

# The cryptoelits and the demonstrations of 1981

Sadri Ramabaja

Dr. Sc. Sadri RAMABAJA

## Abstract

The two decades of confrontation by the generation of the Republic with the Serbian state terror and other two in liberty, in the face-off with modern fascists, prove the political power and justice, not only of that generation, but of the very idea of a democratic Republic and in the service of the ideal for unification.

The vertical stand of the ideologies of this generation and later also of the descendants of the same ideal, such as: Hydajet Hyseni, Ukshin Hoti, Ibrahim Kelmendi, Bajram Kosumi, Fadil Vata, Afrim Zhitia, Behadin Hallaqi, Sabri Kicmari, Albin Kurti ... is the strongest guarantee for the liberation of the Republic even from "our" modern fascists. Meanwhile, the use of the Republic, as an intermediate station towards the unification, which I see in the form of a federal state - as Federal Albania, remains a success strategy in action.

**Keywords:** The demonstrations of 1981, the anti-colonial revolution, progressive nationalism, the Republic, cryptoelite.

## 1. Introduction

This political essay is a product of an approach with the character and purpose of a multi-disciplinary study, modeled and elaborated in itself for many years, which incorporates a

part of my ideas on extraordinary social phenomena, such as the Spring Demonstrations of 1981. In this jubilee eve - in the fortieth anniversary of the demonstrations, this essay is coming as the conclusion of my political opinion, with the real possibility to be characterized as a provocation of its kind, but which aims to entice the missing scientific debate.

During the study of this era, it would be prudent that along with the real circumstances and causes that influenced the outbreak of the delayed Anti-Colonial Revolution (1981-1989)', an important place to devote to the ideals embraced by our student youth of that generation and political values, such as progressive nationalism, social justice, etc., which later proved to be the leaders of the ideals for building a modern state.

Historians, of course, further, perhaps appropriately, will continue to insist that in the service of the search for historical truth, and will be generally based on archival data, on documents, factual and provable data.

## **2. The demonstrations of 1981 - a marker of a new era**

To shed light on the causes that influenced the outbreak of the US Civil War (1860-1862) historians do not hesitate to return to that age. And, despite their stance and alignment behind one of the three thesis already established for this war, they all, however, agree that the Civil War in American history, "is usually called the line that violently separated the agrarian era from the industrial one" (Barrington Moore, Jr, the social origins of dictatorship and democracy, Tirana 2017, p 154).

Why do we still need today, to return from time to time to 1981, to the demonstrations for a Republic, but also to the political degradation that Kosovo suffered in the last two decades of the 20th century?

If this happens occasionally or quite casually, in the near future, I am inclined to believe that researchers' will return to that age with scientific seriousness it deserves. Our historiography, our political opinion, the last two decades of the 20th century: the first: 1981-1989 and what I will describe as the decade of Serbian apartheid in Kosovo - 1989-1999, must remove the veil of mysticism, extremely amateur and folkloric treatment, subjecting it to the methods of research and in-depth scientific study.

The thesis introduced by Ukshin Hoti, Arbër Xhaferi, Hydajet Hyseni, Bajram Kosumi, etc. we're not followed by multidisciplinary studies, with the presentation of factual documents relevant to science and consistent conclusions. See for this, not coincidentally, on jubilee anniversary, from

nostalgic Titoist circles, thesis are published and republished on the allegations that the KGB and UDB are behind the demonstrations of the spring of 1981. In almost every anniversary they devilishly republish statements and interviews of former UDB collaborators that penetrating the illegal movement (Azem Vllasi, *Kosovo: The beginning that cannot be forgotten*, Koha, Pristina 2017, p. 272).

The demonstrations of 1981 proved that the so-called autonomous (institutional) political elite of Kosovo, even if there were moments (a part of it), when there was a voice of the national interest (during the period when the public discussion on the constitution was taking place on the eve of the 1968 demonstrations), it was rapidly repulsed and turned into a vassal class, the silent puppets of Belgrade, silently serving Serbian colonial interests. This class of people had never managed to understand that the 1981 demonstrations marked the division of the eras.

## **2.1 Prologue to the demonstrations of 1981**

The demonstrations of 1968 however were preceded by a number of actions from organizations that our cryptoelite had already created. Let us recall some of them who had a longer life and influence.

1. In 1958, Metush Krasniqi had founded the organization Revolutionary Party for the Unification of Albanian Lands with the mother land.
2. In 1960, Kadri Halimi, Ali Aliu and Ramadan Hoxha founded the organization Revolutionary Committee for Unification of Albanian territories in Yugoslavia with Albania.
3. One year later, in June 1963, Adem Demaçi, Skender Kastrati and other activists from all parts of Kosovo, founded the illegal organization Revolutionary Movement for the Unification of Albanians.

The programs of all these organizations emphasized their revolutionary character and ideas for national unity.

Unlike the organization and defense of the cause of the 1968 demonstrations, which had a kind of meeting point with the so-called institutional elite, those of 1981, rather than embrace this elite with our cryptoelite as the organizer of the demonstrations, they would widen the division even worse than it was!

In 1968 there was an agreement between the cryptoelite and the institutionalist's to claim the status of the Republic. It was the illegal organizations that organized the nationwide demonstrations everywhere

where Albanians lived, so not only in Kosovo, but also in Tetove, Presheva, Ulqin etc. How did this approximation happen? Scholars have not yet provided adequate and convincing answers. But the fact that there was some kind of an arrangement is not denied by anyone.

At the meeting held on 16 March 1968, the chairman of the Commission for the Status of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija (this was the official name of Kosovo at that time), a well-known political scientist, Professor Gazmend Zajmi, had introduced the thesis of internal self-determination and a special federal unit of Kosovo. This thesis would then be clarified at the meeting of this Commission on 28 April of the same year, when the review regarding the proposals for the status of Kosovo began. (...) Later, among the most persistent institutionalist's who in 1968 openly demanded the creation of the Republic of Kosovo were the Provincial Prosecutor of Kosovo, Rrezak Shala and the President of the Supreme Court of Kosovo, Ramadan Vraniqi. But, as the publicist Qani Mehmeti states in one of his studies, "those who inspired the issue of the creation of the Republic of Kosovo on a larger scale were its most renowned intellectuals, such as: Gazmend Zajmi, Ali Hadri, Fehmi Agani, Dervish Rozhaja, Bardhyl Çausi, Hasan Mekuli and several others, a number of whom at that time were also part of the legal governing or party structures of Kosovo" (Qani Mehmedi, *State Formation of Kosovo*, Prishtina 2011, p. 19).

Unfortunately, this coordination, even if tacit, between the institutionalist's and the cryptoelite that took place on the eve of the 1968 demonstrations, will not continue on the eve of those of 1981. The consequences were, see for this, even more serious, as time proved, for both parties.

## **2.2 How did Serbia build the structure of its colonial power?**

Serbia, similar to other colonial powers of the time between the two world wars, with the conquest of Kosovo through the two gates - in Merdar and the other in Kumanovo, in October 1912, had begun the process of building a new structure of colonial power and network of vassals who will be completely subject to that power. With the installation of military and administrative power, Serbia will find this structure somewhat ready, in that class of population that had served the Ottoman Empire for centuries and had not taken the path toward Anatolia together with the Ottoman army and administration. These (feudal) structures were strongly connected with the clergy, so Belgrade, in order to build and apply its

colonial and denationalizing policies at the same time, closed the few secular schools that existed, some of them in the Albanian language, and continued to open mosques, culminating this anti-Albanian policy with the opening of the grand Madrasa in Skopje, which ironically, would dub it with the name of "King Alexander" (1924), somewhat similar to that of Sultan Hamiti in Pristina, which bears the same name to this day! Meanwhile, the managing staff and the largest number of lecturers for this madrasa would be brought from Bosnia, who were de facto senior officers of the Serbian secret service (See more extensively: Dietmar Mueller, Staatsbürger auf Wideruf, Wiesbaden 2015, p.431-432).

The existing cryptoelite of the time was familiar with this Serbian strategy, so it was working on drafting a strategy for long-term response in times of "imposed peace", not ruling out that at any moment could organize an anti-colonial uprising.

The demonstrations of 1981 proved that in the meantime, the Albanian cryptoelite was already capable of taking action and from now on it will be the bearer of the fight for freedom. Kosovo was a firm stand of the cryptoelits should not and would not be allowed to be further treated as "part of the third world" - the colony of Serbia.

### **2.3 The Third World and the Segmentation of Society**

The notion of the "Third World" was first posted in France, in the 50s of the 20th century, while in the 70s, it would find wide application in public-political life at the European level. The notion "Third World" together with the time context, when it was being applied, was not of a scientific and analytical nature, but simply had to do with the political-ideological one. This division segmented the existing state systems into three groups, taking into account their socio-economic development, the ideological basis of their socio-political system as well as the organizational structure and political interaction of the institutions.

In the first world, according to this concept, were countries of the West: Western America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia (OECD world). They were distinguished for the high level of industrial and service development, for the functioning systems of large-scale social security and welfare.

Their ideological basis was the values of democratic liberalization; meanwhile, in the economic realm, the values that guaranteed the

development and prosperity of the market economy, respectively of regulatory based capitalism with definitions of state intervention.

In the face of the Western world, it was the so-called "second world", which can be described as neither a single political bloc nor a single non-capitalist economic area - which included the countries of Central and Eastern Europe together with the USSR.

All these countries were distinguished for the pronounced structure of agrarian and industrial development, but with a low level of consumption. In the economic and social spheres, these countries were organized on the basis of socialism and state monopoly, while as the so-called "People's Democracy" of this area, the interests of the state and the "working class" were represented by the communist parties.

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was formally part of this group of states, and in real time (right after WWII - 1948), was transformed into an experimental laboratory for testing social phenomena and successful instrument in the cold War of West to the East.

The "third world" included the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and Oceania. Their economy was characterized by significant stagnation and deep sectoral inequality and low productivity up to social misery.

Ideologically, these countries were a significant mixture between traditional ideas that were characteristic for rural and modern societies with grades of authoritarian democracies with a pronounced political order, which had elements of despotism, hybrid economy and state/party (monist).

Kosovo before the spring of 1981 was de facto a "third world" within the Yugoslav Federation.

The most typical representative of the "Third World" in the entire anti-colonial movement of the '50s and '60s of the 20th century would be the African-American philosopher and writer Frantz Fanon, author of the very popular book of the time, with the significant title "The wretched of the world" (also published in Albanian in 1984).

This was the era when in the political and scientific discourse the thesis on moral responsibility and on the guilt of the colonial powers for the economic backwardness of the third world was active (See: GALTUNG, 1972; BROCK, 1992).

This era also marks the high degree of expansion of the third wave of democratization on the global plane, starting in the agony of the seventh

decade, when military dictatorships fall in southern Europe (Greece, Spain and Portugal) and extends to the peak after the fall of the Berlin Wall, when the so-called societies of "people's democracies" in Central and Eastern and Southeastern Europe were collapsing.

In this period, our cryptoelite through clandestine press (*Zëri i Kosovës*, *Liria*, *Lajmtari i lirisë*, *Bashkimi...*) had become part of this political discourse.

Even the public discussions on the status of Kosovo that were taking place everywhere in Kosovo in the Municipal Assemblies, on the verge of the adoption of the 1974 constitution, were influenced by this political discourse already created at the European level.

### **3. Empirical indicators - the most realistic picture of Kosovo's colonial position**

All basic indicators for assessing the standard of living in Kosovo in the period 1912-1981 give an overview of a typical colonial country.

A realistic picture of real economic indicators, which would be a product of the basic components, clearly proves the colonial position that Kosovo had. The data in these areas that were made public by our cryptoelite in the illegal press (especially in *Liria*, *Bashkimi* and the *Lajmtari i Lirisë*), were nevertheless significant for the colonial position where the SFRY was keeping the province of Kosovo.

Official statistical data on indicators and specific components for the period 1971-1981, in this case, go in favor of the thesis strongly defended by our cryptoelite, that it is precisely the internal economic and political factors, the colonial position where Belgrade has ruined Kosovo.

Table below (no. 1) reflects the challenges with long-term effects.

**Table no. 1.** The challenges of colonial policies

<b>Humanitarian/social and political</b>	<b>Economic</b>	<b>Ecological</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hunger, population with poor nutritional quality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small capacities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Natural, such as: climate, lack of water (water supply)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Absolute poverty</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Competitive disabilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Separation of environment conditioned by poverty</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poor education/retraining</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deficiencies in retraining and technological knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Destruction of the environment through industry and colonial exploitation of raw materials</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poor medical care</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of capital; many debts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gas emissions, erosion</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the field of freedom and human rights.</li> <li>• Participation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In structuring foreign trade</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overcrowding</li> <li>• Population density</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unemployment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unemployment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overcrowding of cities; emptying of villages</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emigration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exogene: dependence on the consequences of pronounced colonial exploitation; unfair division of labor and exchange</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wild exploitation of natural resources</li> </ul>

The consequences of these confrontations with the colonial policies of Belgrade, if we analyze these challenges with which Kosovo was facing for decades, reflect even today, two decades after Kosovo is liberated.

#### 4. Logical deception of collaborators

A neighborhood of collaborators, unfortunately active in the political and public scene even today, constantly, in the face of the 1981 Demonstrations, in their public communication, whether in memoirs, whether in visual or written media, expressions of opinions on anniversaries, have applied and are applying the so-called POST HOC ERGO PROTER HOC (Logical Fraud), by pointing the finger of blame for the miserable situation of Kosovo for years towards the insurgency. They write and piffle, continually, even in front of the cameras for the responsibility that the insurgency has for its degradation of semi-autonomy that the constitution of 1974 "guaranteed" to us!

This neighborhood of illusionists and deceivers (self-deceivingly) do not take into account at all the premise that Kosovo was occupied and consequently held captive, contrary to the political will of the Albanian people. This neighborhood of illusionists and self-deceivers, not infrequently as an era of occupation or captivity, in the public discourse point out only the decade of apartheid (1989-1999)! They "still think that the lion would not wake up if not poked", thus indicating more clearly the logical deceit that they had and continue to feed upon it even today.

The principle on which the logical Deception is built has to do with the assertion that, since event Y followed event X, event Y may have been caused by event X.

The logical deception, as it is seen, is the product of conclusions based on the course of events, regardless of the factors that may have led to this relationship.

23 March 1989 and the abolition of the already formal autonomy, is not a result of the organization of the demonstrations of 1981 by the insurgency, in which case the central demand was for the advancement of the status of autonomy into a Republic (realization of internal self-determination), but since the Anticolonial Revolution was not supported by the autonomists', the legal political class, since it had derailed, contenting itself with the battles, respectively the position for the defense of autonomy! In this battle, as it is already known, the miners of Trepça were manipulated, who expressed their commitment for self-sacrifice in defense of Kosovo, while the nationwide demonstrations of March 1989, instead of leading the Anti-Colonial Revolution of 1981 one step further with their political demands,

what actually happened using Yugoslav iconography (Yugoslav flags and photo of despot Tito on the forefront), reversed two steps back!

In England, in France and elsewhere, the results of the revolutions and social confrontations of 18 and 19 century and the civil war in the United States, were of a political nature. Such turn out to be the results of the demonstrations of 1981 in Kosovo, despite the ups and downs, losses and victories during all the political battles that followed for the next two decades and the KLA was established on that foundation. Meanwhile, it will be the KLA war, which will impose geopolitical realignment of Albanian societies and the end of possible experiments with the so-called Russian style "Autonomous Republics".

### **5. Camouflage of colonial power**

Even before the Serbian occupation (1912), Kosovo was under Ottoman occupation, it was transformed into a type of Citadel of the order of "Hanafi Islam", while after 1919, it ended up in a Citadel of the Serbian Church. As such, for the state, for the elites in power and the Church, in the period between the two world wars it became an extraordinary colonial source, respectively a kind of Citadel of agrarian oligocrats, while after the Second World War also as a source of mining industry. The use of these assets will serve Serbia as the main source of filling the state coffers.

If Ireland in the 19th century was transformed in "its biggest moral force" for England (K.Marx & F. Engels, *On the Irish issue*", Tirana 1980, p.168) (See the K. Marx's letter sent to Y. Myers and A. Fogt).), Kosovo of the 20th century was such for Serbia. From this point of view, the history of Serbian colonialism (of Kosovo) results same as the English one in Asia, Africa, America and elsewhere; just like the history of French colonialism everywhere in Africa and elsewhere, etc., as political and chaotic history.

In Kosovo, the years after the Brioni Plenum (1966), when with the direct intervention of the USA, would eliminate the radical current led by the Vice President of the Yugoslav Federation, Aleksandar Rankovic, known for his anti-Albanianism, who was leading Yugoslavia towards a return to the full sphere of Russian interest (See the U.S. Intelligence Service document - CIA: <https://perpjekjashqiptare.com/plenumi-i-brioneve-ne-fokus-te-sherbimit-inteligenca-amerikane-cia/>), followed a more relaxed and more liberal period, from the distant past of today, that could be described as the Age of camouflaged colonial power.

Under the pressure of the political spirit of anti-colonialism that had erupted across Europe and the world, the constitutional changes of 1974 and the advancement of autonomy (from the formal one that was in accordance with the constitution of 1963) even in its content it is observed even in the economic and cultural aspect. Kosovo was entering a so-called decade of belated industrial revolution, albeit highly controlled from above.

In these years of promoting freedoms and human rights, great movements and overthrow of monarchies and thus the expansion of the space of freedom, Kosovo could not be further treated as a classic colony. We are in the era when the anti-colonial war was coming to an end and new states were joining the Commonwealth of Free Nations, while societies everywhere were moving towards social emancipation and democratic prosperity. Under these circumstances, Kosovo could no longer be held as a classical colony. However, the nature of the already camouflaged colonial power relations, which was being exercised further, despite the increase in the degree of autonomy, especially in the cultural and educational spheres (the opening of the University in this sphere was the culmination of this cultural autonomy), should be treated and studied at academic levels, with empirical data and true scientific accuracy.

**Table no. 2.** Kosovo's colonial position according to the model of indicators at the standard of living

COMPONENT	INDICATORS
Development	
Basic personal care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consumption of calories per capita</li> <li>• Utilization of the amount of water per capita</li> <li>• Utilization of the amount of energy per capita</li> </ul>
Labor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unemployment Rate</li> <li>• Breakdown of the percentage of employees by sectors</li> <li>• Assumed engagement in the formal sector</li> </ul>

Economic results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• GDP per capita, respectively income per capita</li> <li>• The average annual economic development during the last 10 years</li> <li>• Investment quota</li> </ul>
Economic independence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Import and Export</li> <li>• Share of minerals in total production</li> <li>• Debt in relation to GDP</li> </ul>
Equality / Social Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Real Estate Allocation</li> <li>• Income, average salary in the total amount of income</li> <li>• The burden of social security</li> </ul>
Education / Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Literacy rates / Education</li> <li>• Graduation rate in relation to the most successful years</li> <li>• Political and Trade Union engagement</li> </ul>
Medical Care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The number of doctors in relation to the population</li> <li>• Infant mortality</li> <li>• Average age (expected)</li> </ul>
Communication / Mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The number of telephone (fixed) connections in relation to the total number of population</li> <li>• The degree of realization of free thought and freedom of the press</li> <li>• Sales centers / Railway network expressed in km</li> </ul>
Ecological factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emission balance</li> <li>• Water reservoirs</li> <li>• Changes in forests in the last 10 years</li> </ul>

For the cryptoelite, the negative picture expressed in all indicators given for living and economic level, etc. in Table 2, were simply a product of Kosovo's colonial position of Kosovo in the Yugoslav Federation. Therefore our cryptoelite didn't remain silent, so being aware of its role, they took action. As such, it organized and held the forefront of the demonstrations in spring 1981, thus setting a personal example, but at the same time signaling clearly that the anti-colonial revolution that began, no matter how late, was irreversible.

History has shown that with the demonstrations of 1981, a de facto new era was beginning among Albanians not only in Kosovo, but in all Albanian areas under the former SFRY.

## **6. Political phenomena must be designated by their proper names**

In China, a philosophical school functioned years ago, which considered the act of "correcting names and notions" necessary. The philosophical circle that promoted that kind of Chinese philosophical school, was thought to have been convinced that "Philosophy of political and social wisdom", as they called that school, was, in essence, the intention when things were called by the proper name (B.Moore, there, p.210).

Those who study the political history of Kosovo, the time has come to name and describe the political phenomena, even the bitter ones for us, accurately, with the real name, "with the right name", thus putting them, finally, dots on the I's, always in the name of defending the hierarchy of real values and history itself. In this case, as a society, we will face the reversal of "established realities" on quasi-values; some of our "heroes" proclaimed by our infantile politics and historiography which is badly entangled with politics, may turn out to be puppets or even collaborators of our invaders; then the individual acts of someone who has meanwhile been promoted as heroism of its kind, up to the "battle" of the "epic", described as acts of resistance and the "battle for liberation" to result in actions of an anarchist nature and completely deviant from the national cause, and not infrequently as a product of manipulation for the benefit of the political agendas of our chauvinist neighbors, especially Serbia...

It shouldn't be seen as something unexpected, when we learn from the memories and correspondence of personalities of that era, especially when the opportunity presents itself to access the archives of countries where they have lived for some time, to factually prove the dilemma, that at least

two illegal organizations created in the + 70s of the 20 century, that will result us as a product of UDB, respectively of its catapulted agents at the top of those organizations, and for a long time cloaking themselves as activists for the Republic!

Only when the activity of our patriotic organizations is studied, can organizations like those led by Metush Krasniqi, Ali Aliu, Adem Demaçi to be properly evaluated and claim their deserved place in the pantheon of history... to be followed by the one led by Hydajet Hyseni and Mehmet Hajrizi (OMLK), and especially the LPK, which managed to establish the KLA and experience freedom.

When the history of LPK and the role of some of its founders and leaders is well known, especially of the period (1987-1999), we could make the distinction and its real difference from LDK, especially from the forerunner of the latter, LKJ for Kosovo. Meanwhile, the genuine scientific study of the role of LKJ (its section in Kosovo) and its role in prolonging the life of colonialism in Kosovo, as a party-state, by reviewing its objectives with objective eyes, including in this context even the "Islamic Community", by then we will have its clear notion as a typical quisling organization.

The demonstrations of 1981 and the subsequent events, exposed the false rights, invalid laws, formal autonomy which were emphasized by Arben Xhaferi in his essay entitled "The 15th anniversary of the demonstrations in Kosovo," published on 31 March 1996.

Albanian representatives did not have real power but they were transmission, occupiers of the power of gray circles who with communist ideology imposed their naked national interest, Albanians did not have autonomy, which belonged to the political oligarchy, Albanians were not protected by the laws but they would be flogged upon receiving political order.

This lie, this hypocrisy, this latent repression, this formal power was highlighted by the analysis, concludes A. Xhaferi, the demonstrations of 1981 (Arben Xhaferi, Works 3, p. 141).

That party / state structure that oversaw the autonomy and every sphere of life in Kosovo (LKJ and UDB), had managed to create a class of opportunistic officials and intellectuals (including the Literary Police), who served the colonial apparatus as a good mask to hide the reality and colonial position of Kosovo, especially during the period 1974-1981, when the autonomous status of Kosovo had generally made tangible progress.

However, as our publicist Qani Mehmedi notes, even within the system, over time, but especially in the 1970s, two political currents were structured: the first, which can be described as fully autonomous (in a positive sense), with clear claims for the preservation and prosperity of national interests, in a permanent effort to prosper the status of the Province and the Albanians in the former Yugoslav Federation; and the second, which was openly in the service of Belgrade's colonial policies, and which would gradually take over the province after the 1981 demonstrations, until March 1989, when its status was abolished, which was "guaranteed" under the 1974 constitution (Qani Mehmedi, there, p.37).

## **7. Inauguration of Serbian apartheid**

The witch hunt in the form of "Mc Carthyismus" that had started in Belgrade and soon established itself in Pristina, with the cleansing of security structures and ended with the political and physical liquidation of S. Milosevic's main opponent, Ivan Stambolic, then president of the LKJ for Serbia.

The approval of apartheid in Kosovo (1989) had put an end to the alleged experiment for an Autonomous Republic in Kosovo (of the Russian type - 36 of them - Soviet Socialist Autonomous Republics (ASSRs as many as there were in the USSR See: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mari\\_Autonomous\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mari_Autonomous_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)), which through the third party, outlined within the LKJ for Kosovo after the demonstrations of 1981, led by Azem Vllasi, was conceived to be applied in Kosovo. The failure of this project seemed to pave the way for that "Horseshoe" at the end of that decade (spring 1999).

See for this, in the process of disintegration of Yugoslavia, the demonstrations of 1981 and the three specific subsequent events are in the embryo of the paradigm that will precede the creation of the KLA.

- The founding meeting of the LPK (1987) the approval of the Political Platform of the LPK (1993), followed by the creation / naming of the KLA (1994), represent the acts of the historical turning point that will precede the KLA war for freedom (1998/1999).
- The political platform of the LPK was the most powerful legal-political document that marks the last decade of the XX century in Kosovo and
- The designed model of the Autonomous Republic.

On this occasion, I am pointing out the central points in the Political Platform of LPK:

1. To immediately start the transformation of passive resistance into active and liberating resistance, by supporting the liberation actions in Kosovo, which were being carried out by the KLA;
2. To "set up" party programs in the interest of the liberation and national program;
3. To establish working groups for diplomatic work abroad;
4. To organize the National Front for the Liberation of Kosovo.

The approval of this platform and the organized political-military activity on the ground, will lead the LPK Leadership naturally towards the historic decision for naming the KLA.

LPK Leadership, on 17. 11. 1994 in Aarau, Switzerland, taking into account the proposals of military groups on the ground, decided that the new military body be called "Kosovo Liberation Army".<sup>1</sup>

The demonstrations of 1981, together with these events of paramount importance in our political history, represent the most special paradigm of reflections of a geopolitical nature that will be imposed on the three political decision-making centers in the triangle: Belgrade - Moscow - Washington.

## 8. Conclusion

The 1981 demonstration gained the status as a "marker of the era" through the approach and expression in ONE of the STUDENT's name (note the singularity and most of the functioning of the idea) and then the professor and philosopher Ukshin Hoti along with the revolution, somewhat similar to how the philosopher Immanuel Kant is praised with the French Revolution.

The connection, respectively the impregnation of the historical-political event (Demonstrations of 1981) with the metaphysical discourse, where the event becomes the object of analysis, Albanian political prisoners will cultivate everywhere, not only in universities and prisons (which for a while will 'turn them into a second University), but also with our new diaspora, wherever the network of political organization will extend.

Reading the speech of Professor Ukshin Hoti, held in one of the meetings of the professors' of the Faculty of Philosophy (1 In fact, we are dealing with the discussion of Professor Hoti in the Basic Organization of LK at the Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Philosophy-Sociology, Prishtina 1981, detached from the author from his letter to the Central Committee of LKJ on 25 June 1987), which is entirely related to the basic demand of the students who were demonstrating - Kosovo Republic, his approach to justify it, reminded me of his German fellow Martin Heideger and his historic speech significantly entitled "Self-affirmation of the German University", latter known as "Rector's speech". He saw the Republic as "an instrument that could be used to the benefit of the pace of accelerated development (Ukshin Hoti, *Political Philosophy of the Albanian cause*, Prishtina, 1997, p. 215).

Ukshin Hoti aimed precisely to turn the university into a center of national resistance in relation to the political battle for the Republic. Meanwhile, this request was actualized in the streets, reserving its place to philosophy. This discourse of the role of philosophy in our fight for the Republic, he will continue in his specific discourse even after his release from the first prison, in Duagjini's chambers in meetings with revolutionary youth, but also more powerfully in the magazine "Authentic Democracy", for the prohibition of which (at No. 6), as well as for his latest imprisonment, as he also claims, were responsible the "literary police" of the Titoist nomenclature, catapulted to the helm of the LDK (From his defense at the last trial: "I was arrested by the police of the Republic of Serbia, at the request of a part of the Albanian alternative of the Republic of Kosovo. The direct cause of this arrest, of course, was the irrational fear of this part of the Albanian alternative (LDK - SR), that with my going to Pristina and at the head of UNIKOMB, after 9 years of ostracism and isolation, I will to upset the balance of political forces and create an unpredictable and uncontrollable situation." Ukshin Hoti, there, p. 205).

This reflection of Professor Hoti marks exactly that "conceptualized meeting determined by the two instances" (Orges Azizi, *University Idea*, Koha ditore, 22 September 2019) in question - of the University and the Streets, which was the product of free political thought for authentic democracy, and which for the time gave power to the political demonstration for internal self-determination, which meant the Republic of Kosovo within the Yugoslav Federation.

The demonstrations of 1981, both in terms of entirety of form and content, were a masterpiece of Albanian political thought. They, therefore, mark an era. The demonstrations of the spring of 1981 gradually turned Kosovo into a biblical Armageddon, which culminated in the confrontation of evil with the good.

The demonstrations of 1981 were of this historical proportion, as they essentially had the sensitive and energetic momentum that real philosophers would compare it to the masterpieces of classical Greek thought that combined youthful imagination with the manhood of logic.

See for this, I describe the 1981 Demonstrations and that generation of youth as a historic manifestation par excellence, identifying it with the spirit of 1968 that has dominated Europe, which turned the generation into part of the modern homo-politician.

There is a special phrase in the French language, which I would like to associate with the 1981 generation, "noblesse oblige". It seems that history had attributed on the noble youth of 1981 that great burden which it successfully carried - the division of the eras, the marking of the great historical turning point, from which there was no turning back. This was the boundary that separated Kosovo's collaborationist policies with a different philosophy of thinking and acting, resulting in a very concrete form of resistance, which produced the glorious Kosovo Liberation Army.

The revolutionary movement produced the Albanian spring of 1981, while after its political and structural consolidation (LPK), understanding political violence, in accordance with the progressive concept, as "a tool by which the Social Movement plows its way and destroys hardened political forms" (Friedrich Engels, *Antidying*, Tirana 1974, pp.206-207), in its program (In the Program approved at the Founding Meeting of the LPK, July 1987, for the realization of its objectives, it is clearly stated that: "To achieve the program goals LPK will use all forms, ways and means allowed according to international conventions. "

Source: <http://www.lpk-kosova.com/dokumente.html>, rightly envisioned the organization of the uprising as the last form of action.

In the entirety of the Revolutionary Movement in Kosovo is included the new intelligence in the making. Ideologically they were leftist or in the process of being formed as such, but in essence they were progressive nationalists.

## List of References

- Barrington Moore, Jr, *the social origins of dictatorship and democracy*, Tirana 2017, p. 154
- Azem Vllasi, *Kosovo: The beginning that cannot be forgotten*, Koha, Pristina 2017, p. 272
- Qani Mehmedi, *State Formation of Kosovo*, Prishtina 2011, p. 19  
See more extensively: Dietmar Mueller, *Staatsbürger auf Wideruf*, Wiesbaden 2015, p.431-432
- K.Marx & F. Engels, *On the Irish issue*”, Tirana 1980, p.168  
(See the K. Marx’s letter sent to Y. Myers and A. Fogt).  
See the U.S. Intelligence Service document - CIA:
- Ukshin Hoti, *Political Philosophy of the Albanian cause*, Prishtina, 1997, p. 215
- Orges Azizi, *University Idea*, Koha ditore, 22 September 2019
- Friedrich Engels, *Antidyring*, Tirana 1974, pp.206-207
- <https://perpjekjashqiptare.com/plenumi-i-brioneve-ne-fokus-te-sherbimit-inteligences-amerikane-cia/>
- [https://sq.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%ABvizja\\_Popullore\\_e\\_Kosov%C3%ABs#Vitet\\_1981-1989](https://sq.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%ABvizja_Popullore_e_Kosov%C3%ABs#Vitet_1981-1989)
- <http://www.lpk-kosova.com/dokumente.html>
- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mari\\_Autonomous\\_Soviet\\_Socialist\\_Republic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mari_Autonomous_Soviet_Socialist_Republic)



