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## **Rethinking Serbian-Albanian Relations**

Identifying and explaining common views, ideas and traditions, this volume challenges the concept of Serbian-Albanian hostility by reinvestigating recent and historical events in the region. The contributors put forward critically oriented initiatives and alternatives to shed light on a range of relations and perspectives.

The central aim of the book is to "figure out" the problematic relations between Serbs and Albanians – that is, to comprehend its origins and the actors involved and to find ways to resolve and deal with this enmity. Treating the hostility as a construct of a long-running discourse about the Serbian or Albanian "Other", scholars and intellectuals from Serbia, Kosovo and Albania examine the origins, channels, agents and mediums of this discourse from the 18th century to the present. Tracing the roots of the two ethnic groups' political divisions, contemporary practices and actions allows the contributors to reconsider mutually held negative perceptions and identify elements of a common, shared history. Examples of past and current cooperation are used to offer a critical analysis of all three societies.

This interdisciplinary publication brings together historiographical, literary, sociological, political, anthropological and philosophical analyses and enquiries and will be of interest to researchers in the fields of sociology, politics, cultural studies, history or anthropology; and to academics working in Slavonic and East European studies.

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# **Rethinking Serbian-Albanian Relations**

Figuring Out the Enemy

Edited by Aleksandar Pavlović, Gazela Pudar Draško and Rigels Halili

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## 3 "Reconquista of Old Serbia" On the continuity of territorial and demographic policy in Kosovo

Vladan Jovanović

The idea of *soil* as the definitive indicator of a community is a part of the "organic political order" and concept of the so-called *national state* that Serbia cultivated ever since acquiring the first signs of its own statehood.<sup>1</sup> As the source of the "founding myth" of the Serbian state, Kosovo is the central toponym both in myths of indigenousness and "the spiritual space of the nation",<sup>2</sup> in which traces of national history and culture decisively determine the ownership of territory, regardless of its actual political status or demographic makeup. Owing to its unusually strong symbolic potential, Kosovo was rightly marked as a "metaphysical space", in which the self-victimization has become the "mooring point" of identity.<sup>3</sup>

In order to present the way in which the state policy of Serbia and Yugoslavia corresponded with the "metaphysical" nature of Kosovo spatiality, this chapter focuses on a set of "physical", that is, administrative-territorial and demographic measures applied in Kosovo from 1912 until the mid-1950s. This chapter goes through several chronological units in following three parallel processes of "de-Ottomanization" that include attempts of territorial recomposition and demographic leveling of the space (by means of colonization and emigration) under several different states, political and ideological systems. Considering that my previous historical research<sup>4</sup> of Serbian and Yugoslav demographic policies in Kosovo has shown a certain overlapping and continuity, this time I would also like to look at the pre-history of the problem, in order to provide a broader chronological framework of my previous findings.

The terminological designation of the "new regions" annexed to Serbia and Montenegro in 1912 was nothing but the rearranging of geographic borders of a space known in the literature of the time as *Old Serbia*. This term entered wider use in the 1830s, in order to obtain a specific name for a "classical" Serbian region that remained outside the borders of the autonomous Serbian Principality. After the Serbian-Ottoman wars of 1876–78, various authors used to equate the term *Old Serbia* with the Kosovo *vilayet*. On the eve of the Balkan wars, the Serbian historian and politician, Ljubomir Jovanović wrote about a kind of Serbian

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