve the Albanian issue in these lands. They envisaged three options to be implemented depending on developments within the Yugoslav state. The first option involved the creation of a new state unit - the Republic of Kosovo, while the Albanians of Macedonia would be a state-building element, and those of Eastern Kosovo and Montenegro would have a special status. The political entity of the Albanians of Macedonia conditioned the independence of this state with the assurance of equal status with the Macedonian people. However, when this condition was ignored by the Macedonian political entity, the Albanians attempted to exercise their rights by organizing a referendum on territorial political autonomy (Ilirida) for their future status. Meanwhile, they refused to vote for the constitution of Macedonia, which, compared to the previous one, almost completely ignored the Albanian people, the second-largest ethnicity in the country. Tragic events such as Bit Pazar, Radolishta, the opening of the University of Tetova (1994), and the cases of Gostivar (1997) and Bllaca (1999) convincingly demonstrated that Albanian political subjects in Macedonia had no decision-making weight and were not considered by the Macedonian establishment. However, despite these events, there was not a single case of resignation of any Albanian minister or official when the lives of the people were in question.

The emergence of the National Liberation Army (NLA) is precisely the non-advancement of the position of the Albanians in Macedonia during the period of independence of the Macedonian state, who decided to use weapons to force the Macedonian political entity to finally accept the centuries-old demands of Albanians. These sons and daughters seemed to be determined to lay down their lives to implement the announced program of equality between the Macedonian and Albanian peoples. They, in fact, insisted on achieving, with arms if necessary, what the Albanian political parties have not been able to achieve for years with their participation in the Macedonian governments. Meanwhile, their political platform does not conflict with the demands of Albanian political parties in Macedonia. This new Albanian political factor in Macedonia should not be underestimated, but should be seen as a historical reality. Therefore, their participation in the talks on resolving the national issue of the Albanians in Macedonia will be necessary, as this factor will provide an even better guarantee for the return of the displaced, who now number over 15,000 in the countries of the former Yugoslavia (Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Kosovo), as well as in Europe (as of May 03, 2001), and for the implementation of the agreement. Albanian political parties in Macedonia had a moral obligation to seek the participation of political representatives of the NLA in these talks and to speak with one voice. Recently, after the offensive launched by the Macedonian police and army against the Albanians in the Tetovo highlands, it openly displayed the aforementioned chauvinism by committing acts of violence and terror, including attacking and raiding entire Albanian villages; imprisoning, beating, and killing citizens, professors, shepherds, and even passers-by. In recent days, Slavo-Macedonian citizens, in collaboration with the Macedonian police, have been instilling fear among Albanians through various barbaric acts such as killings, burnings, and looting of Albanian properties in cities where Albanians are in the majority. For instance, in Bitola, over 50 Albanian properties were burned and destroyed overnight. Isn't this contributing to the displacement of Albanians? Does this qualify as an improvement in interethnic relations in Macedonia?

In conclusion, we should refrain from addressing the Slavo-Macedonian government solely through protests, appeals, and other demands. Instead, we should seek support from international bodies such as the UN and its peacekeeping forces, the European Parliament, the European Economic Community (EEC), as well as countries such as the United States,

Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France, Italy, Turkey, and other civilized nations. These are the same countries that, in 1878 and 1912, decided to separate western Macedonia and other Albanian lands from their homeland and incorporate them into Yugoslavia. At the same time, let us appeal to these organizations and states for the involvement of alternative representatives and the Macedonian intelligentsia in addressing the demands of Albanians as a nation involved in the state-building process of the country. In this way, a great centuries-old injustice is inflicted upon the peace-loving Albanian people in their Balkan lands without their consent, as evidenced by heroic wars and ongoing bloodshed and martyrdom. By rectifying this flagrant mistake from the past, it becomes evident that the countries of Europe, the United States, and NATO, with their troops, are truly committed to a singular ideal: democracy, freedom, and equality among peoples and states. This commitment is based solely on justice and peaceful coexistence in the world, free from any ulterior motives or accountability.

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