



KOSOVA 1912-2000

in the history textbooks
of Kosova, Albania and Serbia



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ABBREVIATIONS

EU – European Union

FARK – The Armed Forces of the Republic of Kosova

FRY – Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

FSRY – Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia

HLC – Humanitarian Law Center

ICRC – International Committee of Red Cross

ICTY – International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

KFOR – NATO's military force in Kosova

KLA – Kosova Liberation Army

KPC – Kosova Protection Corps

LDK – Democratic League of Kosova

LKÇK – National Movement for the Liberation of Kosova

LPK – Kosova People's Movement

LRBSh – Revolutionary Movement for Albanian Unity

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

PKJ – Yugoslav Communist Party

PKSh – Albanian Communist Party

PPK – Kosova Parliamentary Party

UN – United Nations

UNHCR – United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNMIK – United Nations Mission in Kosova

UP – University of Prishtina

UPS – Independent Student Union

USA – United States of America

INTRODUCTION

This publication aims to focus on the approach to events in Kosova over the period of nearly a century (1912-2000) in the primary and high school textbooks of Kosova, Albania and Serbia. The Kosovan textbooks are published by the **Libri Shkollor** publishing house, those of Albania are published by the **Albas** publishers, and those of Serbia are by **Zavod za udžbenike**.

The history textbooks of the three countries, approved by the respective ministries of education, are a key source for this report. The descriptions given in these historiographies are compared, with the similarities and differences between them drawn out. International authors such as Noel Malcolm, Stephen Schwartz, Tim Judah, Howard Clark, Leon Trotsky and others dealing with the events in Kosova in this period are likewise set against them with their respective arguments.

The report deals with some of the most important periods of the history of the last century in Kosova, setting out where the history books do not agree with one another, but also the falsifications of each. In an indirect way the report also draws out what the governments of these countries are suggesting as the relations between these neighbour states to the younger generations whom they are educating through the textbooks.

The project aims to reveal in the clearest possible way, based on facts, what is the basis of the often contradictory allegations between the two peoples who come up against one another in Kosova. The report will thus be produced in Albanian, Serbian and English. The project is addressed to those who create school textbooks in Kosova, Albania and Serbia, the representatives of the respective ministries of education, who give permission for these publications, but also to policy-makers, and primary and high school history teachers themselves. It is also available to all who are interested in the issues discussed.

1

Kosova during 1912-1913

1.1. The Albanian uprising of 1912

From 1878-1912, the highest point of aspirations for autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, Albanians achieved what the historiography of Albania and Kosova calls the *general uprising of 1912*. Starting in spring 1912, this uprising led by Hasan Prishtina aspired to territorial autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. This autonomy was expected to include within it the request for the recognition of the borders of Albania and ethnically Albanian civil and military authorities.¹

History textbooks in Serbia make no mention at all of this uprising, while some history textbooks in Kosova exaggerate the political aims of the uprising from *autonomy* to *independence*.² History textbooks in Albania, on the other hand, present the aim of this uprising as *autonomy* within the Ottoman Empire.³

Having gained control of the territory of Kosova in the summer of 1912, for reasons of internal divisions,⁴ and as an alteration to the initial political platform for *territorial* autonomy, the leaders of the Albanian insurgents established a new political platform with 14 demands, which are known as *Hasan Prishtina's 14 Points*⁵ These 14 points set out a *non-territorial* autonomy, because there is no explicit mention either of Albania's army nor her borders. The points deal mainly with education, agriculture, trade and transport, but also include the announcing of a general amnesty, reparations for houses that were destroyed and trials of the Young Turks' cabinet.⁶

In Kosova's textbooks, these 14 points are presented as '... new demands and with some changes',⁷ but without specifying the contents or the changes. The textbooks of neither Kosova nor Albania identify the change

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1 For the demands of the 1912 uprising see: Prishtina, Hasan. *A brief memoir of the Albanian rebellion of 1912*. Prishtina: Rrokullia, 2010. page 30.

2 Rexhepi, Fehmi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 5*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2009. page 69.

3 Dërgut, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 65.

4 For the differences between the leaders of the uprising, see the memoirs of Hasan Prishtina: Prishtina, Hasan. *A brief memoir of the Albanian rebellion of 1912*. Prishtina: Rrokullia, 2010. pages 33-35. See also: Bartl, Peter. *Shqipëria - nga mesjetë deri sot*. Prizren: Drita, 1999. pages 123-126.

5 The text of Hasan Prishtina's 14 points can be found in Nika, Nevilla. *Përbledhje dokumentesh mbi kryengritjet shqiptare (1910-1912)*. Prishtina: Instituti i Historisë/History Institute, 2003. pages 286-288 and 297-299.

6 For an analysis of the general Albanian uprising of 1912, and particularly for the Albanian insurgents' talks with the representatives of the Ottoman Empire, see: Rahimi, Shukri. *Lufte e shqiptarëve për autonomi (1897-1912)*. Prishtina: Enti i Teksteve dhe Mjeteve Mësimore i KSA të Kosovës, 1980. pages 193-225. See also: Gawrych, George. *Gjysmëhëna dhe shqiponja - sundimi otoman, islamizimi dhe shqiptarët 1874-1913*. Tirana: Bota Shqiptare, 2007. pages 291-301.

7 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 76.

in the political aims of the Albanian insurgents from *territorial* autonomy to *non-territorial* autonomy. According to the Kosova textbooks, the Albanian insurgents declared the end of the uprising because '...armed provocation was beginning on the Montenegro border'.⁸ The textbooks from Albania say more or less the same thing, '... the leaders of the uprising accepted the changes because the situation abroad was deteriorating because of the attempts by Balkan states to start a war against the Ottoman Empire, and between them to carve up Albanian lands'.⁹

The fact that the political demands of the Albanian leaders of the time were not achieved is thus attributed in Kosovan and Albanian textbooks solely to neighbouring countries. These textbooks therefore do not mention anywhere the fact that the Albanians of the time were divided: on one hand, the majority of the representatives from the cities – the *beys* and the *agas* – who **opposed** autonomy, and on the other, the leaders of the uprising who were **seeking** autonomy, but who were likewise divided because some of them liked being strongly linked to the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ Nor is it mentioned in the textbooks of Kosova and Albania that the divisions between the leaders of the Albanian uprising were encouraged by Serbia's representatives in Prishtina, who supplied some of the leaders of the Albanian uprising with arms.¹¹

In these textbooks there is no mention of the divisions which relate to the political currents of the time, so all the action of the period is presented as a part of what the books call the **Albanian National Movement**, which is presented as a homogenous structure with clear demands. Representation of these divisions is pivotal because they had significant implications for the changes in the political demands, from **territorial** autonomy to **non-territorial** autonomy. Nevertheless, the Albanian insurgents didn't even achieve **non-territorial** autonomy because, instead of creating the institutions of power, they dispersed immediately after the Ottoman Empire officially accepted the 14 points, with the exception of the initiation of legal proceedings against the Young Turk government.

1.2. The liberation/ occupation of Kosova

At the end of September 1912, Ottoman regiments started to leave Kosova, and at the beginning of October 1912, Montenegro declared war on the

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8 Ibid, page 76.

9 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. pages 65-66.

10 See: Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 246. Hasan Prishtina in his memoirs said that Riza Gjakova and Isa Boletini started to say '... we don't want autonomy and we cannot split away from the Ottomans'.

11 For the supplies of arms to Isa Boletini and Riza Gjakova by Serb representatives, see the Serbian document published in: Cana, Zekeria. *Kryengritja shqiptare e vitit 1912 në dokumentet sérbe*. Prishtina: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës (Prishtina Albanological Institute), 2008. pages 480-488.

Ottoman Empire. Within a week, the other members of the *Balkan League*, formed on 13 March 1912 initially by Serbia and Bulgaria, and later joined by Greece and Montenegro, did the same. The Balkan League Treaty – protected by Russia – described the division of territory after the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire, which had also controlled the areas of the Balkans with majority Albanian populations, including Kosova.¹² The Albanians decided not to take part in a war between the Balkan and Ottoman allies.

In the middle of October 1912, the King of Serbia, Petar Karadordjević, issued a decree titled **To the Serbian people** where, amongst other things, he said:

‘... In the name of God I have ordered my brave army to wage a holy war for the freedom of our brothers and for a better life. My army will meet in Old Serbia with both Christian and Muslim Serbs, both equally loved, as well as with Christian and Muslim Albanians, with whom our nation has shared joy and bitterness for thirteen centuries uninterrupted. We will bring freedom, brotherhood and equality to all’.¹³

The Third Serbian Army penetrated into **Kosova** and further into Albanian lands. For the Serbian textbooks, ‘... with lightning-swift penetration it liberated Kosova, and through northern Albania penetrated further, to the **Adriatic Sea**'.¹⁴ Meanwhile, in the Kosovan textbooks ‘... **the Serbian army conquered Kosova** and moved on to other parts of **Northern** and **Central** Albania'.¹⁵ The textbooks from Albania say exactly the same¹⁶ while the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South-East Europe,¹⁷ which attempts to change the traditional approach to teaching modern history in this part of Europe, says in a publication as part of the Joint History Project, titled *The Balkan Wars*, that halfway through October 1912, ‘the Serbian administrative system came into force in Kosova'.¹⁸

Although the Albanians resisted the Serbian forces, on 23 October 1912, on the field where the 1389 Battle of Kosova took place, the Serbs celebrated what the Serbian textbooks call ‘... the liberation of Kosova ... the cradle of the Serbian state... that many generations had waited for during the nineteenth

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12 For more on the Balkan League alliance see: Schwartz, Stephen. *Kosova: Background to a War*. London: Anthem Press, 2000. pages 41-42. See also: Castelan, Georges. *Historia e Ballkanit*. Tirana: Çabej, 1996. pages 390-396.

13 Freundlich, Leo. *Albania's Gogotha*. Prishtina: Rrokullia, 2010. page 8.

14 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 67 (original bold)

15 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 77 (original bold)

16 Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011, page 84.

17 More on this organization at <http://www.cdsee.org/>

18 Kolev, Valery and Christina Koulouri. *The Balkan Wars*. Thessaloniki: Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2009. page 17.

century'.¹⁹ While this liberation of Kosova is justified with the claim that Kosova is the 'cradle of the Serbian state',²⁰ the penetration to the Adriatic is presented just as fulfilling 'one of the aims of the war'.²¹ This is an example of the promotion of **offensive** nationalism in the Serbian textbooks.

On the other hand, the fact that Kosova, and other lands where Albanians were living, remained under Serbia is justified in the Kosova textbooks through the difficult position of the Albanians who '...had to fight against the Ottomans for liberation and against neighbouring states in defence'.²² Other examples of promotion of **defensive** nationalism in the Kosovan textbooks are the responses of the Albanian patriots to the Serbian forces who advanced to Central Albania. According to these textbooks, they '... raised the national flag to present the Serbian army with a fait accompli'²³ or '...they were forced to withdraw but the spirit of Albanian persistence continued into later years'²⁴ or 'Ismail Qemali's government attempted not to enter into armed conflict with the invading Serbian forces'.²⁵

1.3. War crimes

During the liberation/ occupation of Kosova, terrible crimes were committed, but the Serbian textbooks say nothing about these crimes, while the Kosovan textbooks make qualified statements such as '...invasion by the armies of neighbouring countries was accompanied by bloody terrorist acts against the Albanian people' or 'Albanians ... were submitted to the violence and terror of Balkan state nationalism'.²⁶ The textbooks of Albania say that the invasion of Kosova and Albanian lands by the Serbian-Montenegrin armies '...was accompanied by the destruction of villages, cities and the loss of human life'.²⁷

Neither the textbooks of Kosova and Albania, nor those of Serbia make reference, for example, to the report, 'Albania's Golgotha', of the Austrian social democrat, Leo Freundlich, which says that the number of Albanians killed at the end of 1912 and the beginning of 1913 must have been 25 000. None of the school textbooks from any of the three countries makes reference to the writings of Leon Trotsky, the war correspondent for a Russian daily newspaper, or the data of the Report of the **International Commission**

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19 Durić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija* 3. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010, page 67.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia* 5. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2005, page 70.

23 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia* 10. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010, page 78.

24 Ibid page 84.

25 Ibid page 81.

26 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia* 10. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010, pages 77 and 79.

27 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia* 9. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011, page 72.

to inquire into the causes and conflict of the Balkan War, drafted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.²⁸

Likewise, none of the history textbooks refers to the articles of the Serbian social democrats, Kosta Novaković, Dušan Popović, Dragiša Lapčević and Triša Kaclerović, published in the Belgrade socialist newspaper *Radničke Novine*. Of particular use would have been the articles of the Serbian Social Democrat Dimitrije Tucović, one of which said: ‘we made a deliberate assassination attempt on an entire nation’.²⁹

1.4. The independence of Albania

At the same time as these bloody events were unfolding, on 28 November 1912 Albania declared independence in Vlora, a coastal town in the south of Albania which was the only Albanian city still not occupied by the troops of the Balkan Alliance. According to the Serbian textbooks, ‘...in practice this declaration meant that Serbia would not gain access to the sea’,³⁰ while according to the Kosovan textbooks, ‘...approximately half of Albanian lands and the Albanian people did not enjoy the independence declared in Vlora because these lands were occupied by the **Serbian, Montenegrin and Greek states**’.³¹ More or less the same thing is said in the textbooks from Albania.

After Albania’s declaration of independence, the Ambassadors’ Conference in London, which began in December 1912 to discuss the Albanian question, decided for the autonomy of Albania within the Ottoman Empire. In January 1913, the Serbian Government sent a memorandum to the Great Powers which consisted of three reasons for the Serbian liberation of Kosova: the **historic** right, the **ethnographic** right, and the **moral** right ‘...as a more civilised nation’.³² On 29 July 1913, the Ambassadors’ Conference in London decided that Albania should be a sovereign, hereditary and neutral principality, under the guarantee of the Great Powers.

The Balkan states, supported by Russia, proposed that the territory of Albania should be half as big as it is today, while the government of Ismail Qemali, supported by Austro-Hungary, proposed that the territory of Albania should be twice as large as it is today. The decision of the Great Powers, on the proposal of the English, fell between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian suggestions. In fact the Great Powers recognised a territory which was greater than the Albanians had managed to bring under their administration. The history textbooks of Kosova, Serbia and Albania blame third parties for their political

28 Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conflict of the Balkan Wars. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1914.

29 Tucović, Dimitrije. *Zgjedhje punimesh II*. Prishtina: Rilindja, 1981. page 346.

30 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 67.

31 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 79. (original bold)

32 This fragment of the Memorandum of the Government of Serbia can be found in the book: Ahrens, Geert-Hinrich. *Diplomaci mbi tehun e thikës*. Tirana: Toena, 2010. page 292.

aims not having been realised. While the Kosovan textbooks see European countries as the decision-makers for ‘...the carving up of Albanian lands’,³³ the Serbian textbooks see Austro-Hungary as the barrier to the strengthening of Serbia because they supported the Albanian declaration of independence which ‘...meant that Serbia would not have access to the sea’.³⁴

1.5. Summary

The Kosovan textbooks exaggerate the demands of the Albanian political leaders of the time. Together with the Albanian textbooks, these books give no evidence of the divisions between the Albanian political leaders, nor, as a result, of their concessions from **territorial** autonomy to **non-territorial** autonomy. The failure to achieve the political aims of the Albanian political leaders of the time is attributed by these textbooks mainly to neighbouring states and no mention is made of the collaboration of some of these leaders with Serbian representatives in Prishtina. Furthermore, while the Kosova textbooks blame European states for the carving up of Albanian lands, the Serbian textbooks hold these states responsible for being the barrier to Serbia’s access to the sea.

As well as not dealing with Albanians’ efforts for autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, Serbian textbooks represent the Serbian army’s penetration into Kosova as a liberation. The textbooks of Kosova and Albania represent this as occupation. The penetration of the Serbian army into Kosova is described in the Serbian textbooks as a liberation of the cradle of the Serbian state, while Serbia’s penetration to the Adriatic is justified as ‘...fulfilling one of the aims of the war’. This is an example of the promotion of **offensive** nationalism in the Serbian textbooks. On the other hand, the Kosovan textbooks underline a **defensive** nationalism, because the fact that Kosova, and other lands where Albanians lived, remained under Serbian control is justified with the difficult position of the Albanians who ‘...had to fight against the Ottomans for liberation and against neighbouring states in defence.’

On the subject of the crimes committed during the liberation/ occupation of Kosova by Serbia, the Serbian textbooks say nothing, the Kosovan textbooks make qualified references, while the Albanian textbooks are more detailed. None of the school history books of Kosova, Serbia or Albania make reference to international reports and articles about these crimes, such as the report of the Austrian social democrat Leo Freundlich, the writings of Leon Trotsky, the war correspondent for the Russian daily papers, the data in the report drafted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace or the articles of the Serbian social democrats, Kosta Novaković, Dušan Popović, Dragiša Lapčević and Triša Kaclerović, and Dimitrije Tucović.

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33 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 5*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2005. page 77.

34 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 67. For Austro-Hungarian help in the founding of Albania, see: Rich, Norman. *Diplomacia e Fugive të Mëdha 1814-1914*. Tirana: Toena, 2006. pages 423-439.

2

Kosovo between the Two World Wars

1918-1939

2.1. Kosova under Austrian/ Bulgarian rule

In the autumn of 1915, Bulgarian and Austrian troops entered Serbia and Kosova. Many Serbian soldiers and civilians, together with their king, Petar Karađorđević, withdrew through the mountains of Albania to reach the Adriatic, where their French and British allies were waiting for them. In Serbian textbooks this retreat is presented as one of the most difficult incidents of Serbian history and is called the 'Albanian Golgotha'.³⁵

Serbian textbooks say that because of the bitterness of the winter and other difficulties, during this retreat, '... tens of thousands of Serbian soldiers and civilians' fell³⁶ and that the Serbian soldiers and civilians were attacked by '... local bands of Albanians'.³⁷ The textbooks of Kosova and Albania, on the other hand, do not mention enemy action and killings by Albanians of Serbian soldiers and civilians who were leaving Kosova through the Albanian mountains at the end of 1915.³⁸

Kosova, like Serbia, was divided into two: the **Austrian zone**, which allowed Albanian schools and the use of Albanian in administration; and the **Bulgarian zone**, where the regime dictated harsh conditions, under which people not only did forced labour but suffered to have enough to eat. The Albanians of Kosova therefore began armed resistance, led in the Bulgarian zone by Idriz Seferi and in the Austrian zone by Azem Bejta.

This is more or less the presentation of this situation in the textbooks of Kosova and Albania, although the collaboration of Azem Bejta with local Serbs against Austrian forces is not mentioned anywhere.³⁹ The Serbian textbooks, on the other hand, only deal with the occupation of Serbia by Austrian and Bulgarian troops with Kosova, which only features on the maps published in the chapter on this period, considered as an indivisible part of Serbia.⁴⁰

At the end of the First World War, on the removal of Austrian and Bulgarian troops, Serbian troops were placed in Kosova and they, according to the textbooks of Kosova and Albania, '... reoccupied Kosova and other Albanian lands'.⁴¹ The Albanian textbooks say that '...Albanians were denied national

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35 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 96.

36 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 74.

37 Ibid.

38 For these Albanian acts of revenge against Serbs, see: Judah, Tim, *Kosova – Luftë e Hakkimarrje*. Prishtina, Koha, 2002. pages 41-42 and Malcolm, Noel, *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 260.

39 For this, see Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 262.

40 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. pages 95, 124, 155. Noel Malcolm argues that legally, Kosova was never incorporated into the Serbian state. See: Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 264-266.

41 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 127. Also, Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 79.

ights',⁴² while those in Kosova say '...state terror and genocide were carried out against Albanians,'⁴³ but they do not offer data to support the term 'genocide'. The Serbian textbooks do not mention the killings of Albanians by Serbian forces, carried out mainly at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919. Noel Malcolm quotes a document sent by the Kosova National Defence Committee to the League of Nations in 1921, according to which the Serbian forces had killed 12 371 people from 1918.⁴⁴

2.2. The Albanian Kaçak movement

The Kosova National Defence Committee, which had the aim of liberating Kosova and unifying with Albania, sent letters of protest to the Paris Peace Conference about the killing of Albanians by Serbian forces. The conference paid little attention to Albania's interests. Furthermore, Albania was not allowed to participate, even though its borders were discussed there.

In the spring of 1919 the Albanian Kaçak movement, led by Azem Bejta and supported by the Kosova National Defence Committee, therefore began attacks against Serbian troops in Kosova. The Serbian textbooks do not present these attacks at all, while in the Albanian and Kosovan books they call them an **armed uprising**. In the Kosovan and Albanian textbooks no reason is given for the swift suppression of this uprising by Serbian forces. The exception to this is the textbook for the ninth grade in Kosova where the reason given is the lack of co-ordination of activities, and difficult conditions.⁴⁵

According to this textbook, the further work of the Kaçak movement became difficult, particularly after the destruction of the base in the village of Junik in the **neutral zone** between the borders of Albania and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. None of the Kosovan or Albanian textbooks notes that at the end of 1923, the Prime Minister of Albania, Ahmet Zog, sent the Albanian army to this zone to fight the Kaçaks. Neither is it mentioned that joint Albanian-Yugoslav troops were installed to prevent the return of Kaçaks there. Nor do the books say that in Albania, the Kaçak leader Azem Bejta, and later Hasan Prishtina, one of the leaders of the Kosova National Defence Committee, were officially sentenced to death in absentia.⁴⁶

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42 Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 91.

43 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 127.

44 For this, see: Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 278

45 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 64.

46 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 277 and 287. For more on the relationship between the Albanian government under Ahmet Zog and the Kosova resistance movement, see: Fischer, Bernd. *Mbreti Zog dhe përpjekja për stabilitet në Shqipëri*. Tirana: Çabej, 2000. pages 29-51.

The Kosova and Albanian textbooks make no mention of the agreement made by Azem Bejta with the local Serbian authorities for an untroubled life, on condition that the movement would be active in only three villages.⁴⁷ In these textbooks, the actions of the Kaçak movement are presented simply as a war for liberation and national unity, so nor do they present the meeting of the Kaçak leader, Azem Bejta, with senior Serb officials, in which he demanded that Kosova should have the right to **self-government**.⁴⁸

None of the Kosovan, Albanian or Serbian history textbooks mention that a large number of Albanians collaborated with the authorities and worked in local administration, and that therefore some of them were the target for Kaçak attacks, just like the Slavic settlers.⁴⁹ Likewise, it is not mentioned that the formation of platoons by local Serbs for anti-kaçak operations encouraged Kaçak attacks on some Serbian villages,⁵⁰ while the rules of the Kaçak movement included, among other things, that local Serbs should not be harmed. These rules are not given in any of the textbooks of the three countries.⁵¹

2.3. The Legal Society for the Defence of Islam

While most of the Kosovan textbooks present Albanian politico-military groups of the time as the Albanian National Movement, in the Albanian textbooks it is specified that as well as uprising, Albanians were also trying parliamentary approaches, represented by the Legal Society for the Defence of Islam (Islam Muhabaza-yi Hukuk Cemiyeti), which was known as the Cemiyet for short. This political group, considered to be a '*Beys'* party', called for religious autonomy and sometimes also protested about the living conditions in Kosova, which is information which does not feature in either the Kosova textbooks or those of Albania.

The history textbook used in the ninth grade in Kosova is the only one which, albeit superficially, shows the work of the Legal Society for the Defence of Islam.⁵² However, it is not mentioned in any of the textbooks of Kosova or Albania that this political group worked with the two main Serbian political parties in Yugoslavia – the democrats and the radicals – and sometimes even shared the same electoral list with them.⁵³

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47 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 277.

48 For Azem Bejta's demand for self-government see: Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - a short history*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 274. In the Albanian edition of this book, the demand for *self-government* is described as a demand for *vetëvendosje*, 'self-determination'. See: Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - një histori e shkurtër*. Prishtina: Koha, 2001. page 285.

49 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 272-278.

50 Ibid.

51 For the rules of the Kaçak movement, see: Schwartz, Stephen. *Kosova: Background to a War*. London: Anthem Press, 2000. page 75.

52 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. pages 63-64.

53 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 270-272.

In the mid-1920s, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, established in 1918, managed to crush the Kaçak movement, and later also the Legal Society for the Defence of Islam, imprisoning and killing the main leaders of these political organisations. The Serbian textbooks make no reference to Albanians' political-military organisation, nor to their suppression. The Albanian textbooks give no reason for the organisations' disappearance, while those in Kosova mention their annihilation and add that the Albanian uprisings nevertheless had an impact in '...reinforcing the national morale and pride of the Albanian people'.⁵⁴

2.4. Agrarian reforms and the displacements

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes intended to change the ethnic make-up of the population of Kosova and for this reason they used the so-called **agrarian reforms** to break up former Ottoman property necessary for allocation to local villagers. These lands, including the lands of Kaçaks, were mainly given to settlers from Serbia as well as to Serbian soldiers and volunteers.⁵⁵ This features in the textbooks of Kosova and Albania, but not in those from Serbia. However, it is not mentioned in any of the Kosovan, Albanian or Serbian textbooks that in the allocation of these lands, the local village populations, including Albanians, were not excluded. Nor do these textbooks mention that although the majority of the land was given to Serbian settlers, local Serbs said that they were ready to make a united front with Albanians against these colonisers.⁵⁶

The Serbian textbooks make reference to the **agrarian reforms** across the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the only more specific thing they say is that from these, '...about 500 000 village families gained land'.⁵⁷ The Albanian textbooks only mention the '...expropriation of Albanian property and the settling of Albanian lands by Serbs',⁵⁸ but they do not give figures for this. The Kosovan textbooks, on the other hand, claim that between the two world wars '... 400 000 hectares were expropriated and approximately 15 000 Slav settler families, with around 75 000 members, established themselves'⁵⁹ in Kosova. Noel Malcolm, citing Serbian, Albanian and international authors, says that 200 000 hectares were expropriated – half of which were given to the settlers – while more than 13 000 families with approximately 70 000 members settled in Kosova.⁶⁰

54 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 128.

55 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 278-281.

56 Ibid, page 281.

57 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 103.

58 Dërgutin, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 91.

59 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 129.

60 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 281-282.

The Serbian textbooks say nothing about the displacements of Albanians in the period between the two world wars. The Albanian textbooks deal with the issue without giving any figures while the Kosovan books say that '... approximately 250 000 Albanians were forced to move from their ethnic land',⁶¹ but they give no evidence to support this data. On the other hand, Noel Malcolm says that the number of Albanians and other Muslims moved from their land between the two world wars is assumed to be between 90 000 and 150 000.⁶²

In the textbooks of Kosova and Albania a special place is given to the agreement reached in July of 1938 between Yugoslavia and Turkey on the displacement of approximately 40 000 families to Turkey during the period 1939-1944. However, the eruption of the Second World War made it impossible to realise this plan. Officially the agreement speaks of the 'repatriation' of 'Muslim Turk' populations, but it was clear that from the areas which were specified, the majority of those to be moved would be Albanians.⁶³

In the Kosovan textbooks, the people who would be moved to Turkey according to this agreement, are called **Albanians** and they are numbered at 400 000,⁶⁴ while in the Albanian textbooks they are called **Muslims** and the number given is 250 000.⁶⁵ The Serbian textbooks make no reference to the agreement in question, while international authors such as Tim Judah and Noel Malcolm give the figure as respectively 200 000 and 400 000⁶⁶ and add that the majority of them would have been Albanian.

None of the school textbooks from Kosova, Albania or Serbia mention that the agreement between Yugoslavia and Turkey was opposed not only by the victims and their fellow countrymen. It inspired 65 students from Kosova, of whom 56 were Serbian and Montenegrin, 1 was Turk and 8 were Albanian, to circulate in Kosova, as well as in embassies in Belgrade, illegal posters which denounced the plan.⁶⁷

2.5. Summary

The textbooks from Kosova and Albanian do not mention the revenge attacks made by Albanians against Serbian soldiers and civilians who

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61 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 129.

62 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 286.

63 Ibid, page 285.

64 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 70.

65 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 96.

66 Judah, Tim. *Kosova – Lufte dhe Hakmarrje*. Prishtina: Koha, 2002. page 45. Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 285.

67 Schwartz, Stephen. *Kosova: Background to a War*. London: Anthem Press, 2000. page 82.

were retreating from Kosova at the end of 1915. In the Serbian textbooks these are described as attacks by local Albanian bands. On the other hand, Albanian armed resistance in Kosova against Bulgarian and Austrian forces who entered Kosova after Serbian troops had left, is not mentioned at all in the Serbian textbooks. The Kosovan and Albanian textbooks make no mention of the collaboration of Albanians with local Serbs against the Austrian forces. The return of the Serbian troops to Kosova at the end of 1918 is presented in the textbooks of Kosova and Albania as a reoccupation of Kosova and in those of Serbia as a liberation of Serbia, where Kosova is considered an indivisible part of the Serbian state. The killings of Albanians by Serbian troops is not included at all in the Serbian textbooks, and while the Albanian textbooks say that there was a denial of the national rights of the Albanians, those of Kosova say that there was state terror and genocide, without giving data to support this claim.

The Serbian textbooks say nothing about the Kaçak operations against Serbian troops, which in the Kosovan and Albanian textbooks are called an **armed uprising** for liberation and national unification. Nor do these textbooks present the meeting of the Kaçak leaders with senior Serb officials where the right to **self-government** was demanded for Kosova. Nowhere in the textbooks of Kosova, Albania nor Serbia is there mention of the Kaçak attacks against Albanians who collaborated with the authorities, nor those against the settlers. Equally, these textbooks don't say that in the period between the two world wars, Albanians outside Albania had a political party which participated in the parliament of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and worked with the main Serbian political parties. None of the textbooks of Kosova, Albania or Serbia mention the fact that the Albanian Prime Minister, Ahmet Zog, destroyed the Kaçak base in the Junik neutral zone where Albanian-Yugoslav troops were established, and that later the Kaçak leaders were sentenced to death in absentia.

In the Kosovan and Albanian textbooks it is mentioned that former Ottoman property which was expropriated from local villagers together with Kaçak property, was given by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes mainly to settlers from Serbia, including Serbian soldiers and volunteers, but this is not mentioned in the Serbian textbooks. On the other hand, the Kosovan and Albanian textbooks do not mention that in the allocation of these lands, local villagers, including Albanians, were not excluded. Nor do the Serbian textbooks mention this. In none of the textbooks of the three countries is there mention of the fact that the local Serbs said they were willing to form a united front with the Albanians against the settlers, since they were allocated the majority of the land. Nor is it included in these textbooks that the displacement of Albanians was opposed not only by the victims and their fellow countrymen. The expropriation of land, its settling by Slavs and the displacement of Albanians and Muslims is not included at all in Serbian textbooks, and while it is touched on superficially in those of Albania, in the Kosovan textbooks it is presented with inflated figures.

3

Kosova in Yugoslavia 1945-1992

3.1. Kosova under Italian/German/Bulgarian rule

In the summer of 1941, the Italians occupied most of Kosova and united it with Albania, which they had occupied in the spring of 1939. The rest of the territory of Kosova was occupied by the Germans and Bulgarians. The situation of the Kosovar Albanians under Italian and German rule was noticeably better in comparison with the situation under Yugoslavia, while under Bulgarian rule it was practically the same as the experience of the Albanians under Bulgarian rule during the First World War.⁶⁸

Some Kosovan textbooks say that the Albanians opposed the Fascist occupation of Kosova⁶⁹ and some that although the Albanians were opposed to fascism in principle, they welcomed it as a liberation saving them from their domination by the Serbs.⁷⁰ In general, the Kosovan and Albanian textbooks say that the union of the majority of Kosova's territory with Albania, even though it was a result of the Italian occupiers, had a positive effect for Albanians.⁷¹ All that the Serbian textbooks, on the other hand, say about this is that Kosova and Metohia were included within Italian Albania.⁷²

At the time when Kosova was under this occupation, armed Albanians attacked villages inhabited by Serbs to remove the settlers and to return property confiscated during the period between the two world wars.⁷³ Foreign authors' accounts of the number of Serbs and Montenegrins evicted from Kosova in this period swing from 30 000 to 100 000 and they say that the victims of killings, destruction and theft, although reciprocal, were mainly Serbs and Montenegrins.⁷⁴

The textbooks of Albania say nothing about these crimes while those of Serbia say that '...the Albanians of Kosova and Metohia committed terrible acts against the Serbs'⁷⁵ and some others say that '...there is no data on the number of civilians killed during this period'.⁷⁶ On the other hand, the Kosovan textbooks say that the Albanians, despite their sufferings under Yugoslav rule, took care of Serbian and Montenegrin minorities and even that '... in many cases they even took them under their protection.'⁷⁷

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68 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 289-313.

69 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 154.

70 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 110.

71 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 113.

72 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 137.

73 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 293.

74 Ibid. pp 293-294, 313. For more on these crimes see Fischer, Bernd. *Shqipëria gjatë Luftës, 1939-1945*. Tirana: Çabej, 2000. pages 124-129.

75 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 137.

76 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 208.

77 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 118.

3.2. The liberation and reoccupation of Kosova

After the capitulation of the Italian fascists in Kosova and the establishment of the German Nazis on Kosova's political scene, two critical elements crystallised: **the nationalist faction**, supported by the **German Nazis** and organised in the **Second League of Prizren**, which announced that it was working to keep Kosova united with Albania⁷⁸ and the Communist faction, mainly supported by the Yugoslav communists and organised into the National Liberation Council for Kosova and Metohia, which, in the Bujani Conference, announced its desire for Kosova's unification with Albania, suggesting the right for self-determination even to secession.

The Serbian textbooks don't deal with this element at all, while in the textbooks of Albania, unlike those from Kosova, it is represented more clearly, although superficially. The Albanian textbooks even make a brief presentation of the independent nationalist groups who opposed the occupation, such as that of the Kryeziu brothers in Gjakova. Nevertheless, although in the textbooks of Kosova and Albania these two elements are superficially present, in no textbook is there a description of the armed clashes between them, nor of the fact that one had support from Nazi Germany and the other from the Yugoslav communists.

After the withdrawal of German troops from Kosova, the partisan forces established themselves in the cities of western Kosova, while the Bulgarians arrived in eastern Kosova, joining with the Yugoslav partisans. Leaving Kosova, along with the German troops, were most of the armed groups, created by the Second League of Prizren, and including members of the Scanderbeg division which, before it left, took part in the rounding up and expulsion from Kosova of communists, including a number of Jews.⁷⁹ This is presented in neither the Albanian textbooks, nor those of Kosova.

In some of the Kosovan textbooks, the withdrawal of the German troops is presented as a liberation of Kosova by the partisan units of Kosova and Albania.⁸⁰ In some others it is likewise presented as liberation by Serbian and Bulgarian units.⁸¹ However, according to these textbooks, the Albanians of Kosova and other areas were attempting, alongside the battle for liberation from the German troops, also to liberate themselves from the Yugoslav occupiers whom, after the capitulation of German troops, established 'power which was steely and discriminatory towards the Albanians'.⁸² These textbooks invent an organisation named 'the National Liberation Army of

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78 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 305.

79 Ibid, pages 310-311.

80 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 156.

81 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 115.

82 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 156 and Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 115.

Kosova (UNÇK)⁸³ although it is known that Kosova's communists were part of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia.

However, the textbooks of Kosova and Albania do not mention that the Kosovan partisans were divided: on the one hand the partisans led by Shaban Polluzha, who refused orders to fight German troops in the north of Yugoslavia and decided to stay in Kosova to protect the Albanian population from Yugoslav partisans; and on the other hand, the partisans led by Fadil Hoxha, who accepted a position as deputy to Sava Drlević, the commander of the Yugoslav military forces in Kosova. Nor is there mention in these textbooks of the fact that Shaban Polluzha's partisans, concentrated mainly in Drenica, were swiftly annihilated by the partisans of Fadil Hoxha and Yugoslavia, helped by divisions of partisans from Albania.⁸⁴

According to the Kosovan textbooks, after the German troops left, there came to Kosova and other Albanian areas '...Serbian/Montenegrin and Macedonian partisan units who used violence and terror on the Albanian population' and as a consequence of '...this terror and Serbian/Montenegrin and Macedonian genocide in Kosova, around 45 000 Albanians were eliminated'.⁸⁵ The Albanian textbooks say that Serbian and Montenegrin brigades at this time practised unprecedented violence against the population of Kosova and committed massacres.⁸⁶ The Serbian textbooks make no mention of these crimes. Noel Malcolm, who analyses the data from a range of authors, comes to the conclusion that the figure of approximately 45 000 killed is exaggerated.⁸⁷

The hope expressed in the Bujani conference was thus ignored. The textbooks of Albania blame the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (PKJ) for this,⁸⁸ while the Kosovan books also blame the Communist Party of Albania (PKSh).⁸⁹ Those who had taken part in the Bujani Conference became a target for the Yugoslav authorities, according to the Kosovan textbooks; some were killed, some were deported to Albania, and some were imprisoned.⁹⁰ However, neither these textbooks nor those of Albania say that in July 1945 one of the

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83 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 156.

84 The textbook of Bicaj, Isa and Isuf Ahmeti. *Historia 12*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2005. pages 124-125 is, to some extent, an exception to this. For the clashes between the forces of Shaban Polluzha and those led by Fadil Hoxha, see the account of Fadil Hoxha: Surroi, Veton. *Fadil Hoxha në vetën e parë*. Prishtina: Koha, 2010. pages 233-255.

85 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 157.

86 Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 137.

87 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 293-294, 312.

88 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 114. Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 119.

89 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 156 and Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 115.

90 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. pages 193-4.

participants of this conference took part in the so-called Prizren Assembly where the resolution for the annexation of Kosova by federal Serbia was approved by acclamation.⁹¹ The Serbian textbooks claim that this resolution was approved after the withdrawal of military rule and in the time of ever greater co-operation with Albania.⁹² But the textbooks do not say that in this assembly only 33 out of 142 members were Albanian, nor that the members of the assembly were purposely reminded of the fact that there were 50 000 troops in Kosova to defend the fruits of the war.⁹³

From 1945 until the middle of the 'sixties, a range of organised political groups of Albanians in Kosova resisted Yugoslav rule. Of these the most significant was the **illegal** organisation, the Albanian National Democratic Committee which, like other groups, swiftly disintegrated. The textbooks of Kosova and Albania do not mention the **illegal** organisations which resisted Yugoslav rule, of which one of the most significant was the Revolutionary Movement for Albanian Unification (LRBSh). At this time, the Yugoslav authorities forced tens of thousands of Albanians in Yugoslavia to move to Turkey, using a range of forms of pressure, such as the **weapons gathering campaign**. There is no mention in the Serbian textbooks of the families who were moved, while the textbooks of Kosova and Albania give inflated figures: respectively 250 000⁹⁴ Albanians and 400 000 Albanians.⁹⁵

3.3. The 1974 Constitution

During the 1960s, amendments were approved every year to the Constitution of Serbia and that of Yugoslavia in favour of Kosova. In July 1966 in the Brioni Plenum the decision was taken that the person second only to Tito in the Yugoslav hierarchy, the Minister for Internal Affairs, Aleksandar Ranković, would be removed from power. After the fall of Ranković there were no more iniquitous actions like the mass weapons search, nor anything similar to the atmosphere of control of Ranković. On 27 November 1968, an **illegal** organisation, the so-called **68 Group**, many of whose members had been part of the LRBSh, organised demonstrations in a number of cities in Kosova, with the main demand of 'Kosova a Republic'.

The Kosovan and Albanian textbooks speak superficially of these demonstrations and make no mention either of their organisers, or of the fact that the **legal** political officers of Kosova described them as enemy nationalists.⁹⁶ These textbooks attribute the progress in Kosova's constitutional position within Serbia and Yugoslavia exclusively to these demonstrations,

91 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 315.

92 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 235.

93 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 315.

94 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 194.

95 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 132.

96 Çeku, Ethem. *Demonstratat e vitit 1968 në Arkivin e Kosovës*. Prishtinë: Brezi 81, 2009. pages 30-214.

ignoring the fact that the re-establishment of Albanian-Yugoslav relations had had an impact on this progress for the legal political officers of Kosova.⁹⁷ The Serbian textbooks represent these demonstrations as being of a separatist nature, after which unfolds harsh discussion on the alteration of the character of the federation, with greater independence for the regions which '... could take part in the decision-making of the republic, while the republic did not have the right to be involved in their activities'.⁹⁸

This independence for the regions was formalised in 1974 with approval of the Constitution of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia which ensured for the two Autonomous Regions, Kosova and Vojvodina, who were part of the Republic of Serbia, a status in many ways similar to that of the six Yugoslav republics, particularly in economic decision-making and some fields of foreign policy. The Kosovan textbooks only mention the approval of the Kosovan constitution in 1974, and this as an effect of the demonstrations in 1968 but they don't make any mention of the rights guaranteed to Kosova.

The Albanian textbooks say that on the basis of this constitution, the Kosovan Assembly could now approve laws and that without its approval the territory of Kosova could not be changed. However, on the basis of this constitution, the territory of the FSRY was made up of the territory of the republics, and nor could the territory of the republics be changed without the agreement of the republics. The textbooks of Albania also mention Kosova's right for representation in the FSRY Assembly and the creation of some autonomous institutions for justice and finance. The Assembly of the FSRY was made up of the Federal Chamber, to which each republic had the right to send 30 delegates, and each of the regions to send 20 delegates, and the Chamber of the Republics and Regions, where the republics had the right to send 12 delegates each, and the regions to send 8 delegates each.⁹⁹ However, these textbooks underline that although Serb hegemony was tangibly reduced with this constitution, Kosova continued to be dependent on Serbia, which tried every possible way to reduce Kosova's autonomy.¹⁰⁰

The Serbian textbooks focus mainly on the strengthening of the independence of the regions which, according to them, gained wide authorisation in legislative and executive powers and equal status in the federation, with decision-making rights equal to the republics for matters of the federation.¹⁰¹ However, although they say that Serbia gained elements of confederation, these textbooks do not specify that while the introduction of the FSRY constitution and the constitution of Serbia mention the rights of each nation for

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97 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 325.

98 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 243.

99 For the rights set out in the 1974 Constitution for Kosova see Krieger, Heike (ed.). *The Kosova Conflict and International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. pages 2-8.

100 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 133. Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 138.

101 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 245.

self-determination including secession, these do not figure in the constitution of the autonomous region of Kosova. Furthermore, on the basis of these 1974 constitutions, the Albanians are considered as a people and not as a nation.

In the textbooks of the three countries, there is mention of the demonstrations that erupted in March and April 1981, initially organised by students of the University of Prishtina (UP) for better conditions, and later by a range of political and illegal groups of Kosovar Albanians, with the demand for 'Kosova a Republic'. As for the demonstrations of 1968, the textbooks of Kosova and Albania do not give the names of the organisers of these demonstrations, nor the allegations from senior Albanian political officials in Kosova of nationalism, separatism, hooligan crowds and counter-revolutionary Albanian organisations.¹⁰² The Kosovan textbooks do not mention that after these demonstrations thousands of demonstrators were imprisoned and hundreds fined, and some of them don't even mention the demands of the demonstrations.¹⁰³ The imprisonments and fines are mentioned in the Albanian textbooks but not in those of Serbia, which say that the first signs of Yugoslavia's destabilisation were seen in Kosova where '... the eruption of Albanian nationalism and separatism in the spring of 1981 showed the awakening of a fatal dormant nationalism'.¹⁰⁴

3.4. Civil resistance in Kosova

Relations between the Albanians and Serbs deteriorated further after the 1981 demonstrations, when Serbia began plans to withdraw Kosova's autonomy, starting propaganda campaigns in the media against what the Serbian textbooks describe as '...pressure against Serbs, rapes, destruction of property, and even killings, from national hatred'.¹⁰⁵ However, the study of an independent committee of Serbian jurists, published in 1990, came to the conclusion that the rape rate in Kosova was the lowest in all Yugoslavia and that in the vast majority of cases both the rapist and the victim were Albanian.¹⁰⁶ The Serbian textbooks mention Serbs moving out, which had reduced the number of this population to a total of 13.2%, but they don't stress that one of the main reasons for these moves was the mismanagement of the economy in Kosova and an unemployment rate which was the highest in Yugoslavia.

At the end of 1988, hundreds of thousands of Albanians protested in Kosova against the withdrawal of Kosova's autonomy by Milošević's Serbia. The Kosovan textbooks do not clarify that the protesters opposed the change of the communist leadership in Kosova, those who are presented as '...instruments in the hands of Serb policy... who realised too late the game for the suspension of

102 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 335-336. See also Hajrizi, Mehmet. *Histori e një organizate politike dhe demonstratat e vitit 1981*. Tiranë: Toena, 2008. pages 196-216.

103 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. pages 160-161.

104 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 248.

105 Ibid.

106 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 339.

autonomy'.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, the strikes of miners in Kosova, who in February 1989 holed up for ten days in mineshafts protesting the fall of Kosova's autonomy, is presented in these textbooks without the demands for '...brotherhood and unity and Tito's road ahead'.¹⁰⁸ These protests and strikes are not presented at all in the Serbian textbooks, while the Albanian books mention them very briefly as a strike for the reinstitution of rights for Albanians. After these strikes and protests, a state of emergency was established in Kosova and hundreds of intellectuals, professors and leaders of social enterprises were arrested. These arrests are mentioned only in the Kosovan textbooks, which make no reference to the arrest and trial of the Kosovar Albanians' former political leader, Azem Vllasi, who was freed from prison after nearly a year.

Despite these protests and strikes by Albanians in Kosova, Serbia completed the process of suspending Kosova's autonomy when it was approved on 23 March 1989 by the Kosovan Assembly with an Albanian majority. While the Serbian textbooks do not mention this at all, those of Kosova and Albania say that the Kosova Assembly building was surrounded with Serb police and military. But none of the textbooks say that despite this, ten Albanian deputies in the Kosovan Assembly voted against the withdrawal of the 1974 autonomy.

Some months after the suspension of Kosova's autonomy, the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) was formed, and, under the leadership of Ibrahim Rugova, in a short time it became clearly the largest political party in Kosova. Its manifesto, although it was initially for autonomy, is presented in the Kosovan textbooks as a programme for '...resolving the issue of Kosova and the Albanians in other regions of the former Yugoslavia on the basis of the principle of self-determination'.¹⁰⁹ The Serbian textbooks make no mention at all of the LDK and its programme, while those of Albania say that the aim of the LDK was '...to organise peaceful resistance by the Albanians of Kosova and to internationalise the Kosova question'.¹¹⁰

In March and April 1990, thousands of Kosovan pupils were sent to hospital, straight from school, because of stomachache, headache and vomiting as a result, it was said at the time, a mass poisoning of Albanian children. A toxicological expert from the United Nations later came to the conclusion, on the basis of blood and urine samples, that he had found evidence of sarin and tabun agents. In 1995 it was made public that the Yugoslav Army had produced sarin. However, this is not mentioned in the Serbian textbooks, while in those of Albania there is reference to '...mass poisoning of Kosovan

107 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 162 and Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 199.

108 For the miners' ten demands, see Maliqi, Shkëlzen. *Nyja e Kosovës - as Vllasi as Millosheviqi*. Ljubljana: Knjizna zbirka KRT, 1990. page 254.

109 Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 163 and Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 200.

110 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 135.

children by the Serbs'.¹¹¹ The Kosovan textbooks say that one of the most difficult forms of police repression was '... the poisoning of more than 7000 pupils and students with a chemical weapon'.¹¹² However, in none of these textbooks is it mentioned that in some parts of Kosova there were dozens of attacks against local Serbs by Albanians who believed that their children were poisoned by the Serbian occupiers in Kosova.¹¹³

On 2 July 1990, the deputies of the Kosova Assembly, supported by the LDK, and in front of the Kosova Assembly, declared Kosova a republic **within Yugoslavia**. After this declaration, Serbia suspended all legislative, executive and judicial organs in Kosova; the vast majority of Albanians in employment were sent home from work; the television, radio, newspapers, hospitals and factories were closed and Albanian students and teachers were stopped from using the University of Prishtina campus. After two months, on 7 September 1990, the Kosova Assembly declared the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova **within Yugoslavia**¹¹⁴ and from 26-30 September 1991 a referendum was organised for the recognition of Kosova as a sovereign and independent state **with the right to link with Yugoslavia**.¹¹⁵

The Serbian textbooks do not show these developments at all; those of Albania give them partially and inaccurately, while in Kosova the declaration of Kosova as a republic within Yugoslavia is presented more accurately. As for the Kosovan constitution, neither the Kosovan textbooks, nor those of Albania mention that it was also a constitution for Kosova as a republic within Yugoslavia. Equally, it is not mentioned anywhere in these textbooks that immediately after the act of declaring this constitution, the majority of the Assembly deputies fled Kosova. The textbooks of Kosova and Albania present the referendum as a referendum for a sovereign and independent state of Kosova, removing from it the **right to link with Yugoslavia**. On 19 October 1991 the Republic of Kosova Assembly changed the Republic of Kosova constitution and cut this link with the state of Yugoslavia.¹¹⁶ This is mentioned in neither the Serbian textbooks, nor those of Kosova or Albania.

In this period Kosova, under the leadership of the LDK, a parallel system was created in various fields: education, health, finance, media, culture and sport, and presidential and parliamentary elections were organised, and diplomatic lobbying took place for the internationalisation of the Kosova issue. This is not mentioned in the Serbian textbooks, while in those of Albania only the

111 Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 139.

112 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 200.

113 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A Short History*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. page 345 and Clark, Howard. *Civil Resistance in Kosova*. London: Pluto Press, 2000. page 58.

114 Ismajli, Rexhep, Hivzi Islami, Esat Stavileci and Ilaz Ramajli. *Akte të Kuvendit të Republikës së Kosovës - 2 korrik 1990-2 maj 1992*. Prishtina: Akademia e Shkencave dhe Arteve të Kosovës, 2005. pages 7-8 and 9-41.

115 Ibid, pages 98-101.

116 Ibid, 119, 141-142.

parliamentary and presidential elections are mentioned, but not the parallel structures in the abovementioned areas. This parallel organisation is included in the Kosovan textbooks, but there is an addition of organisation in the field of '...defence and self-defence, thus creating a challenge for the occupying Serb powers'.¹¹⁷

3.5. Summary

The crimes committed by Albanians against Serbs during the occupation in Kosova by Italian, German and Bulgarian troops are presented in the Serbian textbooks as an Albanian terror against Serbs. In the textbooks of Albania they are not presented at all, while in those of Kosova it is said that the Albanians showed themselves to be caring, and even that in many cases they took Serb and Montenegrin minorities under their protection. On the other hand, the crimes committed against the Albanian population by the Serbian-Montenegrin partisan troops who entered Kosova after the German troops left are not shown at all in the Serbian textbooks. The Albanian textbooks call these crimes massacres, and those in Kosova, genocide, and they give inflated figures for those killed. Equally, the forced movements of tens of thousands of Albanians in Yugoslavia to Turkey by the Yugoslav regime in the 1945-1965 period is not presented at all in the Serbian textbooks, while in the Kosovan and Albanian textbooks it is presented with inflated figures.

The textbooks from Albania, though not those of Kosova, clearly reflect the fact that in the time when Kosova was under the occupation of German troops, two elements emerged on the political scene whose main call was for the union of Kosova with Albania: the nationalist faction and the communist faction. In the Serbian textbooks this is not mentioned at all. In the textbooks of Kosova and Albania there is no presentation of either the differences or the clashes between these two factions. Equally, in these textbooks it is not mentioned that at this time the communist element split into two groups: on the one hand the partisans led by Shaban Polluzha, and on the other the partisans of Fadil Hoxha. In these textbooks there is also no information about the annihilation of Shaban Polluzha's partisans by the Yugoslav partisans and those of Fadil Hoxha, helped by divisions of partisans from Albania. The textbooks of Kosova and Albania do not clarify that the nationalist element withdrew from Kosova at the time of the withdrawal of German troops. Nor do these textbooks show that a faction within the communist strand took part in the Prizren Assembly where the resolution for the annexation of Kosova by federal Serbia was approved by acclamation.

In the context of the demonstrations of 1968, the textbooks of Kosova and Albania do not specify who the organisers were, and nor that senior Kosova political officials were against them. These textbooks attribute the advancement of Kosova within Serbia solely to the demonstrations of 1968, ignoring the contribution of senior Kosova political officials and the impact

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117 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 204.

of the reestablishment of Albania-Yugoslavia relations. More or less the same thing occurred with the demonstrations of 1981. These textbooks therefore do not specify that at this time in Kosova there were two political strands: one legal and one illegal. In the Serbian textbooks the 1968 demonstrations are presented as separatist, after which there is discussion leading to the greater rights of the regions. The 1974 FSRY constitution achieved a status for the regions that in many respects was similar to that of the six Yugoslav republics. In the Kosovan textbooks this constitution is only very superficially mentioned, ignoring the rights which it guaranteed Kosova, while in the Albanian textbooks, Kosova's gains are specified, but it is also mentioned that Kosova remained in some ways dependent on Serbia. The Serbian textbooks speak mainly of the gains made by the regions.

In the Kosovan textbooks the civil resistance of the late 1908s in Kosova is presented only as resistance to the withdrawal of Kosova's autonomy by Serbia, but they do not say that its actions opposed the changing of Kosova's communist leadership and were in favour of brotherhood-and-unity and Tito's way ahead. Serbia's withdrawal of Kosova's autonomy, which was also approved by the Kosova Assembly with an Albanian majority, is not represented in the Serbian textbooks at all. The textbooks of Kosova and Albania say that the assembly building was surrounded by Serbian police and military, but nowhere do they say that this assembly had an Albanian majority and that ten of them voted against the withdrawal of autonomy.

The LDK, the largest political party which led the resistance of the 'nineties, is not presented at all in the Serbian textbooks, while in the textbooks of Kosova and Albania no mention is made anywhere of the fact that initially it was focused on autonomy. The three most important events supported by the LDK in this period – the Declaration of Kosova as a Republic in Yugoslavia, the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova within Yugoslavia, and the referendum for the recognition of Kosova as a sovereign and independent state with the right to link with Yugoslavia, are not included at all in the Serbian textbooks, while in those of Albania they are presented inaccurately. The textbooks of Kosova and Albania don't say that the constitution and the referendum foresee Kosova's link with Yugoslavia. Equally, these textbooks do not say that immediately after the act of declaring this constitution, the majority of the Kosova Assembly deputies left Kosova, nor that on 19 October 1991 the Republic of Kosova assembly changed the Republic of Kosova Constitution and cut this connection with the state of Yugoslavia.

In the Kosovan textbooks there is mention of the suspension by Serbia of all the legislative, executive and judicial organs of Kosova; the suspension from work of the vast majority of Albanians in employment; the closing of the television, radio, newspapers, hospitals, factories; Albanian students and teachers being prevented from using the UP premises, and the creation of a parallel system in various fields: education, health, finance, media, culture and sport, and the organisation of presidential and parliamentary elections. These are partially referred to in the Albanian textbooks, while in the Serbian textbooks they are not mentioned at all.

4

Kosovo during 1998-1999

4.1. The peaceful and the military factions

Until the middle of the 'nineties, the **passive peaceful resistance** led by the LDK under Ibrahim Rugova was unrivalled. At this time, Adem Demaçi, who had suffered 28 years in the prisons of Tito's Yugoslavia because of his involvement in working for the union of Albanian lands under Yugoslavia with Albania, was included in the Parliamentary Party of Kosova (PPK) to start **active peaceful resistance**. This was because, according to him, there was a generation of people being born in Kosova who were dissatisfied with the policy of **passive peaceful resistance** and were seeking a military solution.¹¹⁸ This division in Kosova's politics is not presented in the textbooks of Albania and Serbia, nor in those of Kosova itself.

Demaçi did not achieve his aim of **active peaceful resistance**. In September 1996, with the mediation of the Shën Exhidio Association Ibrahim Rugova signed an agreement with Slobodan Milošević on the return of Albanian pupils and students to school and university premises which had been taken over by organs of the Serbian state. This doesn't feature in the textbooks of any of the three countries. The Serbian/ Yugoslav side didn't observe the agreement and so on 1 October 1997 the students of the University of Prishtina (UP) organised a protest calling for the return to lectures at the UP campus. These protests are only mentioned in the Kosovan textbooks and only with this sentence, 'Serbian repression meant that on 1 October 1997 protests by UP students and the general population erupted against the occupying powers'.¹¹⁹

The repression of the **Serbian regime** is thus called 'Serbian repression'; the **student protests**, in which a number of Albanian citizens became involved, are called 'protests by students and the general population', while the stated aim of the student protests, **return to the university campus**, is mentioned nowhere. This presentation could create the impression that these protests were organised for the liberation and independence of Kosova from Serbia.

Human rights abuses by the Serbian regime against Kosovar Albanians during the 1990s¹²⁰ are presented in the Kosovan textbooks as **massacres** by the Serbian regime **across** Kosova, which '... inspired the emergence of the KLA to protect the people of Kosova'.¹²¹ In the Albanian textbooks, these abuses are presented as genocide,¹²² while the reason given for the

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118 Gashi, Shkëlzen. *Adem Demaçi unauthorised biography*. Prishtina: Rrokullia, 2010. pages 118-140.

119 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 205. See also: Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 168.

120 Malcolm, Noel. *Kosova - A short history*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2002. pages 349-356. See also: Clark, Howard. *Civil Resistance in Kosova*. London: Pluto Press, 2000. pages 70-157.

121 Rexhepi, Fehmi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 5*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2009. page 104.

122 Dërguti, Menduh, Sonila Boçi and Ledia Dushku. *Historia 9*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 135.

emergence and the aims of the KLA is the same as that in the Kosovan textbooks. The Serbian textbooks don't give any evidence of these abuses, and they present the deterioration in the situation in Kosova as a consequence of the 'robbery and confrontations of Albanian terrorist groups, declared as the Kosova Liberation Army, with associated forces, who impacted ever more on civilians'¹²³ but they don't give data on the ethnicity of these civilians.

The Serbian textbooks do not mention the division between the peaceful and the military factions in Kosovan politics, while this is set out clearly in the textbooks of Albania. This is also missing in the Kosovan textbooks, as is reference to the three political and military conceptualisations of war in Kosova: a) the conceptualisation of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kosova (**FARK**), established by the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Kosova government, which was in favour of war, led by professional officers; b) the conceptualisation of the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosova (**LKÇK**), created mainly by former political prisoners, which envisaged the creation of a wide political and military front for the organisation of general armed uprising, where all political and military groups aiming for the liberation of Kosova from Serbia would be included; and c) the conceptualisation of the Kosova Liberation Army (**KLA**), created by the Kosova People's Movement (**LPK**), who favoured guerrilla war with the aim of provoking NATO's intervention against Serb forces. The lack of this conceptualisation of the three strands means the lack of information on the friction and clashes between them.

4.2. War crimes

The textbooks of each of the three countries present only the crimes of the 'other side'. For example, the Serbian textbooks mention not a single Albanian killed by Serbian/ Yugoslav forces during the armed conflict in Kosova, while in the textbooks of Kosova and Albania there is mention of not a single Serb killed by the KLA and NATO forces during and after the armed conflict. The textbooks of Kosova and Serbia also exaggerate the crimes of the 'other side' and leave room for misunderstanding.

The Serbian textbooks refer to a letter of the FRY, sent to the UNSC in February 2000, which said that in the time from the moment of entry of NATO forces in Kosova '...899 were killed and 834 were kidnapped'¹²⁴ but they do not give the ethnicity of these people and the fate of those kidnapped. The Humanitarian Law Center (HLC),¹²⁵ whose headquarters

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123 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 251. See also: Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 186.

124 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 252. See also: Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 187.

125 There is more on this organisation at <http://www.hlc-rdc.org/>

are in Belgrade, notes 1123 Serb civilians killed in the period January 1998 – December 1999, of whom 786 were killed following the entry of NATO forces (12 June 1999 – December 1999).¹²⁶

On the other hand, the Kosovan textbooks say that during the armed conflict in Kosova, only in the period January – December 1998 '...more than 2000 Albanians were killed, not counting here a very large number of missing persons'.¹²⁷ However, also for this period, the HLC's multi-volume **Kosova Memory Book 1998-2000**¹²⁸ registers 1660 Albanians killed (including 678 KLA soldiers) and 296 Serbs (including 167 members of the Yugoslav Army and the Ministry for Internal Affairs).¹²⁹ According to the Kosovan textbooks, in the period of the NATO bombings (24 March to 10 July 1999) '... the Serbian army killed approximately 15 000 Albanians'.¹³⁰ The Kosova Memory Book 1998 – 2000 gives the numbers of Albanian civilians killed in the period January 1998 – December 2000, including the 78-day NATO bombing, as 7 864 in total. The number of those killed is thus doubled in the Kosovan textbooks, and the sources for their data are not given.

More or less the same issue as with the presentation of those killed occurs with the presentation of deportations/ displacements. The Kosovan and Albanian textbooks do not note the figures for Serb and non-Albanian displacements after KFOR took control, while in the Serbian textbooks this figure is given as more than 220 000,¹³¹ and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) gives it as 210 000.¹³² Similarly, the Serbian textbooks do not report the deportations of Albanians from Kosova during the NATO bombing which, according to UNHCR, included 862 979 people.¹³³ In the Kosovan textbooks this number is **more than** one million

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126 Interview with Sandra Orlovic, deputy executive director of the Human Rights Fund, conducted by email, 16 December 2011. For the killings of Serbs following the war in Kosova, see also Kandic, Nataša. *Abductions and Disappearances of non-Albanians in Kosova*. Belgrade: Humanitarian Law Centre, 2001. page 3.

127 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 206.

128 The Kosova Memory Book (1998-2000) is an HLC publication in several volumes which gives the relevant data for every person killed or missing from the last war in Kosova: Albanian, Serbian, Roma, Bosniak and other civilians; members of the Serbian/Yugoslav military and police forces and of Kosova Albanian armed groups, but also members of political groups of various ethnicities. The sources for the information in this publication are taken from witness or family statements, court proceedings, the notes from autopsies, newspaper articles, data from ICRC, UNMIK, KFOR, KLA and Serbian institutions.

129 Kandić, Nataša. *Libër Kujtimit i Kosovës 1998-2000*. Prishtina: Fondi për të Drejtën Humanitare, 2011. page 457.

130 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 207. Also: Bicaj, Isa and Isuf Ahmeti. *Historia 12*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2005. page 202.

131 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istoriја 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 251.

132 For more information, see: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e48d9f6.html>

133 UNHCR Country Updates – Former Yugoslavia, UN Inter-Agency Humanitarian Situation Report: Kosova. pages 65-70.

Albanians,¹³⁴ while in the Albanian textbooks it is **approximately** one million Albanians.¹³⁵

The Kosovan textbooks describe the crimes of Serb forces against Albanians during the war in Kosova as genocide.¹³⁶ Instead of the definition of the UN Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, or any arguments as to whether **genocide** occurred in Kosova, these textbooks offer phrases such as ‘...the horrible scenes of barbarism of the bloody squadrons’¹³⁷ for children of 15-16 years old. Furthermore, by describing the crimes of the Serbian forces in Kosova as **genocide**, the authors of the Kosovan textbooks ignore the opinion given by the Supreme Court of Kosova, according to which the actions of the Serbian regime under Slobodan Milošević can be considered more as **crimes against humanity** than as **genocide**.¹³⁸

The Serbian textbooks, as explained above, do not mention the crimes of the Serbian forces against Kosova’s Albanians, but they give information that the International Criminal Tribunal for the former-Yugoslavia (ICTY) has indicted major political and military leaders of the FRY and Serbia,¹³⁹ but they do not give the allegations raised. On the other hand, the Kosovan textbooks do not present the crimes committed by the KLA against Serbs and non-Albanians during and after the armed conflict in Kosova, but also do not mention the ICTY indictments for war crimes and crimes against humanity for the two main leaders of the KLA.

The crimes committed by the KLA against Serbs and non-Albanians **during** the armed conflict in Kosova are not presented at all in the Serbian textbooks. As for the crimes of the KLA, these textbooks give data only for the crimes committed **after** the armed conflict and the entry of KFOR troops in Kosova. It seems from these textbooks that **during** the armed conflict in Kosova only NATO committed crimes.

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134 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 206.

135 Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 153.

136 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 207. Some of the Kosovan textbooks even say that the Reçak massacre was described as *genocide* by William Walker, the head of the OSCE mission in Kosova. For this, see Bicaj, Isa and Isuf Ahmeti. *Historia 12*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2005. page 202. However, William Walker described this act as a *crime against humanity* in the speech he gave at the burial of those massacred. For the speech of Ambassador William Walker and more on the Reçak massacre, see Petritsch, Wolfgang and Robert Pichler. *Rruga e gjatë në luftë - Kosova dhe bashkësia ndërkombëtare 1989-1999*. Prishtina: KOHA, 2002. pages 154-162.

137 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 205.

138 Schabas, William. *Gjenocidi në të Drejtën Ndërkombëtare*. Prishtina: FINNISH-UNHCR Human Rights Support Programme - Kosova, 2003. page 467.

139 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 253. See also: Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 187.

During the 78 days of the NATO bombing of the FRY, according to the Serbian textbooks, '.... between 1200 and 2500 civilians were killed'.¹⁴⁰ However in the table given by these textbooks for the suffering of civilians from the NATO bombardment, data is given only for 347 civilians killed. In this table, Albanian ethnicity is mentioned only for the 70 civilians killed by NATO forces near Gjakova, while for the 50 civilians killed in the village of Luzhan near Podujevo, the 20 near Peja and 87 in the village of Korisha near Prizren, there is no mention of their Albanian ethnicity. Likewise, there is no mention in the table of the attack of NATO forces on the Dubrava Prison where, according to the HLC, 112 Albanian prisoners were killed. It may be that this attack is not included in the table because only 29 of the prisoners in Dubrava Prison were killed by the NATO bombs on 19 and 20 May 1999 and the others, again according to HLC, were executed by Serbian forces on 21 and 23 May 1999.¹⁴¹

On the killing of civilians by NATO, the report of the Human Rights Watch organisation (HRW), based on field research, says that during the bombing of the territory of the FRY, NATO killed a minimum of 489 and a maximum of 528 innocent civilians. According to HRW, the majority of these innocent civilians were killed in the territory of Kosova, giving numbers of between 279 and 318 people.¹⁴² The number of civilians killed by NATO is therefore at least doubled in the Serbian textbooks while not being recorded at all in the textbooks of Albania and Kosova.

4.3. The Rambouillet Conference

Before the Rambouillet Conference, one of the most important events on the political scene was the meeting of the Kosovan delegation, represented by Ibrahim Rugova, with Slobodan Milošević in May 1998, when the parties agreed on a peaceful solution to the Kosova issue. This is not presented in any of the textbooks from the three countries. Without a doubt, one of the most important moments of the **armed conflict** in Kosova was the conference organised at Rambouillet in France which is presented in the textbooks of Kosova, Serbia and Albania, in brief and in different ways. The Kosovan textbooks say only that the failure of talks at this conference marked '... a new phase for the KLA war'.¹⁴³ However, they do not give the

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140 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 251. Also: Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 187.

141 On 28 May 2010 HLC made a formal accusation at the Serbian War Crimes Court against the 34 people responsible for the killing of more than 90 and the injuring of more than 150 Albanian prisoners in the Dubrava Prison on 21 and 23 May 1999 after the NATO attacks on the prison of 19 and 20 May 1999. The charges can be found at: <http://hlc-rdc.org/index.php/en/public-informationoutreach/press-releases/208-krivina-prijava-za-ratni-zloin-protiv-ratnih-funkcionera-republike-srbije>

142 Human Rights Watch. *Civilian Deaths in the NATO Air Campaign*. at: <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/2000/nato/>

143 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 206. See also, Bicaj, Isa and Isuf Ahmeti. *Historia 12*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2005. page 202.

reasons for the failure of these talks, nor the key points of the **Temporary Agreement for Peace and Self-governance** document, signed in Paris on 18 March 1999, by the Albanian representatives from Kosova at the conference and by mediator Christopher Hill (USA) and Wolfgang Petritsch (EU), but refused by Serbia/ FRY and mediator Boris Majorski (Russia).

It seems that the authors of these textbooks offer nothing of the content of this document – the implementation of which was guaranteed by 28 000 NATO troops in Kosova – because it envisaged **substantive autonomy** for Kosova within the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the FRY.¹⁴⁴

In the information they do give, the Kosova textbooks create the idea that the KLA had not given up on their political position. As well as not mentioning the signing up by KLA representatives to **substantive autonomy** for Kosova, for the Kosovan textbooks the political platform of the KLA's war was Kosova's freedom and independence.¹⁴⁵ It is therefore made clear nowhere that initially this platform was – as is stated in the oath sworn by the KLA soldier – ‘...for the liberation and union of the occupied lands of Albania’.¹⁴⁶

On the other hand, for the Serbian textbooks, ‘...the NATO aggression occurred because the Serbian delegation in Rambouillet and Paris refused to sign the ultimatum for the withdrawal of the army and police from Kosova’.¹⁴⁷ It is also not mentioned in these textbooks that the **Temporary Agreement for Peace and Self-government** document envisaged 2 500 FRY police and 1500 soldiers in Kosovan territory and that substantive autonomy was envisaged within the sovereignty and integrity of the FRY. The impression is therefore created for Serbian pupils that ‘the Western states who got involved, giving open support to the Albanians’¹⁴⁸ had the aim of removing Serbia from Kosova.

On the other hand, the Albanian textbooks mention the substantive autonomy which Kosova would enjoy within the FRY on the basis of the **Temporary Agreement for Peace and Self-government** document but they add that ‘the issue of Kosova’s independence would be discussed after three years’.¹⁴⁹ In fact, the document doesn’t mention independence

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144 The Temporary Agreement for Peace and Self-government, Paris, 18 March 1999, can be found at: <http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/ramb.htm>

145 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 205.

146 The text of the oath of the KLA soldier can be found on the webpage dedicated to Adem Jashari, <http://www.ademjashari.com/uck.aspx?View=1&SMID=68&CID=19>

147 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 251. See also: Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 186.

148 Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 251. See also: Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. page 186.

149 Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 153.

anywhere but uses the not particularly clear phrase: '... after three years an international meeting will be called to determine a mechanism for a final solution for Kosova, on the basis of the will of the people, the opinions of relevant authorities, the efforts made by each side in relation to the implementation of this agreement and the Final Act of Helsinki...'.¹⁵⁰ As well as not specifying anywhere exactly which people it was whose will was being referred to, the phrase 'the will of the people' was ranked together with the support of the Final Act of Helsinki, according to which international borders can only be changed by agreement of the two sides.

4.4. The NATO intervention

After Rambouillet, the most important period of the war in Kosova is undoubtedly the time of the NATO bombing of Serbian/ Yugoslav military and police targets which was, according to the Serbian textbooks, NATO aggression which occurred after the Serbian/ Yugoslav side refused to withdraw military and police troops from Kosova. As mentioned above, the international community didn't demand the withdrawal of all Serbian/ Yugoslav military and police forces from Kosova, so such a presentation in the Serbian textbooks seems to be trying to present Serbia as 'a victim of the Western states who openly sided with the Albanians.'

On the other hand, the Albanian textbooks say that initially approximately one million Albanians were expelled from Kosova and that later '...the military forces of NATO bombed Serbia and forced her to withdraw from Kosova'.¹⁵¹ However, as mentioned above, according to UNHCR, it was in the period 24 March-10 June 1999, which is the time when the NATO bombings were carried out, that Serbian forces deported 862 979 people from Kosova and carried out the majority of the killings of Albanian civilians in Kosova.

For the Kosovan textbooks, the NATO military interventions were '...to stop the wave of crimes committed by Serbia against Albanians'.¹⁵² According to these textbooks, Kosova was liberated from Serbia '...after the successful liberation struggle of the KLA and the entry of the NATO troops in June 1999'.¹⁵³ If the KLA was not in a position to end the wave of crimes which Serbia was committing against Albanians, and NATO had to intervene militarily, it is difficult to understand how Kosova was liberated after the successful KLA struggle and the entry of NATO troops. Equally, the

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150 Temporary Agreement for Peace and Self-government, Paris, 18 March 1999, at: <http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/ramb.htm>

151 Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 153.

152 Rexhepi, Fehmi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 5*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2009. page 105

153 Rexhepi, Fehmi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 5*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2009. page 106. (my emphasis)

Kosovan textbooks say that '... **as well as** the battle units of the KLA, NATO forces, with the name KFOR, also entered Kosova'.¹⁵⁴ It is thus left to be understood that the KLA troops had not been in Kosova, but had entered like the NATO troops, but the Kosova textbooks do not say from where or when they entered.

Some of the Kosovan textbooks say that the Serbian/ Yugoslav side withdrew from the territory of Kosova as a consequence of '... the NATO bombing and the ongoing campaigns of the KLA'.¹⁵⁵ The Technical-Military Agreement on the withdrawal of Serbian/ Yugoslav forces from Kosova, signed on 9 June 1999 in Kumanovo, was agreed **only** by NATO and the FRY – specifically Serbia. Neither the authors of the Kosovan textbooks nor those of the Albanian textbooks specify that the KLA was not part of this important agreement on the end of the armed conflict in Kosova. As well as compelling the Serbian/ Yugoslav forces to withdraw from Kosova this agreement guaranteed that a number - limited to hundreds, not thousands, of them - would be allowed to return to Kosova;¹⁵⁶ something else that is not mentioned in these textbooks. This guarantee doesn't feature in the Serbian textbooks either.

Likewise, none of the historiographies say that initially the aim of NATO was not to withdraw all Serbian/ Yugoslav military and police forces from Kosova, but it became such on 3 June 1999, a few days after the end of the bombings, when the President of the FRY, Slobodan Milošević, accepted the document drafted by Strobe Talbott (USA), Martti Ahtisaari (EU) and Victor Chernomyrdin (Russia), which demanded the withdrawal from Kosova of all police, military and paramilitary forces of FRY/ Serbia.¹⁵⁷ This was because it was only in this way that refugees would feel safe in returning to their homes, and NATO soldiers would establish a safe environment without the chance of any conflict with those from FRY/ Serbia, nor between the latter and the returning population.

The demilitarisation and transformation of the KLA is also presented in the Kosovan textbooks simply as the shift of the KLA to the Kosova Protection Corps (KPC) '... on the basis of an agreement signed in September 1999 between General Agim Çeku, the Commander of the KLA, and

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154 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 207. (my emphasis)

155 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 207. See also: Bicaj, Isa and Isuf Ahmeti. *Historia 12*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2005. page 202.

156 The Technical-Military Agreement document between the International Security Forces (KFOR) and the governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia, Kumanovo, 9 June 1999, can be found at <http://www.nato.int/Kosova/docu/a990609a.htm>

157 The document drafted by Strobe Talbott (USA), Martti Ahtisaari (EU) and Victor Chernomyrdin (Russia) and accepted by the Serbian Parliament on 3 June 1999, can be found at <http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/peace.htm#plan>

General Michael Jackson, Commander of KFOR.¹⁵⁸ The **Undertaking of Demilitarisation and Transformation of the KLA** document, which the Political Director of the KLA, Hashim Thaçi, offered Commander Jackson on 21 June 1999, does not feature anywhere. In this document Hashim Thaçi pledges that the KLA soldiers would disarm and be integrated into civil society, as a civilian organisation for emergency intervention – the KPC. According to this document, the KLA agreed not to interfere with the FRY staff returning to Kosova (in **hundreds, not thousands**), to complete specific tasks under the authorisation and instructions of the KFOR Commander.¹⁵⁹ In the Albanian textbooks, the disarming of the KLA is mentioned superficially: ‘...KFOR’s task was the demilitarisation of the KLA’¹⁶⁰ while it is not mentioned at all in the Serbian books.

On the civilian rule in Kosova, established by the UN, and military control, established by NATO, the Kosovan textbooks offer only the dates and the numbers of troops established. There is no statement anywhere on the aim of the NATO mission in Kosova to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1244. Equally, there is no data relevant to the UN mission in Kosova, UNMIK, which – in accordance with Resolution 1244 – guaranteed Kosova a temporary international administration under which the people of Kosova enjoyed substantive autonomy within the FRY. In the Serbian textbooks there is a reference to the guarantee of territorial integrity for the FRY according to Resolution 1244.¹⁶¹

4.5. Summary

Nowhere in the textbooks of the three countries is there a presentation of the division in the peaceful policy between the factions of passive resistance and active resistance. Nor is there reference to the meetings and agreements of the Kosovan and Serbian sides. In the textbooks of Kosova and Serbia there is no mention of the division between the peaceful and military policies in Kosova, whereas in the Albanian textbooks this is clearly presented. There is lack of reference to the three political and military conceptualisations of war in Kosova: FARK, LKÇK, and UÇK. The lack of these conceptualisations of the three strands also means a lack of information on the friction and clashes between them.

In the history textbooks of Kosova and Serbia a central position is given to the abuse of the rules of war, where only the crimes of the ‘other side’ are

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158 Bajraktari, Jusuf, Fehmi Rexhepi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 10*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 207. See also: Bicaj, Isa and Isuf Ahmeti. *Historia 12*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2005. page 202.

159 The Undertaking of Demilitarisation and Transformation of the KLA can be found at <http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/peace.htm>

160 Dërguti, Menduh, Ledia Dushku, Ferit Duka and Sonila Boçi. *Historia 12*. Tirana: Botime Shkollore Albas, 2011. page 154.

161 Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council can be found at <http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1999/sc99.htm>

presented, and these are exaggerated with room left for misunderstanding. In the Albanian textbooks, on the killings within the armed conflict in Kosova the only data given is for a massacre where 45 Albanians were killed. The historiography of the three groups offers instead of facts and arguments about the crimes, simply labels. The Serbian textbooks give data only for the crimes committed by the KLA *after* the armed conflict and the entry of KFOR troops into Kosova, but not for those **during** the armed conflict. From these textbooks it emerges that **during** the armed conflict in Kosova only NATO committed crimes. The number of civilians killed by NATO is not recorded in the Kosovan and Albanian textbooks at all, while in the Serbian textbooks it is at least doubled and it is not recorded that the majority of these deaths occurred in Kosova.

The conference organised in Rambouillet is presented briefly and in different ways in the historiography of the three countries. The Kosovan textbooks presented it simply as a new phase for the KLA war, and give none of the contents of the document signed by the Albanian representatives of Kosova at this conference, possibly because they do not want to reveal that the KLA had moved from its initial political position. Because they want to present the Western states as having had the aim of removing Serbia from Kosova, the Serbian textbooks present the refusal to sign by the Serbian side as a refusal to withdraw the army and police from Kosova, even though the document which emerged from this conference envisaged 2500 FRY police and 1500 FRY soldiers remaining in Kosova. The Albanian textbooks mention the autonomy which Kosova would enjoy within the FRY on the basis of the Rambouillet document, but add that Kosova's independence would be discussed after three years. This document doesn't mention independence anywhere, but gives an unspecific phrase where 'the will of the people' is mentioned, but it is not made clear which people it is whose will is in question, and lists support in the Final Act of Helsinki, which says that international borders can only be changed with the agreement of the two relevant parties.

The NATO bombing of Serbian/ Yugoslav military and police targets is, according to the Serbian textbooks, NATO's aggression, which occurred because the Serbian/ Yugoslav side refused to withdraw military and police troops from Kosova. The Albanian textbooks say that NATO bombed because approximately one million Albanians were evicted from Kosova, while according to the Kosovan textbooks, NATO intervened to stop the wave of crimes that Serbia was committing against Albanians. In none of the history books is it specified that the KLA was not part of the Technical/ Military Agreement for the withdrawal of Serbian/ Yugoslav forces from Kosova, an agreement made *only* between NATO and FRY/ Serbia, and which guaranteed that a limited number of Serbian/ Yugoslav troops could return to Kosova. Likewise, it is nowhere mentioned that initially the aim of NATO was not to withdraw all Serbian/ Yugoslav troops from Kosova,

but it became so a few days before the end of the bombing because it was only in this way that refugees could feel safe to return to their homes and the NATO troops were to establish a safe environment with no opportunity for conflict with the Serbian/ FRY troops.

In the Kosovan textbooks even the demilitarisation of the KLA is presented simply as a transformation of the KLA to the KPC, but there is no mention that this means the disarming of the KLA and prohibition of access to FRY staff who were to return to Kosova. In the Albanian textbooks, the disarming of the KLA is mentioned superficially, while in the Serbian textbooks it is not mentioned at all. Likewise, in the textbooks of Kosova and Albanian it is not stated anywhere that the aim of the civilian power in Kosova, established by the UN, and of the military power, established by NATO, was the implementation of UN Security Resolution 1244, under which the population of Kosova enjoyed substantive autonomy within the FRY, while the guarantee of the FRY's territorial integrity according to Resolution 1244 does feature in the Serbian textbooks.

Conclusions

Many clear differences are revealed in the approach of the school history books in Serbia and in Kosova and Albania towards the events in the territory of Kosova. These differences can be grouped as follows:

1. Possession of the territory

The penetration of the Serbian army into Kosova at the end of 1912 is presented in opposite ways in the Serbian textbooks and those of Kosova and Albania. This is because these sides claim ownership of the territory of Kosova. The way that the **liberation**, or **occupation** of Kosova are presented respectively, not only in 1912 but also in 1918 and 1945, follows **offensive** nationalism in the Serbian textbooks, while in those of Kosova, but also of Albania, it takes the form of **defensive** nationalism.

- In the Serbian textbooks this penetration of the Serbian army is presented as a **liberation** of the cradle of the Serbian nation, while the attainment of the Adriatic Sea as achieving one of the aims of the war;
- In the Kosovan textbooks, but also in those of Albania, the establishment of Serbian troops in Kosova is presented as **occupation**, which is said to have come as a consequence of the Albanians' difficult position.

2. The crimes committed by the other side

The most important element of Kosova's history between 1912 and 2000 is the crimes committed by the Serbs, organised into regular army and police, against Albanians; as well as the crimes of the Albanians, mainly not organised, against the Serbs. The school textbooks of these two sides only present the crimes of the other side, presenting themselves as victims, and the other as the aggressor.

- The Kosovan textbooks present only the crimes of the Serbs against Albanians in 1912, 1918-1919, and then during the period between the two world wars, in 1945 and after the Second World War, as well as during the 1998-1999 war. In these textbooks, these crimes are described as 'bloody terrorist acts', 'nationalist violence and terror', 'national terror and genocide' or 'the horrible scenes of barbarism of the bloody squadrons'. It is rare that these textbook offer information to quantify the Serbian crimes, and even when it is offered, it is in an exaggerated form;
- The Serbian textbooks present only the crimes of the Albanians against the Serbs in 1915, 1941-1943, 1999-2000, describing them as 'the attacks of local gangs of Albanians,' 'Albanian terror against Serbs' or 'robberies and the confrontations of terrorist groups with the forces of order'. These textbooks generally do not give data for these crimes;

- The Albanian textbooks represent only the crimes of the Serbs against Albanians in 1912, 1918-1919, during the period between the two world wars, 1945 and after the second world war, as well as during the 1998-1999 war, but it is with more restrained language, in comparison to the Kosovan and Serbian textbooks: 'the destruction of villages and towns, and loss of human life', 'denial of the national rights of the Albanians', 'unparalleled violence against the population of Kosova and massacres.' These textbooks generally do not give data on these crimes. The exception to this is the crimes in the most recent conflict, which, despite being described as 'genocide', is accompanied by data only for massacre in which 45 Albanians were killed.

3. Silent collaboration

Although the penetration of the Serbian army into Kosova and the crimes of the two sides are presented in a variety of ways, in none of the textbooks from the three countries is there mention of the meetings, agreements and collaboration of the political and military representatives of the Albanians with their Serb counterparts. In the textbooks of these countries there is no mention anywhere of:

- collaboration between some of the most significant leaders of the Albanian uprising (1912) with the Serbian representatives in Prishtina, from whom they got weapons to fight the Ottoman Empire;
- the meeting of the leader of the Albanian Kaçak movement remaining under Yugoslavia (after the First World War) with the local Serb authorities about living unharrassed, on condition that his movement extended to only three villages; and later another meeting with senior Serb officials where he asked for Kosova to have the right for self-government;
- collaboration between the Legal Society for the Defence of Islam (after the First World War), which represented the Albanians in the Serbian parliament, and the two major Serbian political parties in Yugoslavia – the democrats and the radicals – to the extent that sometimes these political parties even shared the same electoral list;
- close collaboration between the Albanian communists of Kosova (during and following the Second World War) with the Serbian/ Yugoslav communists; or their participation and acclaim in the parliament where it was decided that Kosova should be part of federal Serbia;
- the agreement of the leader of peaceful resistance among the Albanians of Kosova (1996) with the Serbian president to open up school and university buildings to Albanians in Kosova; and later also the meetings between them on finding a peaceful solution for the Kosova issue (1998).

4. Distortion of aims

A characteristic of the Kosovan textbooks is exaggeration of the aims of Albanian political and military organisations. The organisations are even sometimes given invented names.

- The demand by the Albanian rebels in 1912 for autonomy within the Ottoman Empire is, in some of the Kosovan textbooks, represented as a demand for independence;
- The actions of the Kaçak movement in 1919-1925 is represented only as a battle for liberation and national unity and there is no mention anywhere of its demand for self-government;
- An organisation with the name ‘the Kosova National Liberation Army’ (UNÇK) is invented but the communists of Kosova were part of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia.
- The initial manifesto of the LDK for autonomy is presented as a manifesto for self-determination, while the referendum held in September 1991 for Kosova to be a sovereign and independent state with the right to link with Yugoslavia, features only as a referendum for Kosova as a sovereign and independent state;
- The signing up to substantive autonomy for Kosova in the Rambouillet Conference by the political representatives of the KLA is not mentioned anywhere; furthermore, it is said that the KLA’s aim was independence, while the text of the oath of the KLA soldier speaks of liberation and union of the occupied lands of Albania

5. Merging of different strands of thought

The Kosovan textbooks generally do not present the political elements present in Kosova until the end of the 1980s, describing them only under the umbrella ‘Albanian national movement’. This umbrella is called ‘the democratic movement in Kosova’ until the end of the 1990s. The elements of the most recent war in Kosova are presented only grouped together as the KLA. The Serbian textbooks make no reference to these different strands, which are represented rather more clearly in the Albanian textbooks, but not in those of Kosova, although superficially.

- The textbooks of Kosova and Albania make no reference to the fact that in the armed uprising of 1912 for autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand was the majority of representatives from the cities – the *bey*s and the *agas* – who opposed autonomy, and on the other were the leaders of the uprising whose aim was autonomy, but who were divided, since some of them wanted to stay strongly connected with the Ottoman Empire;

- In the Albanian textbooks, unlike those of Kosova, it is specified, although superficially, that between the two world wars, the Albanians had on the one hand the Kaçak movement following a path of armed resistance, while on the other was the political grouping known as the Cemiyet for short, which followed the parliamentary route;
- Unlike the Kosovan textbooks, the Albanian textbooks state – albeit superficially – that during the Second World War there was on the one hand a nationalist element, supported by the German Nazis, which declared that it was committed to maintaining Kosova and Albania united, and on the other hand the communist element, supported by the Yugoslav communists, which also declared Kosova's desire to unite with Albania, suggesting the right for self-determination even to secession; nevertheless, in none of the textbooks of these countries is it mentioned that the communist element was internally riven;
- The textbooks of Kosova and Albania do not mention that after the Second World War in Kosova, on the one hand was the work of the legal element, as part of the Yugoslav institutions and system, and on the other the illegal, organised through illegal organisations, which opposed Yugoslav occupation;
- In none of the school textbooks of Kosova or Albania is there reference to the division of the peaceful policy into the faction for passive resistance and the active; the division between the peaceful and the military arms of Kosovan politics is not mentioned in the Kosovan textbooks, although it is clearly mentioned in those of Albania;
- Also missing in the textbooks of Kosova and Albania are the three conceptualisations of military policy regarding war in Kosova: FARK, LKÇK and KLA. The lack of the conceptualisations of the three approaches means also a lack of information on the friction and clashes between them;

The aspiration for ownership of the territory of Kosova; the presentation only of the crimes committed by the other side, presenting oneself as the victim and the other as the aggressor, as well as a silence on Albanian-Serbian collaboration, meetings and agreements, shows that the countries are not sowing in the next generation the seeds of reconciliation.

The distortion of aims and the merging of political elements among the Albanians of Kosova, in the Kosovan textbooks, and to a lesser extent in those of Albania, leads it to be understood that Albanians have always been united around one ideal. From the Kosovan textbooks a picture emerges that in some way, approximately until the 1980s this *ideal* was national unity, and later the independence of Kosova.

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