

DRITAN MURRJA

Subject: Movement of 1922 and March of government efforts stabilization and consolidation of the state.

Movement of March, before the historiography of the 90s, was treated, and a larger study is published in the journal "Historical Studies" in 1976. Through facts and a new perspective away prejudices and biases aim to reflect the causes that led to the initiation, development of this movement, and to appreciate the role of protagonists for stabilization and continuity of government.

Social-political premise movement should seek to March 1922 from December 1921, when, as a result of the political struggle between different social groups of political combinations, political changes¹. The crisis of December 1921, the movement took shape in March that starts with unbundling "Holy Union" and overthrow the government of Pandeli Evanghelie December 6 1921.²

Qazim Koculi Cabinet, which replaced that of P. Evanghelie, stayed only for a few hours and was followed by Hasan Prishtina government. The latter came into force on 8 to 11 December 1921 of the decisions that took Ahmet Zogu declared the dismissal of the commander of the forces that drove one side of military operations in the north.³ A.Zogut task that was assigned by the government of P. Evanghelie, as commander of forces in the north along Bajram Curri to avoid Serbian risk. Appointment of Bajram Curri biased as commander of troops in the north led to discontent and disobedience popular group of Ahmet Zogu to submit the task. Aggravation of relations between Zogu and Hasan Prishtina has its roots opposition brought a cargo of arms from Italy to be unloaded at the port of Durres with Kosovo destination⁴ as a result of an agreement between D'anuzios and Kosovo irredentist. It must be said that Zogu led the opposition to the government's burden. Here begins and animosities between Kosovo irredentist Zogu on one side and his supporters on the other. These require grouping of Kosovo to give it up because it was causing damage and prevent the consolidation of Kosovo Albanian state. Zogu removal of protest and rebellion prompted deputies to the National Concourse. After leaving in Elbasan where do they support Shefqet Vërlaci (law of Ahmet Zogu) and is called Zogu, together with the forces that control the north, back to Tirana.⁵ The situation began to increasingly more complicated, after 14 December 1921⁶ in Tirana when troops headed down the north Ahmet Zogu who subjugate the Gendarmerie General Command,

¹Hysen Kordha, "March movement", Historic studies, Tiranë: 1976, nr.4, pg.129.

²History of Albanian. vëll.3(Independent period), Toena,Tirane:2007, pg.180.

³ "Bajram Curri"(documents), Tirane: Institut of history, 1982, pg.82.

⁴ Sejfi Vllamasi "Ballafaqime politike ne Shqiperi" (1897-1942), Neraida, Tirane, 2000, pg.222.

⁵ AQSH, F.822, V.1921, D.17, fl.95

⁶ AQSH, F.822, V.1921, D.17, fl.95

and his men patrol the entrance and exit anywhere in the city⁷. In terms of such an atmosphere, at the insistence of Ahmet Zogu, on December 22, 1921 Parliament meets. This meeting focused on two acts. The first act, where the speaker of parliament, contrary to the rules, MPs demanded the overthrow of the Drin,⁸ which was not within the competence of Parliament. Luigj Gurakuqi in his speech at the session expressed and is critical "... my first duty of those who claim themselves representatives of the people, members of legislative power, bone and raised to respect the law itself."⁹ And others say MPs vote to terminate the mandate of a group of their colleagues was more than a political stance, as carried offense. This created further conviction that this group had come out against targets Zogu. As a pretext for removing the mandate deputies served Drin land release this prefecture by Serbian troops. After much debate the pros and cons of Deputies Drin question was put to a vote in parliament and resulted in 40 votes for and 5 votes against¹⁰ withdrawing the mandate and then the announcement of new elections in the prefecture.

In the second act, parliament rejected two members of the High Council: Aqif Biçaku (Elbasan) and Monsignor Luigj Bumci,¹¹ who were known as political rivals and personal enemies Shevqet Vërlaci. Former MPs opposed to the government of Idhomene Kosturi with a letter protesting the injustices that were done.¹² On the other hand these deputies approached the nobles of the country to resolve the situation, even by force. This was a kind of mentality where the time went right out there was power. 21:12 In a letter dated 1921 that sent Hasan Prishtina, Kadri Hoxha, Ramiz Daci etc., Elez Isufit informed about the situation that happened in parliament.¹³ They had noted the Ahmet Zogu dictatorial intentions, who had decided to form a government with its supporters in parliament and outside it. The letter stated that Parliament had to make hasty decisions, among other things, "fearing true from the support of several Ahmet Zogu army and forces brought about by Mat".¹⁴ Besides those decisions parliament formed on December 24, 1921 the government led by Xhafer Ypi and important post of Interior Minister Ahmet Zogu took. It seemed a move thought tactically by not rushing to declare himself prime minister. In its¹⁵ composition beys dominated elements landowners, who gave the tone of political life. Opposite them were placed all those

⁷"Bajram Curri", (trajtes...),cit. fq.96.

⁸ Talks National Council, 1921, pg .27. Drin deputies were Hoxha Kadri, Hasan Prishtina, Ramiz Daci, Ohrid Irfan Gani Strazimiri, Iliaz VRIONI, Avni Gjilan, Selaudin Shkoza, Floqi Christo Christo Dako (Dibra Kosovo) representatives of progressive forces tough opponents Ahmet Zog.

⁹ Piro Tako, "Luigj Gurakuqi life and work", Tiranë: 8-Nentori, 1980, fq.291.

¹⁰ AQSH, F.149, V.1921, D.1884, fl.5-6.

¹¹ AQSH, F.822, V.1921, D.17, fl.106.

¹² AQSH, F.149, V. 1921, D.1-232, fl.2-3.

¹³ Hasan Prishtina (Document Summary, 1908-1934), Tirana, November 8, 1983, fq.121-122.

¹⁴ Po aty, fq.122

¹⁵ National Council talks, December 24 1921.fq.642. Xh.Ypi Prime Minister, H.Vrioni-Mi Justice F.Noli- Foreign Mi, Mi-A.Zogu Interior, Finance K.Thaci-Mi, S.Koleka-M The P. Public-R.Mitrovica M. of Education, L.Tatzati-M.i War.

political forces and individuals, who fell on the decisions of Parliament. Among them were Aqif Pasha Luigj Bumci etc.¹⁶ and their followers. In this group, the former MPs lined Drin: Kadri Hoxha, Hasan Prishtina, Ramiz Daci etc.. the shifting political and institutional life, and representatives outside the parliament Bajram Curri, Avni Rustemi, Elez Isufi etc .

Oppositional stance towards the government took, for reasons careerist ambitions and rivalries, the faction composed by Hamid Toptani proitalian Myfit LIBOHOVA, Mustafa Kruja etc.,¹⁷ Durres and deputies who were under the influence of Hamid Toptani. etc.. Thus begins to create a new political alliance, which was quite heterogeneous in the social views and political orientations.

These groups watchword of the movement, made of meetings of the Constituent Assembly.¹⁸ For this reason, in early 1922, the idea of collecting the Constituent Assembly took massive character.¹⁹ The final solution was the government needs time, as stated in parliament Hile Mosi "Albania can not stand in the way, that neither republic or monarchy, and that is the desire of every patriot to our state to take a definite shape."²⁰ The request for the meeting of the Assembly was taking more and more big. Prefecture of Shkodra, Kosova, Dibra, Kavaja, Kruja, Peqini, Shijakut up in Tosk, were expressed to the Constituent Assembly meeting.²¹ On January 10, 1922, Members of Parliament, among them Luigj Gurakuqi also thought a letter addressed to Bajram Curri, which inform about the events of December 1921 and sought help to overthrow the government.²² For the opponents of the government, Bajram Curri and Elez Isufi were the only hope for the realization of their plans because of support in their respective areas. Cooperation between them had begun and an agreement was materialized in a village in Kukes, where representatives of Dibra, directed by Elez Isufi, met with Bajram Curri and made a covenant.²³

Bajram Curri had managed to assemble a force of 300 people from the Krasniqes provinces and Nikaj-Merturi²⁴ in order to oppose the government. Government on its part, in its meeting on February 27, 1922, decided to organize a military operation against the Highlanders commanded by Bajram Curri,²⁵ and degrades with Captain Colonel Zija B.Curri Diber Sali Ohrid.²⁶ Removal of the foregoing were among the measures the government had taken against the organizers were preparing to move.

¹⁶ Hysen Kordha, "March Movement ... cit., Fq131.

¹⁷ Yes there p.131.

¹⁸ The newspaper "Shqiperi e re" April 2, 1922, p.1.

¹⁹ National Council talks, V. 1922 fq.69.

²⁰ Yes there p. 213.

²¹ AQSH, F.158, V.1922, D.92, fl.2.

²² Sejfi Vllamasi "political confrontation in Albania 1897-1942", Tirana: Marin Barleti, 1995, fq.281.

²³ AQSH, F.158, V.1922, D.15, fl.1

²⁴ AQSH, F. 158, V.1922, D.14, fl.27.

²⁵ AQSH, F. 149, V. 1922, D. I-409, fl.1

²⁶ SCA, F. 152, V. 1922, D.151, fl.210, and to: Circular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, V. 1922, p. 202-203

The uprising launched on 1 March 1922. This news conveyed its leader of Puka to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.²⁷ After arriving in Puka, Bajram Curri with his forces, gets the answer to the letter sent earlier nobles Shkodra. He was invited to join his movement to the Constituent Assembly meeting,²⁸ even by force. The chiefs of Shkodra reply in the negative way. They left no shred of hope for support, but rather as stated in the answer of paper, would react harshly.²⁹ The History of Albania Bajram Curri said: "after being cut from the beginning the road to Tirana, withdrew from the movement."³⁰

He is careful and good response nobles weighs Shkodra and avoids a possible bleeding. Here end the efforts of Bajram Curri in this movement. Even rebel forces led by Halit Leshi failed to advance to Elbasan after being confronted with the harshness of the government forces led by Shefqet Korca.

In this way, the only armed action remains Elez Isufit and other leaders Isuf Xhelili, Ramiz Daci, Ibrahim Gjoci etc.. The government made every effort to prevent forces E.Isufi led to continue the march towards Tirana. On 2 March 1922 the government ordered the Drin prefecture declared that "... those who went after Elez Isufit etc., If not return for three days, will be burned homes will confiscate wealth".³¹ But even these measures are not convinced these forces to withdraw from adventures they had taken. On March 8 Kruja leader government announced that a force of 300 members under the leadership of Mustafa Kruja, Abbas Kupa Elez Isufit down in Tirana.³²

Tirana way to rebel forces encountered resistance governmental bodies, which located in Valias thought to deter the most recently turned their march. During the collision, the rifles before, killed Major Meleq Frashëri (Gendarmerie General Commander) and some gendarmes were injured.³³ The moral of this power was broken and dispersed. Cabinet headed by Xhafer Ypi to escape danger, settled Elbasan. Just Ahmet Zogu and barriers stayed with his people in the government.³⁴ Spiro Koleka stayed with minister of public works. A. Zogu took to organize resistance to protect the city. He takes upon himself the burden is too great to risk capital protection, but that would be decisive in his career faster. Stopping the fighting (which was awaiting E.Isufi other forces agreement with B.Curri) enabled Ahmet Zogu who 9.III. 1922 to organize a meeting in Tirana Municipality³⁵ attended by several representatives of the nobles of the city. The meeting appointed a delegation to negotiate with the leaders of the movement,

²⁷ Yes there fl.31.

²⁸ Sejfi Vllamasi "confrontation ..." Acts. mentions. P.282

²⁹ Circular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, v.1922, fq.202.

³⁰ History of the People Acts. mentioned. Fq.184.

³¹ AQSH, F. 152, V. 1922, D. 12, fl. 1

³² Gas. "New Albania", April 2, 1922, p.1

³³ SCA, F. 158 V. 1922 D. 23, fl.2

³⁴ Eqerem Bey Vlora, vëll.II Memoirs, 1912-1925, Tirana, 2001, p. 186

³⁵ Qazim Xhelili, "Vehbi Debar, and prominent personalities of the national movement," Albin, Tirana, 1998, fq.180.

which was uploaded to Vehbi Agolli (Diber) topped together with two representatives from the city's nobles Sali Myderizi and Xhemal Pazari.³⁶

To resolve the situation were also invited a representative of the UK Harry Eyra. Who was willing. He saw the victory of anti-government forces to strengthen the influence of Rome at the expense of London. The gauge is because of pro Italian orientation of a part of the insurgents, whose victory would come into question concession agreements Anglo-Persian society associated with the government for the use of kerosene.³⁷ On the other hand, the move was viewed with a critical eye as violence aimed at overthrowing the government.

Including British representative and delegation headed by V. Dibra led to the withdrawal of Elez Isufit and favored government plans to suppress the movement. Already government troops against insurgents was devoted entirely to Central.

After taking the city of Durres by the insurgents, was drafted plans to march towards Tirana. Created a general command at the top of which it was decided that Leonidha Koja also perform the functions of commander in chief, the president of the provisional committee and deputy leader of Durres. But Kaplan Deliallisi settled a commander of troops will march towards Tirana, Hysen Myshqeta, commander of the troops to come to Tirana from Kavaja.³⁸

Their march was stopped by government troops, which, after reorganization 13.III.1922. evening watching 14.III.1922, began operation. In charge of the operation itself was decided Ahmet Zogu. Struggling between rebels and government forces took place in the province Yrshek and Kashar.³⁹

As a result of the victory of government forces as the main leaders of the movement do Hamit Toptani Myshqeta Hysni Mustafa Kruja etc., Moving left and fled to Italy.⁴⁰

In those conditions remain leaderless rebels retreated and March 14 government troops entered in Durres. His fall marks the end of March movement.

After these events and successes reaped Zogu, won a great prestige. His authority grew, and he undertook a purge of the administration and penalties that led to the establishment of law and order. It must be said that these measures were a necessary evil in this difficult situation the country was passing.

Although the government was discredited, Zogu returned Xhafer Ypi in the government to give the idea of the continuity of government and the precedent of not allowing its violent

³⁶ AQSH, F. 158, V. 1922, D. 22, fl. 30.

³⁷ Stories of people ... mentioned work, p. 185.

³⁹ AQSH, F. 158, V.1922, D. 23, fl.3

⁴⁰ National defense, Vlora: 14 kallnuer 1922, No. 12, pp. 2.

overthrow. In fact, this was a very positive message to cut way mentality created, but it was just a tactical game, after a few months it in December 1922 would be elected prime minister.

Ministry of Interior along with punitive measures are not neglected the problem of disarming the population. In all regions of the disarmament process starts as one of the most troubling issues for the government. Collected a total of 33 049 guns⁴¹ by government forces.

This is a serious effort by state agencies to strengthen the authority of the law. In this context, the abuses were under the guise of establishing order and law enforcement against the innocent population. Facts for severe measures against the population, which clashed with law enforcement, come from the National Council talks that began work in September 1922, although the date had to be collected was 1 May 1922.

In the debates that take place in that session, Gurakuqi the first word of the deputies and cabinet harshly criticizes Ypi - Zogu. I deeply affected by the events that followed the March, says the pain: "misery and destruction, which were recently sown in the mountains and in the plains of Albania, they remind us that we had happened foreign invasions" ⁴².

In addition to criticizing the government, Gurakuqi also suggests "... I am not of those who seek to stop the government's hand to not use severity, when needed. Severity of all reasonable figure and approve its use in abnormal times, but also want to be legal rigor. Perhaps the central government may not have given explicit orders that will take place with all its evil and abuse, which are made against people miserable. But the government still can not get rid of the responsibility " ⁴³

This relaxed attitude of Gurakuqi shows that he was a fine connoisseur of the Albanian legislation not only time, but also a patriot who did not want his country into anarchy.

Criticism of the government runs the former Prime Minister Sulejman Delvina. About selective enforcement of the law. "I want to say that Interior Minister Halit Leshi praying who came to power with a Elbasan, praying Elez Isufi who fought 20 hours in the capital, praying Mourning Dibra, who was leader of the Elez Isufit the subject property burned these houses that were forced by these means mentioned above. The government does not use fist Nomi (law) to all equally, but where I like it." ⁴⁴

Critical of the government operations held in parliament Fan Noli "neck took hundreds of innocent people and the alienated people of Central without hope for reconciliation who knows how many years." ⁴⁵

⁴¹ AQSH, F. 441, V.1922, D. 589, fl.10.

⁴² Official Gazette, no. 44, Tirana, October 7, 1922, p. 1

⁴³ Official Journal mentions ... work., P. 3

⁴⁴ Official Gazette, no. 46, Tirana, October 12, 1922, p. 2.

⁴⁵ National Council talks, V. 1922, p. 146.

No doubt the consequences of violence erupted on people worsened his condition. This action increased the hatred of the government beys-manorial, transforming it into a support base for the future development of progressive elements of anti-feudal democratic movement.

On December 16, 1922 except bird post as interior minister will add it to the Prime Minister. Despite the cost, he managed to establish some stability in the country. In his first speech to parliament, prime bird declared intention to implement the "European program", which will be based on four basic principles: parliamentary, democracy, fight against feudalism and the implementation of agrarian reform. In fact, liberal-democratic ideas, famously declared Zogu, not without the influence of opposition, many members of which had been his former associates, found not implemented by the government.⁴⁶

This is also because of the difficult situation that the country was going through transition. Should be put in place state authority, respecting the provisions in force arising from Lushnjes Extended status.

In March Movement attended the Albanian national figures like Bajram Curri, Elez Isufi, Hasan Prishtina, etc.. Their participation in its infancy brought confusion among its forces. For the sake of fairness it must be said that their goals and demands for democratization of the country life itself conflicted with their terms of domestic resources for their implementation, as was the demand for the Constituent Assembly meeting.

During March Movement, its development and especially in taking measures to stabilize the situation attracted the attention A. Zogu as a figure who would become one of the main protagonists of political life in Albania in the '20s-30s century XX even though his company had excess think that especially in punishing participants.

In conclusion, this move despite the intentions of the participating groups, by the way ran, she got size, time frame when it ran in the background (lack of stability in the country, aims to carve neighboring chauvinist circles Albania, the struggle for the realization of the aspirations of the Congress of Lushnjes, construction and operation of democratic institutions, etc..) appears as a movement that should have been avoided. In this context, based on documents take a stand and appreciate every occurrence in favor of this idea.

⁴⁶ Nina Smirnova, History ... deed mentions., Fq.116.