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THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE AND THE EXPULSION OF ALBANIAN CHAMS IN TURKEY

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Abstract

The Treaty of London in May 1913, decided to establish the province of Chameria, where lived Albanian ethnicity indigenous, to stay within the borders of the Greek state. The history of Albanians Chams in Greece has two important events. The first event had been related to the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923's that had been related with the exchange of Albanian Chams in Greece with Greeks that lived in Turkey. The second event had been related with the Albanians Chams genocide during 1944's, where thousands of Albanian Cham residents of the province of Chameria forcibly moved to Albania and some other countries.

The Treaty of Lausanne's first step that had clearly defined intention against Albanian Chams from the Greek government. Greece based on this treaty's rights and obligations arising launched its project for evacuation and expulsion of Cham Albanians. By using political clauses in articles 1/45 of the treaty for the exchange of Greeks which were living in Turkey with Turks lived in Greek. Greece presented the Albanian Chams as Turkish population due to be based on their religion. So Greek government exploited Albanian Chams in Turkey and brought back in Greeks those who lived in Turkey.

This paper aims to focus on analyzing the Lausanne treaty articles that support the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. Also in this paper will be analyzed the possibility that the Greek government have misused these articles according to its own interest on the expulsion of the Chams from Greece toward Turkey.

Keywords: *Treaty of Lausanne; Turkey; Albanian Chams*

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article will focus on historical periods that are based on an agreement between Greece and Turkey that have started the procedures for the exchange of the populations of their respective nationalities. From this complicated and difficult process reflects negative repercussions.

Taking as cause from the problem who still continues upon the Cham issue, or more precisely the Albanians Cham expelled from their lands and after located on the territory of the Albanian state, I will analyze the possibility of abuse due to this agreement by the Greek authorities at the expense of the Albanians Cham with residence and properties, inherited for centuries in the region of Epirus, and to highlight the beginning of the plan for deportation of all the Albanians Cham from Greek territory.

The new Greek State came into the protectorate of the Great Powers during 1830-1831, and consequently the protocol between them should sanctioned the rights of ethnic communities and religious minorities, to respect and preserve the minorities who used to live in the new geopolitical formation as well as the previous signed property transactions recognized during the rule of the Ottoman Empire. In the continuum of the same spirit is the "Treaty of Constantinople on defense of the religious minorities and property" signed by King Otto in 1832. However the Greek state requests were increased and concentrated on the annexation of Thessaly, the territories of southern Chameria, Preveza and Arta.

For Albanians Cham started a period of suffering when "the New" Greece started invading territories populated from non-Greeks, despite the signature of "The Constantinople Convention for the protection of Muslim populations in Epirus and Thessaly '1897'". Greek request for the occupation of new territories continued with the assistance of the Great Powers via the Treaty of London of 1913, where once more Greece annexed Albanian territories sub the Ottoman Empire, as Chameria, Ioannina region, Kastoria, Florina etc. Treaties signed as the "Treaty of Athens" between Turkey and Greece, on November 14th 1913 oblige Greece to respect the property and religious rights of minorities which remained under the jurisdiction of the Greek State. The Treaties of Sevres 1920 and Lausanne 1923 gave property and religious rights for the minorities not included in the exchange between Turkey and Greece. Even though

treaties were numerous and explicit regarding the Greek state obligations towards minorities on their treatment, by utilizing the recent treaty of Lausanne, Greece started the first wave of ethnic cleansing on the expense of Albanians Cham.

During the treatment of this theme we will focus on an overview of the struggle for independence of the Albanian state, to his journey to statehood full with difficulties, conflicts with its neighbors and unity weakness on the historical moments. Exactly this weakness emerged in the critical moments which make it difficult and impossible to guaranty the integrity and the protection of the Albanian territories and Albanian minorities in the neighboring countries.

Will also be dealt the content of the Treaty of Lausanne 1923rd, the modus operandi of the committees charged with solving viable exchanging populations and the identified deficiencies in allowing the exchange of Albanians Cham, a minority in Greece, with Greek population from Anatolia.

The problem of the Albanians Cham in Greece and the exchange of them with Greek population from Anatolia will be another topic, which would also explain why even after the declarations of Greek leading personalities about not permitting the exchange, it continued.

In this article, will be presented Albanian government and Albanian diplomats' positions on protecting the minority rights of the Albanians Cham in Greece. Turkey's state position, as a party in this exchange, it is also to be treated. At the end of this paper will have to conclude if Greek state abused on the articles of the Treaty of Lausanne in the detriment of the Albanians Cham in Greece with final result a general expulsion, few years later.

2. ALBANIA, THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND STATEHOOD

In this chapter we will submit in a general manner the steps for the formation of the Albanian state, the history and the domination from it emerge. Will also evidenced its position beside its natural boundaries neighbors, conflicts and the problems which pursue. Data that will reflect in the establishment of Albanians ethnic and religious minorities within the borders of neighboring countries, following the London Conference 1913th, and the extension of the "Ethnic Albania". Furthermore this

chapter will serve to understand the problems of Albania statehood and the real strength for the protection of the Albanian minorities in the neighboring territories.

Albania was one of the last Balkan countries which became independent towards the Ottoman Empire. According to Hysamedin Feraj, XVI- XVIII centuries were the time when in the Ottoman- Albanian relationships prevailed an atmosphere of mutual benefit and also was the end of XVIII century and the early XIX century, when the Ottoman central power interests took opposite direction by entering into conflict with the interests of the Albanian strata leadership society and the suppressed population (Feraj; 2006; 68). During this relationship Albania contributed by giving to the Ottoman Empire as state senior managers many dignitaries from Albanian ancestry such as. Sami Frasheri, Mehmet Akif Ersoy, etc.. Furthermore, Albanian nationalist process started considerably later than other neighboring countries. The particular feature of this nationalism, according to Hysamedin Feraj, is that the Albanian nationalism is non messianic, so does not grant itself the role of the Messiah, the savior of other nations (Feraj; 2006; 11).

Sami Frasheri in his publication of "Albania, what was" says about the purpose of the Albanians," The only purpose of the Albanians is to preserve the Albania to not be partitioned by foreigners, to keep their own language and nationality, to be careful from the spread of the language of the Greeks and the Slavs" (Frasheri; 1987; 85). This position and the slow process of the internal nationalism, being followed by the constant demonstration of the hostility by its Balkan neighbors delayed the Albania statehood according to the modern model of state.

The patriotic sentiments and attempts of the Albanian patriots and intellectuals of the early 1900's along with the interests of the Great Powers, focused on the Balkan region, gave as a result the "Albanian Declaration of Independence." On November 28th 1912, a congress of honorable personalities of the period, gathered in Vlora, declared the independence of "the ethnic Albania". Which included the Ottoman Vilayet of Shkoder and Ionnina, the Sandzak of Prizren, Novi Pazar, Pristina and Pec, Kalkadelen ,the Vilayet of Kosovo and the Sandzak of Korca, Elbasan and Dibra by the Bitola Vilayet" (Guy; 2012; 25).

The so-called "Ethnic Albania" has a territory extension in a part which is included in the state borders of Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Macedonia. The explicit

chauvinist intentions of Albania neighbors, in opposition to the claims about the recognition of the "Ethnic Albania", encouraged the beginning of the Balkan wars in the 1912-1913. On the genocidal nature by the Serbs, Greeks and Montenegrins and the role of the Great Powers against Albanians. According to Bajram Xhafa even the European Powers did indifferent game, leaving a free hand to Balkan states to undertake aggressive wars of extermination against unprotected peoples, in the first place, against the Albanians (Xhafa; 2005; 185).—Chameria and Ioannina violent annexation by Greek forces was followed by a savage campaign of violence and terror against the Albanians. Austro-Hungarian diplomat Buchberger during 1913-1914 claimed that, they bring to me more and more complaints. Near Ioannina, Mohammedans were found murdered across the street. These atrocities were doing down by Greek extremists (Buchberger; 1972; 145).

This was the Balkan atmosphere, such as precursor of the First World War. Albanian state in 1914 was assigned a monarchic government management system, under the control of the Great Powers. The direction of this young state, newly established, was handed to the Prince Wilhelm Wied. His rule was interrupted after 6 months, due the start of the First World War. Wied left because of turmoil and initiated to make no return, leaving Albania in a very difficult situation. The departure of Albanian sovereign and of the Great Powers representatives, the disintegration and dissolution of the Albanian gendarmerie, gave parties concerned (Italy, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro) a good chance to use the situation created at their favor (Guy; 2012; 129). Albania during the conflict was the prey of interest to its neighbors and the warring parties, which were confronted among one another to achieve the occupation objectives of the Albanian territory. "Disputes between French and Italian were evidenced throughout the entire 1917 and 1918's, during the military campaigns deterring Austro-Bulgarian forces out of Albania and particularly in the rush on who will occupy the city of Shkoder " (Guy; 2012; 171). End of First World War still found Albania occupied by Serbs, Greeks, French and Italians. Albanian internal political forces during the conflict remained polarized because the regional disputes, political and religious. League of Nations and the principle of self-determination were good news for a small nation in danger such as Albania. Albanian Delegations at the Paris Peace Conference in submitting their requirements for the recognition of the Albanian state positioned in not

as strong basis. As Guy said, Albania did not recognized internationally as an independent state. This decision made the Albanian status equivalent with that of an enemy or of a country which did not exist before (Guy; 2012; 25).

This definition closed many of the roads to be used from the Albanian delegations that even in this moment of importance had failed to find the strength to present themselves and to interact with dignity. The historical continuity sees particular factions and individuals, as the next king of the Albanians Ahmet Zogu, who by putting in the service and maintains liaisons with neighbors and with the interests of the Great Powers was able to give slowly through domestic factors and external political difficulties, a real new lineament structure of the modern Albanian state.

3. TREATY OF LAUSANNE

The Treaty of Lausanne was signed on January 30th 1923 and determined the mandatory conditions for exchange population between Greece and Turkey. This type of exchange was the first treaty of its kind and served as a case for exchanges that occurred later on. Masses of people were displaced by one country to another and the effects of this treaty were distinguished in the demographic, economic, political, social and cultural changes of the following exchange subject areas.

Whether we were to an early evaluation of this treaty, can truly say that the relationship between the two countries was stabilized, but what is most significant for the aim of this paper are the problems and violations which resulted, concerning the protection of the human rights. There are opinions which pose this treaty as a crime against the humanity, by not taking mind the development of the time, and the attribution up of the international human rights, which we know currently. The model introduced by the treaty, the state boundary determination through the process of "ethnic cleansing", was verified in the Balkans by causing critically times. The Treaty of Lausanne signed between the two countries focused on the exchange of Turkish nationality populations of Greek Orthodox religion in Turkey with those of Greek nationality and Islamic religion in Greece (Treaty of Lausanne; 1923; Art. 1).

Summing the treaty, the agreement prohibits the return without the authorization of their respective governments. Subjects who were exempted by this agreement were the

Greek inhabitants of Istanbul, Muslim inhabitants of Western Thrace, stabilized in the above mentioned areas before 30 October 1918. The Treaty determines in the following the property rights and the liquidation of movable properties and immovable property of the inhabitants of exchange, implementation of the procedures were determined by the mixed commissions.

Subcommittees were composed by a Turkish member, one Greek and one neutral. It is exactly these units charged with the task to control the welfare of the process of exchange which were facing a problem which affected a considerable number of one of the ethnic and religious minorities in Greece of the time. This Albanian national minority belonged to a Muslim and Orthodox belief, but essentially the harmed were the Muslim Albanians Cham.

4. TREATY OF LAUSANNE AND TURKEY'S POSITION IN THE EXCHANGE OF ALBANIANS CHAM WITH GREEK POPULATION

Turkey emerged from the First World War with a state management structure affected and in the position to restart from the first. The old system of Ottoman Empire left the queue to a new modern state in the direction of Kemal Ataturk. Defying the crisis of the time and the arrogance of the victorious, Ataturk operated with determination, as M. Macmillan pointed, British followed by the French and the Italians took up the control of Constantinople on March 16th 1920, and the in behalf of the law and the order arrested a large number of nationalist leaders, Ataturk simply replied with arresting all allies officers within its territory and convened his parliament. The center of power was now definitely in Ankara (Macmillan; 2006; 503). Ataturk and the Turkish people were forced to gather the forces once again for not being territorially fragmented. By not accepting the treaty of Sevres and its terms, Ataturk restored once more Turkey in new position to improve the conditions on the Treaty of Lausanne. Macmillan appointed that the disappointment of Curzon, Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, " Till now we have imposed our peace treaties, now are negotiating with an enemy that has an army, whereas we have nothing else except the inconsiderable position" (Macmillan; 2006; 514). Regarding the beginning of the exchange between Greece and Turkey, of the population in Greece Curzon said," now Muslim families from Crete and the borders of Albania are forcibly flee to settle in Turkey, a solution totally erroneous and vicious,

about which the world will pay a severe penalty for the next hundred years. The exchange initiated among Turkey and Greece based on the Treaty of Lausanne according to Kahve does not take into consideration the culture, the national identity and the language of the Muslim minority, "It is manifest that one of Lausanne's objectives has been to eliminate the cultures of the Muslim minorities-inclusive of their languages and national identities (Kahve; 2012; 65).

The figures of the exchanges were in different proportion. Greece exchanged about 400 000 Muslims with 1.3 million Greeks of Turkey. According to what Kahve said about Greece's Muslims the space of interpretation was wide and so Albanians Cham of the Epirus could quite easily be included in the exchange. Shtylla claimed that using as a excuse the Muslim religious affiliation expellers displaced the Albanians Cham and oriented their departure towards countries of the same religion and particularly to Turkey (Shtylla; 2000; 41). The purpose of the Greek government it was as we said to make as less sound as possible and the affiliation of religion played as a factor for the camouflage of their action.

Shtylla also claimed that". It was not too difficult for the Greek governmental authorities the inclusion of a number of about 20,000 Albanians Cham in the amount of 400,000 Muslims which will flee to Turkey in exchange for approximately 1.3 million Greeks that came from there (Shtylla; 2000; 52). He connects the reasons for the orientation of the expulsion of Albanians from Chameria to Turkey, with the hope of the expellers for a quick assimilation of Albanians in this country, also with the assurance or confidence that the repatriation to their homeland was impossible. Also, Shtylla stated that the authorities of the host country had approved this exchange in the interest of the repopulation of the remote regions of the Turkish state territory.

Analyzing the above references we conclude that the exchange of populations under the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 gave the possibility of misinterpretation of its provisions and legally allowed, as long as the parties concerned did not report on this violation, the Greek government's intention to expel Albanians Cham of Epirus in Turkey. Turkish representatives in the mixed committee and subcommittees continued the implementation of this process in to the disadvantage of the Albanian Cham population in the interest of the repopulation of the Turkish regions therefore remain empty by displacement the 1300 000 Greeks.

5. THE TREATMENT OF ALBANIANS CHAM IN GREECE DURING THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

The Greek Prime Minister, Eleftherios Venizelos, in a letter addressed to the League of Nations emphasizes the granting of the government directives for not confusing Albanians Muslims with Greek citizenship, with Turks in the process of exchange "Muslims in Greece, descendants of the Albanian race, will does not flee to Turkey and will not be included in the exchange"(Confernce de Lausanne; 1923; 604).

About this problem, the charge d'affaires of the Greek Government in Tirana, N. Kokotakis, assured the Albanian Government, on October 3, 1923, that his government would adhere rigorously to the solemn declaration made in Lausanne in front of the League of Nations, regarding the exclusion in exchange of the Albanian Cham minority. The mix commission that was tasked with the implementing of the exchange treaty, decided that "the Cham population not to be involved" (Memorandumi i Sekretarit të Përgjithshëm të Lidhjes së Kombeve; 1924;__). The Greek representative at the Lausanne Conference declares that Greek government is not interested in exchanging of Albanian Cham Muslims who live in the region of Epirus. The identical religious faith with the population to be exchanged does not indicate that they are from the same nationality.

Article 1 of the Treaty of the Lausanne specifically defines that subjects of the exchange, as regards the individuals who lived in Greece, are of Greek nationality and citizens and of Islamic faith. But in the first confrontations with the issue of identification of the Albanian Cham minority in Greece, the head of delegation of Durres, Turhan Pasha makes known to the High Council of the League of Nations and to the Greek Commission in the Peace conference of Paris in 1919 delaired that "in Chameria 54 000 residents versus 60 000 residents, were Albanians, notwithstanding that this region was not included in discussions of the commission, it was ceded Greece 1913 (Guy; 2012; 499).

Taking advantage of the difficult situation of war the pro- Greek propaganda in Albanian areas had reached the point that referring to Misha Gleny. He claimed that in the far south were made attempts to persuade Albanians to change their Albanian identity in exchange for a good Greek education. To be Albanians were meant of remain a poor. To become a Greek meant opportunity for breakthrough (Gleny; 2007;

254)-So it was a genuine program that the Greek government pursued to influence the Albanians in accepting the Greek language and interests. On the importance of the phenomenon of Albanian nationalistic feelings Clayer claimed that Albanian nationalism was specific, because it is developed around the language and not about religion (Clayer; 2009; 639). Albanians Cham did not have reasons of being involved in the exchange of populations, although their religion was common with the Turks and the Greeks. The reality of the exchange situation appeared different from the statements made by the Greek leaders. Greeks does not implement the agreements, to the contrary they described as "Turks" thousands of Albanians Cham which fled their homes. Greeks started to assimilate the Albanian Christians by offering the Albanians Cham property.

It was obvious that Greece and Turkey were interested in exchange of Muslim population. The first was desperate to expel from the territory of the state the Albanian Muslim population, with the end of request of Albanians to return of their lands, which were unjustly taken in 1913. Also, with the displacement of Muslims, Greece estimated that could more easily assimilate the Albanian Orthodox element. Consequently to this, Swire declared that Turkey sees the economic interests and profits. In the framework of the exchange, they thought that profiting from the value of the real estate that will be compensated from the displaced persons by the Greek government. It also hoped to take advantage from the opportunity to enhance its prestige during the process of mutual financial compensation (Swire;1929 ;416). The conference of Ambassadors of March 31, 1923's after the mix committee reports, defines the Greek government as responsible and guilty for acts committed against Albanian Cham minority. Commission after being fully convinced of the Albanian character of the population, suspended the exchange, but the Greek authorities continued their work. According to Minga, village of Petrovice was completely empty of, Gardhiqi were from 400 houses to 80, Karbunari from 300 to 120, Parga from 300 to 40, Shëndielli 200 people there was none left, during the years 1912-1925 were displaced more than 20,000 people of Albanian Cham (Minga 1992; 4).

The Greek representative in Tirana convened on Athens after this event. Albanian Cham population started to face difficulties. Meanwhile the Albanian government starts to be informed constantly about the situation of Albanians Cham and after denunciation

in the League of Nations a commission chaired by Albanian representatives, Turkish and Greek Epirus became possible in October 1924, reaching to verify the nationality and the will of the people. In the summer of 1924, the exchange process took a massive character. Albanian Government, front these evidence did the protection of Albanian minority Cham a serious target of its diplomacy. By addressing the Secretary General of the League of Nations in its review of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, wrote: "The Albanian government considers that the principle of descendents that the mix Commission has adopted, it could also apply till to a certain point, only for those Albanians living in Macedonia, whereas it could not be into consideration at all like in a Chameria region where the Albanian population is compact. The Albanian government thinks that the fact that this population is required to show the desire is contrary to the spirit of the Treaty of Lausanne, which means that the Albanian element will be excluded from the exchange. The Albanian Government is of the opinion that it is impossible to be taken seriously, a desire expressed by a population that is under fear of the violence measures by the Hellenic authorities In addition "... the ethnic physiognomy of the Albanian Cham province's is defined so incontestable, because the population is indigenous, it speaks only Albanian, Turkish culture is completely unknown and there is no foreign element encountered in this region ..." (AQSH; 1924; 84). Noli's government undertook diplomatic actions to sensitizing the international public, in order to solve the problem of the Albanians Cham. Although sued the violent measures that the Greek government structures used for the deportation of Albanians Cham; Noli tried to establish a regular relationship between the two countries. The Albanian delegation to the 5th Assembly of the League of Nations led by F. Noli denounced the unlawful actions of the Greek government and of the mixed commission.

An important factor in these events, which with perseverance and determination for coming in to the assistance of Albanians Cham and building relationships on the recognition of the mutual rights and obligations between Greece and Albania, was the Albanian ambassador in Athens, Mithat Frasheri. Below we bring you some of his memories and correspondence with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Albania, senior officials of the League of Nations and Albanians Cham from Epirus. In his memories Mithat Frasheri wrote that: "One day, Mr. de Marcilly, Minister of France

(in Athens) said these words: -The Greeks know very well who are Albanian and Turkish. They want to steal Albanians property. Therefore also they want to expel them." Greek true intentions against Albanians Cham were explicit to the representatives of the other countries (Frasheri; 2002; 57). It was a knowledge of such acts however by the Great Powers preferred to not declare their position and these expressions circulated only unofficially.

On October 30, 1924, the Albanian Legation in Athens received this memorandum from Cham Margellici residents ": "Excellency! ... We find the need to bring more unaware of Mr. J. the actions and the recent measures of the local authority (Greek) against entities of our people miserable, they pass the "threshold, it is not possible to be tolerated more!" the system that the government uses at the expense of poor Cham people, trust and be confident that certainly in very short time will completely cut off us from the ground and then you have to listen the scream of the Cham provinces" (Frasheri; 2002; 146). The alarming of the Albanian cham was the warning bell of what was coming later on. With the Albanian Cham minority in Greece, the parties who were part in the exchange failed to show as fair and as a result these actions gave even more serious event.

6. CONCLUSION

The exchange of populations under the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and the inclusion of the Greek interests in the expulsion of the Albanian Cham population gave as a result the appearance of violence during the migration process and served for the violation of the rights of this minority in Greece. Denunciation of Albanians Cham and the commitment of a young state like Albania to protect its minority in Greece and this wave of eviction are stopped exchanges according to the treaty. Other parties in this process as the representatives of the mix Commission accepted and confirmed that there were mandatory exchanges of the Albanian Cham Muslims during the years 1923-1924, when the Greek government acts without any control. When the Albanian government demanded that the entire Albanian national minority in Greece to protect also, the General Secretary League of Nations, said that the mix Commission would be limited only with the non- revilement obligation to the Albanian Cham muslim population. Such an attitude left again at the mercy of the Greek a population which not enjoys any right. So Albanian Chams continued to be abused, expelled and excluded

from any participation or representation in the organs of the Greek state. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 gave occasion to Athens ruling circles to expel with violence from their ancestral lands the Albanians Cham. The subsequent years achieved only the changes of tactics, strategy to eradicate Albanian Cham population it remains, strategy which was conducted by General Zervas with fire and iron in 1944.

The case of the Albanians Cham and their property rights are still an issue that provokes tension between Greece and Albania. Engagement in political life of the Albanians Cham in Albania is bringing innovation to solve this problem.

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