

Student Movements: 1968, 1981 and 1997

*The impact of students in mobilizing society
to chant for the Republic of Kosovo*

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English Summary

This dissertation examines the motives and central visions of three student demonstrations, each taking place within different historical and political contexts and each organized by a different generation of Kosovo Albanian students. The years 1968, 1981 and 1997 witnessed a proliferation of student mobilizations as collective responses demanding more national rights for Albanians in Kosovo. I argue that the students' main vision in all three movements was the political independence of Kosovo. Given the complexity of the students' goal, my analysis focuses on the influence and reactions of domestic and foreign powers vis-à-vis the University of Prishtina (hereafter UP), the students and their movements. Fueled by their desire for freedom from Serbian hegemony, the students played a central role in "preserving" and passing from one generation to the next the vision of "Republic" status for Kosovo. Kosova Republikë or the Republic of Kosovo (hereafter RK) status was a demand of all three student demonstrations, but the students' impact on state creation has generally been underestimated by politicians and public figures. Thus, the primary purpose of this study is to unearth the various and hitherto unknown or hidden roles of higher education – then the UP – and its students in shaping Kosovo's recent history. By arguing that the students' demands were also part of a wider quest for human rights rather than merely a straightforward nationalistic matrix, this study reclaims the critical character of the 1968 and 1981 uprisings, as well as the social struggles and all-out war of the 1990s, effectively leading the country to the implementation of the political ideas of self-determination and independence. I also focus on how the student movements and public opinion interacted concerning the violence of the Yugoslav and, later, Serbian regimes.

This dissertation intends to look at multiple layers of the student movements as pivotal historical events. This approach will offer me the best opportunity to understand the participation of all parties involved in the wider context. As such, my data collecting strategy concentrated on sources held in the Archive of Kosovo, Archive of Yugoslavia, Archive of Serbia, Central Archive of the Republic of Albania, and the Archives of Albania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The reason for consulting sources from these countries is that they were directly involved in the process of the initial founding and subsequent development of the UP. The present study also utilizes insights from oral history: interviews with activists, academics, politicians, and other officials, conducted in

Prishtina, Tirana, Belgrade, and Skopje, because these actors participated in, influenced, or had in-depth knowledge of the student movements in Kosovo. The eruption of the first student movements in Kosovo during the last century depended not only on the dynamics of that particular time (the 1960s) but also on pre-existing conditions. Thus, to understand the overall picture, one must be aware of previous state transformations, relations between communities living in the area as well as with the authorities, etc. That is why this dissertation offers a historical overview of how the Albanians living in the SFRY viewed themselves and were viewed externally by other peoples in the country. Whereas the third chapter seeks to understand the emergence and development of collective actions during the late 1960s, particularly in Belgrade (the SFRY's capital) and Kosovo. Here I analyze the conceptual connections and differences between student movements in Belgrade and Kosovo during the specific historical period. I explicitly look at the interactions between regional/local policies, institutions of higher learning, and student movements in Kosovo (1968) and the impact of these movements on the establishment of the UP. Thereafter I present and analyze the eruptions and development of the student demonstrations of March and April 1981. These demonstrations will be remembered in history as events that triggered deep societal divisions in addition to generating destabilization and bringing about great changes both at the level of Kosovo and at the level of the SFRY. Another chapter covers the fraught atmosphere which dominated Kosovo during the 1990s.

The key concepts of the analysis revolve around the links between higher education (specifically the UP), political influences and students. By examining the dynamics of the demonstrations, I analyze the dimensions, forms and implications of student uprisings and resistance, as well as the struggles for dominance by local (Kosovo), federal (SFRY), regional (Albania and Serbia) and international actors (outside the Balkans). To help the reader understand that these demonstrations, although organized by students, were not necessarily academic but rather political, this dissertation presents and analyzes the impact that students had on mobilizing society to demonstrate for self-determination. Given that each demonstration took place under different historical and political circumstances, and that each was organized by a different generation of Kosovo Albanian students, this dissertation examines how the vision of independence impacted the first and subsequent student movements. Additionally, this dissertation elucidates the influence and reactions of domestic and foreign powers vis-à-vis the students and movements of 1968, 1981 and 1997

in Kosovo. Taking into consideration the complexity and scope of the topic, I am aware that this dissertation cannot claim to be either perfect or complete. However, I hope that my modest offering will inspire further interdisciplinary discussions as well as an appreciation of the students' contributions.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Dit proefschrift bestudeert de motieven en centrale visies van drie studentenbetogingen, die plaatsvonden in verschillende historische en politieke contexten en georganiseerd werden door verschillende generaties Kosovaars Albanese studenten. In de jaren 1968, 1981 en 1997 kwam het tot een snelle toename van studentenmobilisaties als collectieve reacties met de eis voor meer nationale rechten voor Albanezen in Kosovo. Ik betoog dat de centrale visie van de studenten in alle drie bewegingen de politieke onafhankelijkheid van Kosovo was. Gezien het meervoudige karakter van het doel van de studenten spitst mijn analyse zich toe op de invloed en reacties van lokale en internationale mogendheden vis-à-vis de Universiteit van Prishtina (hierna: UP), de studenten en hun bewegingen. Gedreven door hun streven naar vrijheid van Servische hegemonie, speelden de studenten een centrale rol in het “beschermen” en overdragen van de ene generatie op de andere van de visie dat Kosovo de status van “Republiek” moest krijgen. De status Kosova Republiqë of Republiek Kosovo (hierna: RK) was de centrale eis van alle drie studentenbetogingen, maar de impact van de studenten op staatsvorming is algemeen ondergewaardeerd door politieke en publieke figuren. Aldus is het eerst doel van deze studie het blootleggen van de verschillende tot dusver onbekende of verborgen rollen van hoger onderwijs – en later de UP – en haar studenten in de vorming van de moderne geschiedenis van Kosovo. Ik beargumenteer dat de studenteneisen ook deel waren van een breder streven naar mensenrechten in plaats van louter een rechtlijnig nationalistische matrix. Op die manier ontgin ik het kritische karakter van de opstanden van 1968 en 1981 en ook de sociale strijd en de algemene oorlog van de jaren 90, die het land uiteindelijk tot de implementatie van politieke ideeën van zelfbeschikking en onafhankelijk brachten. Ik besteed ook aandacht aan de interactie tussen de studentenbewegingen en de publieke opinie omtrent het geweld van het Joegoslavische en later Servische regime.

Dit proefschrift poogt de verschillende lagen van de studentenbeweging als pivotale historische gebeurtenissen te bekijken. Deze benadering biedt me de beste mogelijkheid de deelname van alle partijen te begrijpen in de bredere context. Mijn strategie voor dataverzameling concentreerde zich op bronnen in het Archief van Kosovo, het Archief van Joegoslavië, het Centrale Archief van de Republiek Albanië en het Archief van het Albanese Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken. Ik heb bronnen van deze landen geraadpleegd

omdat deze landen direct betrokken waren in het proces van de initiële vorming en latere ontwikkeling van de UP. Deze studie benut ook inzichten van oral history: interviews met activisten, academici, politici en andere functionarissen, afgenomen in Prishtina, Tirana, Belgrado en Skopje, omdat deze actoren deelnamen in, invloed uitoefenden op, of diepere kennis hebben van de studentenbewegingen in Kosovo.

De uitbraak van de eerste studentenbewegingen in Kosovo tijdens de vorige eeuw hing niet alleen af van de dynamiek van die bijzondere periode (de jaren 60) maar ook van de vooraf gegeven condities. Om het algemene beeld te verstaan moet men zich dus bewust zijn van de voorafgaande staatstransformaties, relaties tussen gemeenschappen in de regio en met de autoriteiten, etc. Daarom biedt dit proefschrift een historisch overzicht van het zelfbeeld van Albanezen in de Socialistische Federatieve Republiek Joegoslavië (SFRJ) en hoe zij van buitenaf werden gezien door andere volkeren in het land. Het derde hoofdstuk betracht de opkomst en ontwikkeling van collectieve acties in de late zestiger jaren, in het bijzonder in Belgrado (hoofdstad van de SFRJ) en Kosovo, te begrijpen. Hier analyseer ik de conceptuele verbindingen en onderscheiden tussen de studentenbewegingen in Belgrado en Kosovo tijdens deze specifieke historische periode. Ik kijk in het bijzonder naar de wisselwerkingen tussen regionaal/lokaal beleid, instellingen voor hoger onderwijs en studentenbewegingen in Kosovo (1968) en de impact van deze bewegingen op de vorming van de UP. Daarna belicht en analyseer ik de uitbraken en ontwikkeling van de studentendemonstraties van maart en april 1981. Deze demonstraties blijven herinnerd in de geschiedenis als gebeurtenissen die diepe sociale breuken teweegbrachten en destabilisatie en verregaande veranderingen zowel in Kosovo als op het niveau van de SFRJ in gang zetten. Een ander hoofdstuk behandelt de gespannen atmosfeer in Kosovo tijdens de jaren 90.

De basisconcepten van deze analyse draaien rond de links tussen hoger onderwijs (in het bijzonder de UP), politieke invloed en studenten. Met een onderzoek naar de dynamiek van de demonstraties, analyseer ik de dimensies, vormen en implicaties van studentopstanden en verzet, alsook de strijd voor dominantie tussen de lokale (Kosovo), federale (SFRJ), regionale (Albanië en Servië) en internationale actoren (buiten de Balkan). Om de lezer in staat te stellen te begrijpen dat deze demonstraties, ook al waren ze georganiseerd door studenten, niet noodzakelijk academisch maar politiek waren, presenteert en analyseert dit

proefschrift de impact die studenten hadden op de mobilisering van de samenleving om op straat te komen voor zelfbeschikking. Gezien elke demonstratie plaatsvond onder verschillende historische en politieke omstandigheden en georganiseerd werd door een verschillende generatie Kosovaars Albanese studenten, bestudeert dit proefschrift de impact van de onafhankelijkheidsvisie op de eerste en daaropvolgende studentenbewegingen. Daarnaast belicht dit proefschrift de invloed en reacties van lokale en buitenlandse mogendheden op de studenten en bewegingen van 1968, 1981 en 1997 in Kosovo. Gezien de complexiteit en reikwijdte van het thema, ben ik me ervan bewust dat dit proefschrift geen aanspraak kan maken op perfectie of volledigheid. Toch hoop ik dat mijn nederige bijdrage zal inspireren tot verdere interdisciplinaire discussies en erkenning voor de bijdrage van de studenten.

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This dissertation draws on archival sources, interview materials, documentary pieces of evidence and other published and unpublished materials gathered during my fieldwork in Prishtina, Tirana, Belgrade, and Skopje. I would not have been able to study such a rich variety of sources had I not been supported by the professional staff and officials of the Central Archive of the Republic of Albania, the Archive of Albania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Archives of Kosovo, Yugoslavia and Serbia¹ as well as the staff of the National Libraries in Tirana, Prishtina and Belgrade. Special thanks also for the activists, academics, politicians and other officials involved in different aspects of student movements in Kosovo, whom I interviewed for this dissertation. I am grateful to all for the time, information and the materials they shared with me. In the text, I describe the names and official roles of interviewed personalities, when using their own words. I am also particularly grateful to Prof. Dr. Donatella Della Porta, who has been so kind to accept and guide me during the last academic year as visiting research fellow in Center for Social Movement Studies in Florence. Professor Della Porta generously shared her findings with me, while both her and Professor Lorenzo Bosi's doors were always wide open for further advice and suggestions.

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¹ I want to also thank Dušan Bojković, a colleague and research assistant from Belgrade, for helping me collect materials at the archives and libraries located in Republic of Serbia.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is an original contribution to the advancement of knowledge. It investigates the roles of the student movements of 1968, 1981, and 1997 in Kosovo in shaping the history and political status of what is now the Republic of Kosovo. The choice of these three moments and their respective student movements is because these were three key points in the history of Kosovo, and understanding them is crucial to understanding Kosovo's contemporary history and politics. It analyzes the motives and central visions of these three movements, each taking place within different historical and political contexts and each organized by a different generation of Kosovo Albanian students. The years 1968, 1981 and 1997 witnessed a proliferation of student mobilizations as collective responses demanding more national rights for Albanians in Kosovo. I argue that the students' main vision in all three movements was the political independence of Kosovo. Given the complexity of the students' goal, my analysis focuses on the influence and reactions of domestic and foreign powers vis-à-vis the University of Prishtina (hereafter UP), the students and their movements. Fueled by their desire for freedom from Serbian hegemony, the students played a central role in articulating, in three successive generations, the vision of "Republic" status for Kosovo. Kosova Republikë or the Republic of Kosovo (hereafter RK) status was a demand of all three student demonstrations, although in the first two, the status of the Republic was presented as being within the SFRY, while in the third, the demand was for independence. The students' impact on state creation has generally been underestimated by politicians and public figures. Thus, by explaining how student ideas for the "Republic" status of Kosovo traveled, were inherited and were radicalized, the primary purpose of this study is to unearth the various and hitherto unknown or inadequately investigated roles of higher education – the University of Prishtina (henceforth UP) and its students — in shaping Kosovo's contemporary history. It is important to emphasize that there were differences between what the students themselves were thinking when chanting for the "Republic of Kosovo" and what their opponents in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter SFRY) imputed to them. As compared to the demonstrations of 1997, when the entire political situation of what had become by then the FRY was transformed, the students' demand during the demonstrations of 1968 and 1981 was for a Republic status of Kosovo within the SFRY. Yet, as Victor Friedman of the University of Chicago, who

was in Yugoslavia during the events of 1981, recalls, at the time of the 1981 demonstrations, popular discourse claimed that demands for a Republic within the SFRY would open the door to secession. Strictly speaking, this was not true in terms of the SFRY constitution. The Republics did not have a constitutional right to secede, but the circulation of such rumors at the time of the 1981 demonstrations (Friedman: December 2015), opened the doors to the regime for even more aggressive reactions against the students and Kosovo Albanian society in general. By arguing that the students' demands were also part of a wider quest for human rights rather than merely a straightforward nationalistic matrix, this study reclaims the critical character of the 1968 and 1981 uprisings, as well as the social struggles and all-out war of the 1990s, effectively leading the country to the implementation of the political ideas of self-determination and independence. Student engagement directly served to mobilize all levels of Kosovan society to participate in social resistance actions aimed at securing independence and statehood.² This dissertation captures a precious historical moment: people who remember and were involved in all three student movements — and the significance of 1968, 1981, and 1997 are undeniable — are all still alive.

In an effort to shed light on the student movements, this dissertation also focuses on the historical role that institutions of higher education, particularly the UP, played in the political and national emancipation of Albanians in Kosovo from the late 1950s to the 1990s. Having evolved from a series of institutions of higher education into a university in its own right in the 1970s, the UP became an inspiration for political action, demonstrations and the building of national consciousness. From its foundation in 1970 until 1974, the UP was an institution closely involved with initial nation-building ideas. Between 1974 and 1981, the UP was an institution of enlightenment, while during the 1980s and 1990s it became a bastion of resistance.³ It can thus be argued that the UP played an important role in the region's political life (Koliqi 2010). Both the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and the Republic of Albania's leadership used the UP to channel their political interests. While the SFRY proclaimed the political emancipation of Albanians in Kosovo coincided with the "brotherhood and unity" platform or "Titoism,"⁴ the Republic of Albania

² Elliott (2017) specifically examines the role of language management during this time period. His work supplies an added dimension to the issues being considered here, but the focus here is on the student movements as opposed to the way such ideologies were reflected and stimulated in and by language planning.

³ From a Serbian point of view, during the period 1974-81 the UP was an institution for rapprochement with Albania, while subsequently it was a hotbed of nationalism.

⁴ Here, "Titoism" is understood to mean the policies or principles advocated by former Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito.

proclaimed national emancipation amongst Albanians in the SFRY, trying to expand on nationalist ideas about a "perfect" Albania and "Enverism."⁵ Given that Albanians in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and then subsequently in Yugoslavia, including the SFRY, were discriminated against and treated as second class citizens most of the time, it is not surprising that Kosovo Albanians would come to identify with the Republic of Albania, as well as because of their common language-based identity.

After analyzing Kosovo's developments in the field of higher education, I then look at how such actors as political or state representatives and intellectuals reacted to and interacted with student actions. I also focus on how the student movements and public opinion interacted concerning the violence of the Yugoslav and, later, Serbian regimes. It is worth mentioning that the foundation of the university – one of the students' crucial objectives during the 1968 protests – was achieved primarily due to the students' demands. After more than a decade (and approximately ten months after the death of Tito), students started to ask for changes once again. On March 11, 1981, during lunchtime, one student, feeling humiliated by the wretched food served at the dining hall, threw his food down on the floor. More than 500 students followed his lead and began to call for "Food and Better Conditions."⁶ As police started arresting students, thousands of student demonstrators gradually occupied the center of the city. Slogans demanding better food and better conditions changed to "While some of you are sitting in soft chairs – others of us don't have anything to eat." While permissible as cartoons in satiric journals in Socialist Yugoslavia, a country promoting itself as a land of equals, in the context of street demonstrations, such slogans were a slap in the face of the political elites, the "red bourgeoisie," who were reaping the benefits of the system while keeping silent about the suffering of other social groups. Other political slogans of the 1981 demonstrations included "We are Albanians – not Yugoslavs," "For whom is Trepça/Trepča⁷ working?," "Republic of Kosovo," "Unification with Albania," etc. (Hetemi 2018). Furthermore, similar to 1968, during the 1981 and 1990s

⁵ Here, "Enverism" is understood to mean the policies or principles advocated by former Albanian communist leader Enver Hoxha.

⁶ Professor Victor Friedman confirms that in 1976, when he was housed in a UP dormitory and fed at the UP dining hall as a participant in the Third Annual Seminar on Albanian Culture for Foreigners, University of Prishtina, the conditions in the dormitory were already very bad, and for the most part the food varied from disgusting to inedible. Participants in the seminar were all housed in the women's dormitory, because conditions in the men's dormitory were even worse.

⁷ The Trepča Mines, which in Albanian are known as Miniera e Trepçës and in Serbian as Rudnik Trepča, constitute a large industrial complex in Kosovo. Located close to Kosovo's northern city of Mitrovica, Trepča was once one of the biggest companies in Yugoslavia and is Europe's largest lead-zinc and silver ore mine.

demonstrations, Kosovar Albanian political elites publicly condemned the protests and disapproved of people's participation in these demonstrations, which they dubbed as "nationalist acts." Changes in the public attitudes of intellectuals and politicians occurred only after 1990. Some politicians and professors changed their approach and started to view the demonstrations in a positive light, particularly after the October 1, 1997 demonstration, again organized by the students. This time some of the political activists and UP professors demonstrated together with their students. During the 1997 demonstrations, it was again the students who were the first to contest Ibrahim Rugova's⁸ political concept of peaceful civil resistance. Even though Rugova did not fully support these demonstrations, after almost seven years of "peaceful" – but as the students labeled it – "inactive" resistance, no one could quell the student demonstrations (October 1, 1997) or, later, prevent the escalation of the situation into an armed conflict between the Belgrade regime, Albanian self-organized forces and, later on, NATO's interventions (Clark 2000).

The key concepts of this dissertation revolve around the links between higher education (specifically the UP), students and political influences in constructing a political and, later, unified national resistance of Albanians in Kosovo and the SFRY. This dissertation takes a historical approach by examining the political dimension of the topic through empirical analysis that attempts to dissect the links among higher education, students, a divided intelligentsia, and the other actors struggling for control over the UP. With the historical approach, I do not refer only to the collection of archival and oral sources but rather to the following of the inquiries for source criticism while evaluating the qualities of the collected materials for this dissertation. Thus, the 'source criticism' method is followed as a technique while investigating this topic, especially given that the unique value of this dissertation is in its combination of oral history and archival research. In their 'Guide for Historical Method', Garraghan and Delanglez divided source criticism into six inquiries: date of the source, location, authorship, analysis, integrity and credibility (Garraghan and Delanglez, 1946: 168). Contemporary scholars also suggest similar methods for researching social movements from historical perspectives: close attention to detail and context, skeptical and judicious questioning of sources via internal and external criticism, and the use of narrative – the roles played by later and current narrative discourse (Dill and

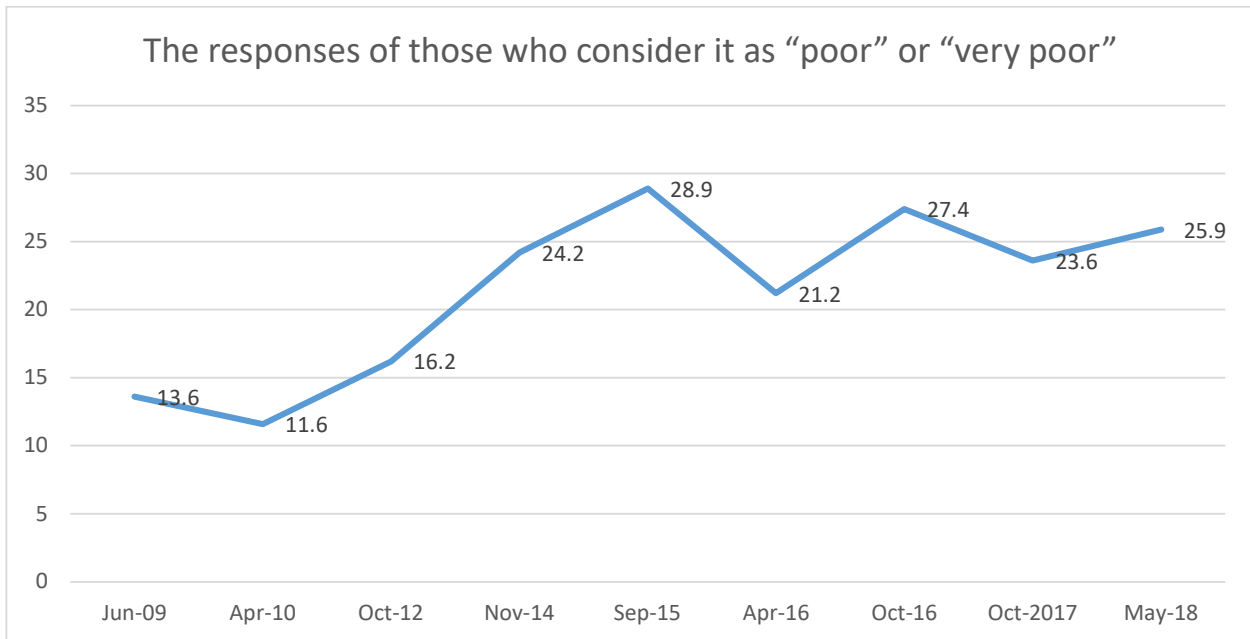
⁸ Ibrahim Rugova was the first President of Kosovo, serving from 1992 to 2000 and again from 2002 to 2006, and a prominent Kosovo Albanian political leader, scholar, and writer.

Aminzade, 2010; 272). By critically reviewing the written and oral sources of all relevant languages that this dissertation brings together, I contribute to an understanding of the history of Kosovo that is both of value to future generations and provides testimonies that have never been recorded. The central questions that this dissertation seeks to address are: what was the impact of the UP and its students on mobilizing society to protest for a "Republic" status for Kosovo? Also, were the students "real heroes" or simply "manipulated puppets" of local, federal, regional, and international political interests struggling for dominance?

By assessing the authenticity and validity of the archival sources and critiquing the interview materials, paying particular attention to the role of students, my intention is to document how the student movements interacted with political practices at the UP and on the state level. More specifically, the dissertation shows how the internal dynamics of the UP affected students' strategies of resistance in all three demonstrations.

Nowadays dysfunctional state of higher education in Kosovo remains a national problem. The percentage of Kosovans who consider the quality of the tertiary educational system in Kosovo as "poor" or "very poor" has increased throughout the years (see figure 1). When these statistics are analyzed on the basis of gender, the findings reveal that men are more dissatisfied with the quality of the tertiary educational system than women. And, I contend that the current situation at the UP cannot be understood or resolved without broader awareness of previous politically related difficulties faced by the country and its people.

Figure 1: What is your opinion of the quality of the tertiary educational system in Kosovo?



Source: UNPD-Kosovo Public Pulse Dataset (detailed informatios about this dataset are provided below)

Thus, this dissertation also aims to open the way for future research, respectively analyzing the UP's role during the period 1999–2020. What is the situation at the UP today? Are the current political parties using the UP as a recruiting ground for their cadres? What was the role of students after the war (1999) in Kosovo? Can the UP be transformed from a former nation-building tool into a meritorious and academically competitive institution? This research will hopefully contribute toward further analyses of the transformation of the UP into a social agent for the development of the country and this region. Is this possible, given the UP's (in)ability to adhere to liberal values, as already demonstrated among its activist students in the previous century?

1.1. Mapping the process and unpacking the topic

As will be revealed in subsequent chapters, different interpretations of origins and history have caused tensions in the relations between Albanians and Serbs. As will be explained more in the next chapter, negative perceptions of ethnic Albanians living within Yugoslavia were even more apparent. As a result of these negative perceptions, for decades Albanians

were not granted the right to education in their native language. That is the reason why institutions of higher education in Kosovo have a relatively recent history.

The establishment of a university-level institution in Kosovo is directly linked to the student movements of the late 1960s and the demand by Kosovo's ethnic Albanian majority to elevate their status from that of a province of Serbia to that of a constituent republic of its own. Seven years after Kosovo's provincial government gained direct and separate representation in the main federal Yugoslav bodies through the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution, the students were again at the center of political turmoil. Namely, in 1981 another wave of student demonstrations erupted in Prishtina over the deplorable conditions in the residence halls; what began as a local campus disturbance escalated into bloody and province-wide demonstrations demanding the status of a republic for Kosovo. These demonstrations ended in several dozen deaths and the imposition of martial law by the regime (Hetemi, 2018).

The most challenging period for the survival of the UP, however, was the period between 1990 and 1999. Until the imposition of the so-called interim measures on the UP in 1990, under which ethnic Serbs were appointed to all senior positions, the languages of instruction at the UP were Albanian and Serbian (Hyseni, H., Salihaj, J., Shatri, B., Pupovci, D. 2000). Within six months after the imposition of these so-called interim measures, Albanian professors and students were expelled or had left the university because of the political pressure to eliminate the teaching of Albanian literature, language, and history.

During the 1990s, Kosovo's ethnic Albanians ran their own parallel educational system, which has also been referred to as "the world's largest NGO" (Kostovicova 2005, OECD 2001). The UP became a symbol of Kosovo Albanian resistance against Slobodan Milošević's regime, which abolished the autonomy of the province in 1989 and attempted to Serbianize education and other public sectors in Kosovo. But as Kosovo Albanians were now openly forced out of state-run education, police, health and governmental institutions by means of clearly discriminatory policies, by having to set up their parallel networks, the UP suffered in tandem with the rest of Kosovo Albanian society. Having refused to comply with the new Serbian curriculum, most university lecturers were dismissed in 1991, which forced them to organize separate classes for students, mostly in private homes, but also in such non-university buildings as elementary schools. This enabled the Serbian regime to consolidate its total control over university buildings, and such a situation persisted for

several years. After more than half a decade of this parallel education, a new wave of student protests erupted from the parallel Albanian UP in late 1997. As was previously the case, the purpose of this student demonstration was political – to demand the liberation of university premises, human rights and, later, self-determination for Kosovo.

The student movements have been analyzed by Kosovo authors such as Selatin Novosella (2008), Jakup Krasniqi (2011), Bajram Kosumi (2011), Ethem Çeku (2017) and Bujar Dugolli (2013), as well as others. While Albanian authors consider the student demonstrations as a patriotic and inevitable reaction from one of the most discriminated against communities in the SFRY, the common Serbian view of these same demonstrations has mainly been that they were of a nationalist and separatist character as well as overdramatized (Mišović 1987, Bataković 2012, Bogdanović 1990). The Albanian authors were also among the participants/organizers of the demonstrations. In contrast, most of the Serbian authors offered their interpretation without being directly involved. Hence, these authors offer general chronological descriptions of the development of the student movements rather than a nuanced analysis of the conjuncture of the student movements with educational, political and social processes and their mutual interdependence. These student movements are not presented at all in Serbian textbooks (Gashi, 2013),⁹ while the Albanian books (Bajraktari, Rexhepi and Demaj, 2010) mention them very briefly as a strike for the reinstatement of rights for Albanians.¹⁰ The Council of Europe has recognized that in the ex-Yugoslav countries, history has been mainly treated as a mono-cultural, ethnocentric and exclusive rather than inclusive process (Stradling, 2003; 10). Moreover, history was based on the assumption that the national narrative inevitably coincided with the history of the largest national, linguistic or cultural group (ibid.). Therefore, I also intend to challenge the official version of this specific period of history and explore why both the Serbian and the Albanian side as well either omit or minimize the contributions of the

⁹ In Kosovo, Albanian primary school pupils learn contemporary history in 9th grade, and it is covered by the book, Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Libri Shkollor, 2013, whereas in gymnasiums (secondary schools), the history books for the 11th and 12 grades cover the contemporary period using the following books: Rexhepi, Fehmi and Frashër Demaj. *Historia 11*, Prishtinë: Libri Shkollor, 2013; Abdyli, Ramiz and Emine Bakalli. *Historia 11*, Prishtinë: Libri Shkollor, 2012; and Bajraktari, Jusuf and Arbër Salihu, *Historia 12*, Prishtinë: Libri Shkollor, 2013. In Serbia and at the schools of the Serbian enclaves in Kosovo, whose education system implements the “Serbian state curricula,” in primary schools the contemporary period is covered by Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 8*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010, whereas in gymnasiums (secondary schools) the contemporary period is covered by Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010. For more about the “Reconstructing the Nation through History Textbooks in Serbia and Croatia,” see Tamara Pavašević Trošć, published in June 2018, and accessible at <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/nana.12433>.

¹⁰ See also: Rexhepi, Fehmi. *Historia 9*. Prishtina: Libri Shkollor, 2010. page 168.

students in keeping alive the visions of RK. What conditions produced such an ellision of the students' role by the Serbian as well as the Albanian sides? The Kosovo student movements have attracted the attention of other regional¹¹ and international scholars. Dejan Jović, for example, in his book "SFRY: A State that Withered Away," presents a rather superficial picture of the Kosovo student demonstrations in Yugoslavia, but his arguments give the impression that the movements were part of a general popular movement, rather than a student rebellion (Jović, 2008: 196). Similarly, Julie A. Mertus in her book, "Kosovo, How Myths and Truths Started a War," dedicated an entire chapter to the 1981 demonstrations, however, without paying much attention to details concerning the various dimensions of the political, social and national reasons that prompted students to initiate the protests (Mertus, 1999). Noel Malcolm's study, "Kosovo – a Short History," reflects a recognition of Tito's¹² efforts to correct the ethnic imbalance in the power structure in Kosovo (at least after 1966). He also covers the demonstrations of 1968, 1981 and 1997 as historical processes through which Kosovo passed, but this study similarly underestimates students' central role (Malcolm, 1998). These important events are mentioned by Miranda Vickers (1998) and Tim Judah (2008) as well, but most of these studies treat the student demonstrations primarily as events where a dissatisfied population openly started protests, and none of them treats the central role the students played in transmitting the vision of independence from one generation to the next, as well as the students' role in mobilizing society to express their desire for and vision of independence.

My main thesis - that the three abovementioned student movements were crucial in shaping the events in Kosovo that ultimately resulted in its current independence - is well supported by my research and the presentation of the results in this dissertation. At the same time, the complex interplay of other factors with these student movements is also elucidated to the extent possible, given that not all the relevant archives are as yet open. Of particular value in this work is the oral history that I collected due to the ability to speak to participants and organizers of all three demonstrations, and in a few decades, such broad scope will no longer be possible. It is notable that the students' key role in the Kosovo demonstrations has somehow been omitted. Thus, to respond to the "why" question and fill in the gaps in the

¹¹ The regional authors also include; Branko Horvat, "Kosovsko pitanje," Dusan Bilandzić, "Jugoslavija poslije Tita," Kosta Nikolić and Srdjan Cvetković, "Srbi i Albanci," etc.

¹² Josip Broz Tito (1892 –1980), commonly known as Tito, was Yugoslavia's main political figure, communist revolutionary and political leader, serving in various roles from 1943 until his death in 1980.

existing literature, I analyze the following dilemmas: how were the first and subsequent student movements organized and triggered? Who were the leaders and the main figures? What were the main protest slogans? How were people from different social backgrounds mobilized and influenced by the students? Could we consider Kosovo's earliest student movements as part of a larger network of protests occurring during this period (the 1960s)? What were the principal manifestos of the students between 1968 and 1997? Specifically looking at the interactions between local/regional policies, institutions of higher education institution, especially the UP, and Kosovo student movements, I argue that even though some of the students' demands can be considered to be of a nationalist character, they mainly emerged in response to the discriminatory policies against Albanians in the SFRY as well as because of the Republic of Albania's influence over the UP and its students. Highlighting that it was students, rather than politicians, who were committed to changing organizational aspects of life and prolonged discrimination, I argue that students were the key actors and icons of the ongoing resistance and protest. They initiated long-lasting expected "changes" during both the heyday of socialism and also during the most difficult political crisis in Kosovo and the Balkans in the period between 1990 and 1999.

In addition to the emancipatory role that students played in Kosovo's eventual independence, I will also reflect on the fissures and disjuncture within the student movement itself. Arguably, the student movement was not monolithic. It also suffered from multiple tensions and power struggles. To what extent were the initial directions of the student movements transformed into a nationalist agenda by other actors, especially during 1968 but also in 1981? To what extent were nationalism and the enlightenment project compatible or mutually exclusive? What were the larger contexts and effects of the student movements on the capitals of the various Yugoslav republics (Belgrade, Skopje, Podgorica, and Zagreb)? Were the students and their supporters aware of the broader implications of their demonstrations? These and other heretofore unanswered research questions presented below could be addressed only using the qualitative methodological approach applied in this study. This dissertation is therefore unique in its effort to provide a comprehensive account of the UP's and the students' impact on maintaining a vision of a "Republic of Kosovo."

This dissertation addresses issues of importance for Southeast European area studies research and is firmly grounded in a historical approach. Owing to the nature of the material,

its findings are also of interest to ethnographers and students of politics. In the historical dimension of this study, I intend to locate the student movements meaningfully in time and place as well as relate them to other times and places. The political and ethnographical dimensions seek to underscore the involvement of students, the UP, state(s) and their institutions as well as the public (society) as participants or influential parties in this process (Pierson 2004, Tilly 2001). The dissertation is grounded in area studies as such, and it is the combination of oral history and archival research that sets the dissertation apart as original. Whereas I have chosen the historical approach since in different contexts and periods, social movements are produced due to internal histories, changing relations between potential claimants and objects of claims, and overall transformations of the political context/s (Tilly 1993). This approach fits into the topic because, similar to Rosa Luxemburg's conclusions on Russian Revolution (1905), for the case of Kosovo as well, I assume that the student demonstrations were a 'historical and not an artificial product' (Scott 2008, 115). According to Luxemburg, the Russian Revolution teaches us above all that the mass strike is not artificially "made," not "decided" at random, not "propagated," but that it is a historical phenomenon, which, at a given moment, results from social conditions. Scott's analysis of the Rosa Luxemburg's 'Mass Strike', highlighted how history has shown how economic struggles become political, and vice versa, as the two are inseparable and interdependent (ibid. 117). Nevertheless, as it will be shown in the next chapters, both Kosovo Albanians (1968, 1981) and Kosovo Serbs (1986) have rebelled in the periods when their political rights and economic standards stood better compared to their earlier decades. Other scholars as well read social movements of different geographical territories through Rosa Luxemburg's approach (see Zemni et al 2012), however here such an approach is not entirely suitable, because the nature of Kosovo student movements were neither revolution(s) nor (industrial) strike(s). Moreover, as opposed to Luxemburg, which resists the notions that political and economic struggles can be different and unconnected, my findings showed that a crucial element which provoked the student movements in Kosovo was the increase of the level of society's awareness, which was facilitated by the UP and made possible by the SFRY's political and economic progress. While politics and economics were implicated in the original demands for mother tongue higher education (1968), the demand for better living conditions at UP (1981), and the demand for UP's academic autonomy (1997) — all of which involved the kind of access to economic and

political resources that are generally intimately connected to higher education — the subsequent demands for RK (whether within or without the SFRY/FRY) merged from them without actually being the initial goal.

1.2. Theoretical aspects relevant to this dissertation

Due to the nature of the Kosovo student movements, whose political dimensions extended beyond the educational system, this dissertation utilizes historical approaches to examine the political dimensions of the Kosovo student movements (1968, 1981 and 1997). As is seen in their instigation of the 1968, 1981 and 1997 demonstrations, the students were inextricably linked to the politics of the country. Charles Tilly stresses that "every significant political phenomenon lives in history, and requires historically grounded analysis for its explanation" (2006, 433). However, no comprehensive research study has been undertaken on the politically related challenges for the establishment and further existence of the UP in Kosovo, including the interference of all the various political actors at the local, regional and federal levels during the periods 1968, 1981 and 1997. The absence of solid research on the role and contribution of students in mobilizing Kosovo's Albanian society towards maintaining a vision of the major political cause (Republic status) therefore requires an historico-political study to further explore and bring to the fore this important aspect of Kosovo's contemporary history. My research relies mainly on findings gathered from archives, libraries, and interviews, which makes this study unique in its effort to provide a comprehensive and situated account of student visions for the independence of Kosovo. Its revelations will help to fill in current gaps in the literature with unpublished materials and analyses. I hypothesize that the students were the key actors in the mobilization of society, the internationalization of the Kosovo issue, and that they were crucial in maintaining and passing from one generation to the next the vision of "Republic" status for Kosovo. The students' steadfastness to this vision significantly influenced Kosovo's becoming a UN protectorate (1999) and later gaining its independence (2008).

Archival materials and interviews with the organizers, activists, and officials involved in the processes as well as with academics knowledgeable about this topic enabled me to argue that a vision of independence, fear of repression, and ambitions for political opportunities – given that some student leaders entered political careers afterward – were factors which motivated the organizers and other students to engage in the movements. By

analyzing various dimensions of the political, social and national causes that motivated students to initiate the demonstrations, I examine their central role in the mobilization around the vision of a "Republic of Kosovo." The flux of each demonstration (1968, 1981 and 1997) is sequentially added, thus grounding the case studies in solid theoretical and historical contexts. In order to document the students' impact on the mobilization of the population, as well as the regime's responses utilizing torture and other forms of repression, this study systematically examines students' organized resistance, their determination to gain political independence, and the consequences thereafter.

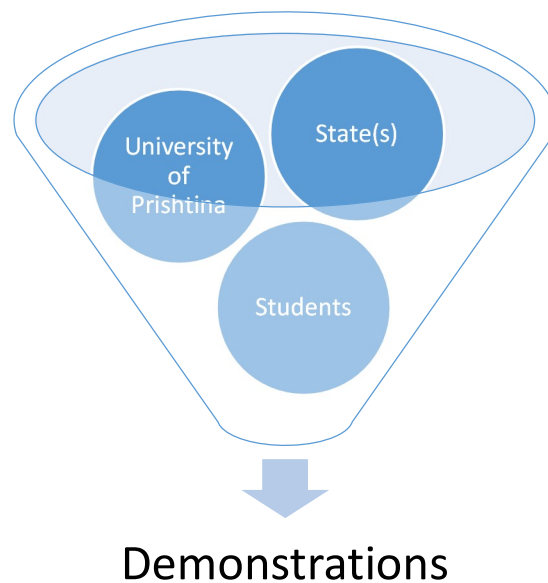
When historians study social movements, they focus on specific phenomena located meaningfully in time(s) or place(s) and do not necessarily develop their research by means of or based on general theories (idiographic vs. nomothetic knowledge) (Tilly 2006). Nevertheless, scholars recognize that by exposing aspects of the process, context, sequence, and timing, the examination of a social movement with historical methodologies can make important contributions to the kind of data collection that is vital to theory building and hypothesis testing (Bosi and Reiner 2014, Frisch et al. 2012). Bosi argues that theoreticians can learn from historians to look beyond short-term explanations by taking time into serious consideration (Bosi 2007). Hoping to contribute in this regard, the historical aspect of my empirical analysis refers to how students related and reacted to the multiple levels of state presence since 1968. State power is disseminated through ideological state apparatuses that rely on school, education, religion, and family (Althusser 1971). I examine the formation of student movements in Kosovo under Socialist Yugoslavia and their transformations in the "post-Yugoslav (1990-1997)" period by paying particular attention to the intersection of education and the state. By examining domains outside the "repressive state apparatus," such as the military, police, or other such state institutions, I place the establishment of the UP (1970) at the center of my focus in order to scrutinize the opportunities that opened up for student movements related to larger transnational ideas of freedom and justice, but also to nationalist and anti-Yugoslav (anti-Serbian) sentiments that, in the context of a struggle for Kosovo's independence, often turned chauvinistic. The roots of these antagonisms can be traced back to the post-1878 period, which was the time of international recognition of Serbian independence, the formation of the Albanian national movement, the collapse of Ottoman rule, and territorial disputes over the territory of present-day Kosovo and Northern Albania. However, it is arguably the resulting continuous propaganda and unfavorable

political decisions that proved crucial in the formation of the South Slav-Albanian enmity that accumulated in the province of Kosovo (Pavlović 2014). It is therefore the socialist period and the formation of the Yugoslav Federation that requires an in-depth analysis at different levels of the state and its articulation within the other segments of Kosovo's society that complied with or contested its power. In the case of Kosovo, which during the socialist period was an autonomous province of Serbia, it is also important to illuminate the grounds on which the multiple state formations acquired mutually constitutive but also exclusionary parameters between the Yugoslav socialist state, the Serbian and Albanian elites in Kosovo, the emerging Kosovar intelligentsia, and the role played by Albania.

In this attempt to examine the multiple parties involved in the struggle for RK, I move the discussion beyond the realm of state politics alone and beyond the hierarchical, top-down imposition of state control. The notion of power as dispersed through the mechanisms of biopolitics and knowledge enable me to identify education as a critical site where the articulation between the state and its political actors — but also the students and other potential opponents of the regime — interact. Knowledge, in general, is viewed as the result of a power play between contending groups, but one where those with the most power have the resources to advance the kind of knowledge that serves their interests (Evans 1997, 191–223; Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob 1994, 198–237). The insistence of the different interest groups (SFRY, Kosovo, Serbia and Albania) on deploying their power within the educational system, namely in (mis)using the UP in a way that best reflected their interests, was also a relevant angle in understanding the struggles for dominance as well as the ethnic and ideological identities in Kosovo/SFRY throughout the historical period covered here. That is why I use an approach called "historical institutionalism." This approach allows me to analyze the historical role that UP played in the political and national emancipation of Albanians in Kosovo during the period between the late 1950s and 1990s. Historical institutionalism is neither a particular theory nor a specific method. It is best understood as an approach for studying the politics of particular institutions which brought about social change. This approach is distinguished from other social science approaches by its attention to real-world empirical questions, its historical orientation, and its attention to how institutions structure and shape social behavior and outcomes. However, as Steinmo argues, not all researchers who use historical methods and who engage in case studies are institutionalists. Only those who place special emphasis on the role that particular

institution(s) play in structuring social behavior are considered to be institutionalists (Steinmo 2008). By focusing on the key concepts of the links between UP, a divided intelligentsia, and other actors struggling for control over Kosovo, this dissertation highlights the importance of educational institutions in the structuring of the political behavior of students and society. The intra-action¹³ between state agendas, a higher educational institution (UP), and students can be also seen as a key conjuncture where structures and the individual agency gave meaning and force to one another (see figure 2).

Figure 2. The intra-action between state(s) agendas and educational institutions (UP) stimulated student demonstrations or collective actions



Using history as an analytical tool allowed me to see both the forest and the trees. This approach helped me to understand how UP and other state institutions were (mis)used by different interest groups – including student movements – to shape historical and political outcomes. It is indeed, as Anderson (1991) pointed out, a unified system of education that becomes central for the emergence of nation-states and the accompanying process of nation-building (Anderson 1991). I argue here that the history of the development of university-level education in Kosovo, political interferences/consequences, and student movements

¹³ Intra-action is Karen Barad's term used to replace 'interaction,' which necessitates pre-established bodies that then participate in action with each other.

(1968, 1981 and 1997) are not isolated, independent events. On the contrary, all of these are tightly interlinked and cannot be properly understood without careful and critical investigation of the ideas, values, and beliefs of all the actors involved. That is why I will particularly try to address the following questions concerning the UP and its students: what was the nature of the relationship between the university as an institution, the state(s) (SRS, Albania, Kosovo) and students? Was the UP an institution of academic enlightenment or a fortress of ideological and nationalist indoctrination? Were students' demands academic, political or a blend of both, blurring the clear distinctions between the two? What has been done so far to document and remember the regime's crimes perpetrated against students during the period 1968-1997 (collective use of violence, torture, imprisonment, and murder)? These research questions are answered by mapping out the genealogy of the UP and the first student protests in 1968, by examining the dynamics of the 1981 and 1997 demonstrations, and by analyzing the dimensions, forms, and implications of student protest, uprising, and resistance. My findings are consistent with those of scholars such as Anderson (1991), who identified unified educational systems and language as central in creating a sense of horizontal comradeship, and also with Bhabha's analysis, in which he insists on the liminal role of the nation-space. This liminality ensures that no "political ideologies could claim transcendent or metaphysical authority because the agency of a people is split in the discursive ambivalence that emerges in the contest of narrative authority between the pedagogical and the performative" (Bhabha 1994: 148). More precisely, the people's status as "historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy and their ability to perform themselves as 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or original [national] presence" (ibid.:145). In this dissertation, however, I am concerned with the empirical rather than the theoretical. While my results support the aforementioned theories, my point is to discuss original empirical data that are completely original to this investigation and, moreover — with regard to the oral history component — would otherwise have been lost in the coming years. This dissertation addresses the role/impact of students in promoting the vision of "Republic" status for Kosovo (whether within or without the SFRY/FRY) and in mobilizing society to protest against the violation of human rights and persistent discrimination against Albanians in Kosovo. It will also highlight the character of Albanian "intellectuals" and "politicians" during socialism who, arguably, enjoyed the benefits of the Tito regime and kept silent regarding injustices

committed against the Albanian population in Kosovo. Indeed, most of the scholars who have written about the region have underscored the continuous violation of Albanians' human rights in Kosovo. Malcolm confirmed their work, citing plans in the interwar Kingdom of Yugoslavia to expel Kosovar Albanians to Turkey (Malcolm, 1998, p. 140-1). However, by emphasizing that it was students who raised their voices and mobilized society to protest against humiliation and widespread discrimination, I propose that students were actors and icons of ongoing resistance and protest. To provide both a framework and a structure to the historical argument of my dissertation, this research is divided along temporal and thematic axes, which allows me to integrate the study of the past with the study of its impact on the present.

1.3. Accounting for the methodological frameworks of this dissertation

Given that the demonstrations were organized by Kosovo students of the ethnic Albanian majority desirous of elevating their status from that of an autonomous province of Yugoslavia – and, later, part of Serbia – to that of a constituent republic or independent country, they had a significant impact on the political lives of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Albania as well.¹⁴ While discussing the state transformations and systems of social movements in particular, Charles Tilly (2006, 433) argues that every significant political phenomenon lives in history and requires historically grounded analysis for its explanation. At the same time, establishing historical "facts" by a careful and extensive reading of archival sources is considered the essence of a historian's work (Blouin and Rosenberg 2011, 14). This dissertation intends to look at multiple layers of the student movements as pivotal historical events. This approach will offer the best opportunity for understanding the participation of all parties involved in the wider context. As such, my data collecting strategy concentrated on sources held in the Archive of Kosovo, Archive of Yugoslavia, Archive of Serbia, Central Archive of the Republic of Albania, and the Archives of Albania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some newspaper materials in the Albanian language were collected from the National Libraries in Tirana and Prishtina, whereas for the Serbian language I used the Library of the City of Belgrade (except for "Jedinstvo," which was found at the National Library in Belgrade).¹⁵

¹⁴ The demonstrations also had a significant effect on Macedonia (today's Republic of North Macedonia). This significance, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation and requires a separate study.

¹⁵ The field research was supported in part by a grant from the Open Society Foundation.

The reason for consulting sources from these countries is that they were directly involved in the process of the initial founding and subsequent development of the UP.

The present study also utilizes insights from oral history: interviews with activists, academics, politicians, and other officials, conducted in Prishtina, Tirana, Belgrade, and Skopje, because these actors participated in, influenced, or had in-depth knowledge of the student movements in Kosovo.¹⁶ As highlighted by Bosi and Reiner (2014, 144-146), the subjectivity that might be represented by archival materials viewing the developments primarily through the lens of state agencies is balanced by approaches which use oral history techniques. The utilization of oral history techniques to analyze social movements is known and has already been used to assess the global political events of 1968 (Gildea, Mark, and Warring 2013), and the civil rights and feminist movements in the United States (Morris 1984, Gluck and Patai 1991). Thus, to grasp the interrelation and co-dependence of different actors as well as the different periods of the Kosovo student movements, the following groups of people were interviewed¹⁷ for this dissertation:

- a) Members of “illegal groups”¹⁸ and the organizers of the student movements, e.g., Selatin Novosella,¹⁹ Mejreme Shema,²⁰ Sahit Berisha²¹

¹⁶ The written materials collected in the field and most interviews conducted for purposes of this research were in the Albanian and Serbian languages. All materials appearing in this dissertation have been translated into English by the author.

¹⁷ The materials of all recorded interviews are available and can be provided upon the request of the jury members of this dissertation. The individuals interviewed were academics, politicians, organizers, participants or witnesses of the demonstrations at the times under scrutiny. However, their later or current political positions can lead us to doubt their “neutral” recollection of events. That is why in the text and footnotes, I tried to add some information regarding their political activism. Their years of birth (for a few individuals the approximate years of birth) are also provided.

¹⁸ For more information about the reasons why these formations were labeled as “illegal groups”, see page 65.

¹⁹ Selatin Novosella (1939) was a founder and member of “illegal groups.” He was also one of the key organizers of the 1968 student movements in Kosovo.

²⁰ Mejreme Shema (1948) was one of the female activists who was wounded and then imprisoned in the aftermath of the 1968 demonstrations.

²¹ Sahit Berisha (1951) was an activist and a contact point of the organizers of the 1968 demonstrations in one of the high schools in Prishtina. Berisha received instructions for the mobilization of the pupils from his school directly from Osman Dumoshi – another key organizer of the 1968 student movements in Prishtina.

(1968), Hydajet Hyseni,²² Ethem Çeku,²³ Gani Koci,²⁴ Jakup Krasniqi²⁵ (1981) and Bujar Dugolli,²⁶ Driton Lajçi,²⁷ Albin Kurti,²⁸ Muhamet Mavraj²⁹ (1997)

- b) Political representatives of the historical periods covered: Azem Vllasi,³⁰ Dušan Janjić,³¹ Paskal Milo,³² Muhamet Hamiti.³³
- c) Professors, academics, journalists and intellectuals familiar with the topic of this dissertation: Petrit Imami,³⁴ Rexhep Qosja,³⁵ Denisa Kostovicova,³⁶

²² Hydajet Hyseni (1954) is an ex-political prisoner, a founder and famous personality in the illegal group known as “Revolutionary Group.” Hyseni is also currently active in politics and a member of the Kosovo Assembly.

²³ Ethem Çeku (1962) is a historian and an ex-political prisoner as a member of the illegal groups in Kosovo. After the Kosovo war (1999) Çeku was active in politics and held the position of minister in Kosovo’s government (2001-2007).

²⁴ Gani Koci (1958) was one of the organizers of the March 11, 1981 student demonstrations in Prishtina. After the Kosovo war (1999) Koci was actively engaged in politics, as a member of the Kosovo Assembly and deputy minister in Kosovo’s government.

²⁵ Jakup Krasniqi (1951) is an ex-political prisoner, a founder and famous personality in the illegal groups. After the Kosovo war (1999), he was an actively engaged politician, former acting President of Kosovo and a former chairman of the Assembly of Kosovo.

²⁶ Bujar Dugolli (1969) studied at the Department of History and was later a president of the Student Union at the University of Prishtina and one of the main organizers of the non-violent demonstrations in October 1997. After the war (1999) he was actively engaged in politics, serving also as a minister in Kosovo’s government (2004-2008).

²⁷ Driton Lajçi (1974) was a vice president of the Student Union at the UP and one of the main organizers of the non-violent demonstrations in October 1997. After the war in Kosovo, Lajçi became actively engaged in politics. As a part of interview, it was suggested to me by Driton Lajçi to use his insights about the same topic, shared with the newspaper Epoka e Re during October 2005.

²⁸ Albin Kurti (1975) studied computer and telecommunications sciences and was a vice president of the Student Union at the University of Prishtina and one of the main organizers of the non-violent demonstrations in October 1997. For more than a decade, Kurti has been actively engaged in politics and is considered one of the main opposition leaders.

²⁹ Muhamed Mavraj (1973) studied at the Technical Faculty and was a secretary of the Student Union at the UP, and one of the main organizers of the non-violent demonstrations in October 1997. He is currently involved in journalism and media. Special thanks to Muhamet Mavraj for taking the time to share numerous articles from Epoka e Re, as well as pictures and other materials.

³⁰ Azem Vllasi (1948) was a member of the SFRY League of Communists Provincial Committee (LoCPC) and became the leader of the Kosova League of Communists (LoC) in 1986.

³¹ Dušan Janjić (1950) was a member of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (SRS) LoC (1968-1988), as well as founder and a vice president of Social Democracy (1997-1999).

³² Paskal Milo (1949) is an Albanian historian, politician, and currently a leader of the Social Democracy Party of Albania. He has also been a member of the Albanian parliament since the early nineties and held various posts under the Albanian government, notably that of Foreign Minister (1997 - 2001)

³³ Muhamet Hamiti (1964) is a Kosovar politician and UP professor. As an advisor and close collaborator of Ibrahim Rugova, he was a founding member and chief editor of the English-language service of the Kosova Information Center (KIC), a Kosovar news organization close to President Rugova.

³⁴ Petrit Imami (1945) is a professor of Albanian origin and has been at the University of Belgrade since 1981. He authored a number of publications, including the book “Srbi i Albanci kroz vekove” (Serbs and Albanians through the centuries), which makes him one of most competent scholars on Serb-Albanian relations.

³⁵ Rexhep Qosja (1936) is a prominent Albanian politician and literary critic, the author of various anthologies and scholarly monographs.

³⁶ Denisa Kostovicova (1971) is an Associate Professor at the London School of Economics and Political Science. She is the author of “Kosovo: The Politics of Identity and Space” (2005) and co-editor of a number of special

Rexhep Ismajli,³⁷ Victor Friedman,³⁸ Sonja Biserko,³⁹ Jusuf Buxhovi,⁴⁰ Afrim Krasniqi,⁴¹ Shkëlzen Maliqi,⁴² Fahri Musliu,⁴³ Sabile Keçmezi Basha.⁴⁴

- d) Civil society activists and Leader of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms from Kosovo, Bexhet Shala,⁴⁵ and from Serbia, Nataša Kandić.⁴⁶
- e) Interviews were also conducted with ex-employees of the state security service of the SFRY (Abdulla Prapashtica⁴⁷ - online interview - and Ilmi Hetemi⁴⁸) as well as with doctors who witnessed torture by the ex-regime (Agim Bytyqi⁴⁹) and relatives of those who lost their lives participating in these movements (Faton Abazi⁵⁰).

issues and books including “Transnationalism in the Balkans” (2008) and “Civil Society and Transitions in the Western Balkans” (2013), etc.

³⁷ Rexhep Ismajli (1947), is UP professor and a member of Kosovo’s Academy of Sciences since 1993.

³⁸ Victor A. Friedman (1949) is Professor Emeritus in the Humanities at the University of Chicago. His multidisciplinary research involves fieldwork in the Balkans for over 40 years. He was in Kosovo in 1981, and he was part of a Council on Foreign Relations Mission in 1995.

³⁹ Sonja Biserko (1948) is a founder and president of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, that actively followed and wrote about political developments in Kosovo.

⁴⁰ Jusuf Buxhovi (1946) is a Kosovar-Albanian author, journalist, history writer. As a political activist, he was one of the founding members and the first secretary of the LDK.

⁴¹ Afrim Krasniqi (1971) is a researcher at the Albanian Academy of Sciences in Tirana and the executive director of the Institute of Political Studies. He is a lecturer on political parties, political systems and electoral systems at the University of Tirana and a close follower of political developments in Albania and Kosovo.

⁴² Shkëlzen Maliqi (1947) is a Kosovar political analyst. Since the beginning of the 1980s, he has been a regular contributor to the most important media outlets in Kosovo and the former Yugoslavia. Maliqi was also involved in politics during the nineties.

⁴³ Fahri Musliu (1948) is a retired Albanian journalist, living and working in Belgrade since 1968. He reported for the BBC and the Voice of America in Belgrade. He was a correspondent and associate for many news agencies in Serbo-Croatian, Albanian and English. He was one of the founders, director and editor in chief for the magazine "Europe" in Serbian and English (1996-1998) in Belgrade.

⁴⁴ Sabile Keçmezi Basha (1954) was a permanent researcher at the Kosovo History Institute (1978-2018). During her long career, she mainly focused on explaining the founding and development of “illegal groups” (1945–1990s) in Kosovo.

⁴⁵ Bexhet Shala (1958), head of Kosovo’s Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Kosovo, an organization that played a crucial role in Kosovo’s daily politics, especially from the late eighties.

⁴⁶ Nataša Kandić (1946) is a Serbian human rights activist and the founder of the Humanitarian Law Center, an organization campaigning for human rights and reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia.

⁴⁷ Abdulla Prapashtica (1957) was one of the investigators of the state security intelligence service in SFRY. He is also one of the founders of one illegal group organization which claims to have been the organizers of the 1981 demonstrations.

⁴⁸ Ilmi Hetemi (1945) was Chief of a Police Station in Ferizaj/Uroševac (1962-1981)

⁴⁹ Agim Bytyqi (1960) is a medical doctor. In 1981, he was a student at the Faculty of Medicine in Prishtina.

⁵⁰ Faton Abazi (1969) is a brother of Afrim Abazi, who was arrested during the attempt to commemorate the first year of 1981 demonstrations. The torture to which Afrim Abazi was subjected caused him to jump from the fourth floor of the police building, as a result of which he died.

The insights gathered from about thirty-three interviewed personalities are utilized in this dissertation. The respondents are chosen mainly based on the importance of their roles or institutional positions during the historical period(s) covered by this research. In addition to other sources, these interviews also provided insider information, which allowed for a thorough analysis of the issues affecting actors on all sides (students, citizens, and the regime). I also benefited from the generosity of interview participants, most of whom gave me books, important trial documents, newspaper articles, pictures and other useful materials related to my research topic. In addition to examining archival and interview materials, I looked at videos and textual documents from relevant institutions to gain a better understanding of the students' emotions and their fear of the acts committed by the regime against them (collective use of violence, torture, imprisonment). The aim was also to document the experiences of the masses of men and women affected by the regime's actions. Additionally, I also utilized some statistical data collected from Public Pulse.⁵¹ My academic and professional background, in addition to my knowledge of the local languages (Albanian and Serbian) and local culture and social dynamics, was a great advantage in carrying out this research and bringing to the surface the complexity of this topic. This enabled me to follow a data collecting strategy that combined a variety of different sources and available literature on this topic.

Given that the dissertation provides an historical perspective of the student movements in Kosovo (1968, 1981 and 1997), three temporal phases are used for each of the cases: before, during and after the demonstrations. The analyses are then elaborated using the following paradigms:

- micro level: personal emotions, experiences, and identities (ethical and ideological)
- meso level: UP, students, inter-generational dynamic elements, state elites, academics/intellecutuals (waves of contentions)

⁵¹ The author was a founder of the Public Pulse Project (2008). He also managed and administrated this project for a period of 10 years. This is a research project implemented by the United Nations Development Program in Kosovo using a quantitative research methodology. The results are based on an opinion poll sample that surveyed 1,306 citizens of Kosovo over 18 years of age, of both sexes and from all municipalities and regions of Kosovo, covering both rural and urban areas. The sample included 896 Kosovo Albanians, 210 Kosovo Serbs and 200 Kosovo non-Serb minorities (namely Turkish, Bosnian, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian). The survey's method is multi-staged random probability sampling. The sample is representative of households in Kosovo. Since 2010 this survey has been conducted every six months, while earlier it was conducted on a quarterly basis. Public Pulse surveys oversample minorities in Kosovo (K-Serbs, K-Others) in order to be able to disaggregate data by ethnicity, however, when we have to calculate the numbers for totals we have to weight data by actual population figures.

- macro level: regional impact (Serbia, Albania) and influences on broader international levels (Yugoslavia, West/East)

As recommended by Dill and Aminzade (2007), the following steps were used in the utilization of the archival and oral history materials for this dissertation:

- relevant sources were identified, found, and selected,
- sources were registered and classified in preparation for further analysis,
- the materials collected were subjected to critical inquiry, in particular concerning "the institutional processes that produced them,"
- finally, the analyses proceeded in multiple directions (Dill and Aminzade 2007, 269).

By examining information gathered from archives (and libraries) in Prishtina, Tirana, and Belgrade, along with data gathered via interviews, I was able to determine the central role that students had in carrying out ideas of freedom, peace and RK. This methodology also allowed me to examine whether the UP, student mobilization and state-creation were interrelated and co-dependent. By analyzing archival documents from 1968 onwards, I was able to assess how the historical shifts of the UP affected student movements and mobilization practices. Analysis of the materials gathered in the archives and interviews, as well as videos and media materials which had not been previously explored, produced new knowledge on this topic.

1.4. Literature review framework: assessing social movements and protests

Although this dissertation is developed using a historical approach and does not examine the Kosovo student movements from various social science perspectives; to address some sets of questions I also turned to the social science literature dealing with social and student movements comparatively, taking place at different temporal and geographic junctures.⁵² A number of scholars who have written about social movements have had difficulties in providing a precise definition of social movements. For example, American

⁵² See for instance: Skcopoli 1979, Tilly 1981, 2004 and 2006, Dunn 1989, Marwick 1998, Day 2005, Flam and King 2005, McIntyre 2005, Klimke and Scharloth 2008, Klandermans and Roggerband 2010, Johnston 2011 and 2014, Bosi and Reiter 2014, Fahlenbrach, Klimke, and Scharloth. 2016, Jian et al. 2018, Della Porta and Diani 2006, Della Porta and Keating 2008, Della Porta 2016, etc.

abolitionist and orator Wendell Phillip (1811-1884) said in his speeches that "Movements/revolutions are not made; they come," and Skocpol offered arguments that movements are not made by theorists but are rather products of complex connections between socio-political conditions (Skocpol 1979). However, this lack of a comprehensive definition may be because social movements are usually organized by interest groups that are themselves not necessarily well defined or that are not recognized institutional entities aiming to gain direct access to political power. Instead, they bloom as a reaction of undefined groups embedded somewhere in between the political elites and disaffected members of society. As such, it may be plausible to assume that the actions of a particular larger group of individuals demanding particular political or social changes or improvements constitutes what may be considered a social movement.

The term "social movement" was introduced into scholarly discussion by German sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book entitled "History of the French Social Movements from 1789-1850 (Werner 1966). Later, Marx and Engels adopted the term in their "Communist Manifesto" (1884) and defined it in the following terms:

"... all previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority."(Tilly 2004; 7, citing Marx and Engels (1958) "Communist Manifesto"; 1, 44).

When first used in the early 19th century, the concept of a social movement had a rather specific meaning: it stood for the movement of the new industrial working class and had socialist, communist, and anarchist tendencies. According to Charles Tilly, the relationship between politics and society enabled Westerners to invent social movements during the 18th century. Tilly argues that social movements became vehicles of popular politics across the world in diverse contexts and historical periods (Tilly; 2004). In his book "Social Movements, 1768-2004," Tilly argues that from their 18th-century origins onward, social movements have proceeded not as solo performances but as interactive campaigns promoted mainly by democratization and heavily dependent on political entrepreneurs for their scale, durability, and effectiveness. Tilly also emphasizes that to enable a social movement to survive, people usually participate as volunteers offering their time and skills (Tilly; 2004).

In David Aberle's (1966) writings compiled by McKeen and Pecho, four kinds of social movements were identified: alternative and redemptive social movements (both of which are at the individual level, where one advocates for minor and the other for radical changes) and reformative and revolutionary social movements (at the level of a broader group, or societal level, where one advocates for minor, and the other for radical changes) (McKeen and Pecho, 2009). The first modern social movements appeared in the mid-18th century, and they were associated with economic and political changes that appeared in England (Tilly, 2004). Other historical movements that followed in the late 18th century included the British movement against slavery, the French and American revolutions, and 19th-century labor movements, which in a way paved the way for the establishment of communist and socialist political parties and organizations. Spreading across Europe and America, the pressure of the masses to continue with reforms was also manifested in Russia in the 19th century, leading to various movements that culminated in the 1905 and 1917 revolutions that toppled the Czarist regime (Tilly, 1981, Defronzo, 2011). If the 18th and 19th centuries' movements are analyzed based on Aberle's theory of type of social movement, we might easily consider them as reformative and revolutionary social movements. Hence, they all fall under the rubric of broader groups or societal level movements, which advocate for both minor and radical changes.

After the Second World War, the Western world in particular embarked on a journey of reform and change. This was mostly achieved through reformative but did not exclude radical social movements. There emerged different types of social movements, often labeled as New Social Movements, i.e., national movements, the civil rights movement, the women's rights movement, environmental movements, etc. Richard J.F. Day uses the theory of affinity to explain that the Newest Social Movements developed as an alternative to the, by then, old social movements (unions, political parties, strikes, etc.) because, according to him, activists are always already doing theory and theorists are always already political subjects; the challenge lies in increasing our awareness and acceptance of this mutual implication, as well as in searching for more ways to discover the possibilities and tensions this creates (Day 2005; 193). Day also focuses his attention on "radical activism" (Day 2005; 22), which attempts to modify or build alternatives for main structures, processes, practices, and identities. Day proposes that radical movements should overcome the logic of hegemony and favor the logic of affinity. However, the majority of scholars

recognize that most transformations throughout history, particularly those that occurred during the 20th century (primarily in the Western world), happened due to decades of work and effort invested by various activists and thinkers who organized and participated in social movements (ibid.).

"Social movements" are considered a specific kind of long-lasting and extensive type of action, spreading beyond various boundaries and extending over an entire society, i.e., concerted action groups that are more integrated but not organized in the sense of political clubs and other associations. The term "protest movements," on the other hand, is used to denote movements of a limited or mostly local, national or regional character (Heberle & Gusfield; 2008). Della Porta's definition of protest includes non-routinized ways of affecting political, social, and cultural processes (e.g., signing petitions, boycotts, blocking traffic and lawful demonstrations). She considers protests to be a channel of political expression and mobilization and suggests different typologies of protest. Protest can be more or less radical in nature, ranging from more conventional petitioning to more conflictual blockades and including episodes of violence. Forms of protest can also be distinguished according to the logic or modus operandi which the activists ascribe to them: the logic of numbers, the logic of damage, or the logic of testimony. (Della Porta 2016; 26-28). Kosovo students used this logic as well, proclaiming that although larger in numbers, Albanians were damaged and discriminated by the regime, being treated as second-class citizens with no right for a republic of their own.

1.4.1. The goals and pathways of social movements

The goals of social movements and protests are multiple. From a rational perspective, they originate from the different ways in which organizers and individuals participating in protests or social movements are able to organize, use, and create their solidarity networks. Movements extend beyond mere organizations; they emerge once those actors who had explicitly stated the goals of the movement find alternative ways to achieve them. Social movements and protests are common tools used to achieve social change, justice, and nationalist-related goals. However, Della Porta and Diani also argue that when the goals of one movement differ from the goals of others, various divisions may occur within a given movement. For example, in opposing capitalism, leftist organizations may stress the exploitative practices of global free markets and call for an overthrow of capitalism, while

their nationalist opponents may find their opposition to capitalism on very different grounds, stressing the threat of transnational powers to national sovereignty, therefore calling for protectionist economic policies and stricter limitations to the circulation of goods and people. The authors agree that in modern societies, social movements are often represented as "characters" bearing a specific cultural role with a strategic capacity for action. As a result, leadership in social movements is often *ad hoc*, short-lived, oriented toward specific goals, and concentrated in a limited area of the movements themselves (Della Porta and Diani 2006; 77, 109, 154). However, in the case of Kosovo, most of the student leaders that were involved in the organization of the demonstrations became active political figures. Later some of them served as Prime ministers, Speaker of the Parliament, and other senior positions of Kosovo's administration. Although we cannot assume that political opportunities were main goals, it is for sure that being the organizers of a "patriotic movement" helped them gain political benefits afterward. Movements typically seek social change, which necessitates the use of different means to mobilize in specific and global contexts. The most common methods used to achieve social movements' goals may include petitions, public marches, and other types of strikes, where the organizers do their best to try to win the masses over to their causes at the local, state, and broader levels. A view taken by certain authors, however, is that "emotions" present an important tool used by social mobilization to achieve the goals of diverse social movements (shame, pride, anger, solidarity, loyalty, joy, hope, fear, contempt, sadness, distrust, empathy, compassion, altruism, outrage, gratitude, happiness, etc.). Ron Eyerman also considers the use of emotion as a crucial component in the mobilization of masses to reach certain goals or to "move" the movement. He uses performance theory to relate cognitive framing to the preparation of mobilization for the movement (Eyerman 2005; 41-57). Experts such as Hopkins, McKie, Watson, and Hughes have also observed how emotion, through disputed political constructions of care, has been imagined by theorists of disability and feminism. They argue that important lessons about the "micro-processes of emotion power" (Hopkins et al 2005; 131) in social movements and beyond reside within the tensions between these two types of social movements (disability and feminism). Other authors have viewed emotions from an opposite perspective: as an important factor for the demobilization of social movements. In that vein, Kleres, for example, has made some theoretical remarks on shame and inferiority, documenting that emotion plays a crucial role during the

demobilization process of activists as well. His analysis also demonstrates that emotions are very powerful tools in gaining a comprehensive understanding of the demobilization processes of social movements (Kleres 2005; 181). Kosovo student movements were also driven by emotions. However, in addition to Thompson's concept of the moral economy, that the feelings of injustice “provokes indignation and action” (Thompson 1971, 98), the next chapters of this dissertation will also show that Kosovo Albanian society succeeded in mobilizing only when, parallel to the emotions of unjust treatment by the regime(s), they managed to raise their level of political maturity. The UP had a significant role in this regard and that is why it is considered an important political player in the region. On the other hand, authors such as Janet J. McIntyre have developed a set of "thinking tools" (McIntyre 2005; 25) to help trace collective webs and reach goals of social movements throughout different frameworks of social and cultural values. McIntyre argues that society can be taught to perform the norms and ideas that will lead to common developmental interests. Her approach claims that the only way to help people move from competitive to egalitarian thinking is by using thinking tools to create shared webs of meaning that both shape and question the social world. The primary purpose of McIntyre's thinking tools is not to solve the problems. Instead, the purpose is to help us understand the nature of the concerns and define the set of circumstances and phenomena of the problems in question. McIntyre argues that ideas can be used to empower the powerless and the powerful and that understanding this presents the first step towards liberation (McIntyre 2005; 8). We cannot pretend that the demonstrations “solved the problem” in Kosovo. Nevertheless, the mobilization of the students helped the society to understand and define the liberation, or the “Republic” status for Kosovo, as an issue of common interest.

1.4.2. Different disciplinary approaches to research the variability of social movements

Even though the methodological decisions for this dissertation have been elaborated in the previous section(s), I still consider it useful for readers to highlight some of the main approaches used by scholars to study social and student movements. An enormous body of literature, many theories and a variety of concepts on the theoretical approaches to researching the variability of social movements have been published.⁵³ Jackie Smith and

⁵³ See for example: Skcopoli 1979, Tilly 1981, 2004 and 2006, Dunn 1989, Marwick 1998, Day 2005, Flam and King 2005, McIntyre 2005, Klimke and Scharloth 2008, Klandermans and Roggerband 2010, Johnston 2011 and

Tina Fetner consider social movement research to be by and large state-centric. They add that two notions have emerged from what is largely a state-centric body of social movement research: political contexts and mobilizing structures provide useful analytical tools that can help scholars analyze how states and other actors and structures shape the dynamics of social movements. These authors claim that political contexts affect both how people can try to influence political outcomes and how they can come together as a group (Smith and Fetner 2010; 21, 22). Smith and Fetner similarly conclude that state policies present critical components of the political context in which social movements take place. Other scholars focus more specifically on the socio-psychological ways in which social context influences individuals' behavior. They argue that there are four basic social psychological mechanisms (social identity, cognition, emotion, and motivation) that mediate between collective identity and collective action (Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2010; 161). Another important approach to the study of social movements is the anthropological, according to which the analysis of social movements needs to take into account the cultural dimensions of social movements' identities, discourses, and actions. Authors promoting this approach argue that the anthropological emphasis on cultural dimensions contributed to clarifying the recurring debate between more structuralist and more agency-focused approaches to the contexts in which social movements take place. The analysis of a certain culture's manifold presence in social movements, the concrete incarnation of culture in social movements, and distinct "temporalities" of culture and protest actions have enabled researchers to explore the multifarious ways in which culture manifests itself in social movements and reflect on the consequences of the apparent mismatch between culture's "slow time" and movements' "rapid time" (Salman and Assies 2010; 206, 219, 261). Social movement studies have not been developed as a specific area within political science. Although no specific social movement framework has been developed within this field, political scientists have introduced important ideas and theoretical concepts for the analysis of social movements, including "resource mobilization" and "political opportunity." However, most of the use and theoretical developments of those concepts have taken place outside the discipline, generally in sociology. Political science rather examines the role of social movements as players in the political arena and how collective actions may be shaped by political

2014, Bosi and Reiter 2014, Fahlenbrach, Klimke, and Scharloth. 2016, Jian et al. 2018, Della Porta and Diani 2006, Della Porta and Keating 2008, Della Porta 2016, etc.

opportunities. Indeed, political science touches on many aspects of social movements and the politics of protest and emphasizes the connections among organized actors and their interests, state structures, and public policies. Consequently, social movements are an area of inquiry within three major subfields of political science (American politics, comparative politics, and international relations), but the study of social movements is not a field in and of itself (Meyer and Lupo 2010; 139). Also, the historical context of any social movement presents a major consideration for its analysis. To understand why and how social movements emerge, it is necessary to understand the context. Dill and Aminzade remind us that, as a discipline, history is organized along lines of time and space, and claim that, when it comes to social movements, there are three historical methods for their research: close attention to detail and context, skeptical and judicious questioning of sources via internal and external criticism, and the use of narrative – the roles played by later and current narrative discourse (Dill and Aminzade, 2010; 272). Since the bulk of theories and concepts informing social movement research are either based on studies of the present or of the relatively recent past, deeper historical knowledge will always provide for a better understanding and thereby foster more contextualized theory. However, there is also a range of additional techniques which a researcher can use to approach the study of social movements, such as surveys, formal models, discourse analysis, in-depth interviews, participant observation, case studies, network analysis, other historical methods, protest event analysis, macro-organizational analysis, and comparative politics (Della Porta 2016).

Student movements have been examined and interpreted in a multiplicity of different ways. When scholars have assessed them from the micro-level perspective, some have linked student activism with the characteristics of youth, such as limited responsibility and the availability of free time (Allerbeck 1972), whereas others have adduced enthusiasm, idealism and exposure to new ideas (Altbach 1967), or even portrayed such students as spoiled, emotional rebels, irreverent, adventurist radicals unable to handle ambiguity and devoted to an ethic of absolute ends, etc. (Lipset 1976). But when student movements have been analyzed from macro-level perspectives, the interpretations of scholars have recognized the interactions between student movements, the spheres in which universities were embedded and the transformations of the states or the broader systems. Student protests have been seen to respond to historical changes (Martinelli and Cavalli 1972). Student movements have often accompanied — and sometimes even started — cycles of

protests, as was the case in Kosovo. That is why, as Delgado and Ross (2016, 144) noted, "Students are often considered to be 'catalysts' of political and social action or 'barometers' of the social unrest and political tension accumulated in society." On many occasions, students quickly found allies within the political system and contributed to more general mobilizations, and, as I shall so, this applies to Kosovo.

1.5. Conclusions

All periods of the UP's life were marked by the high political mobilization of the student body with regard to the national(ist) interests of Kosovar Albanians. In 1968, 1981 and 1997, UP campuses and cities in Kosovo were bursting with student activism, which mainly focused on opposition to the SFRY's status quo, and, in 1997, to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY's) political regime. Students organized demonstrations to protest the regime's human rights violations and persistent discrimination against Kosovo Albanians between 1968 and 1997. However, the student demands during the demonstrations of 1968 and 1981 also included nationalist slogans. The eruption of the first student movements in Kosovo during the last century depended not only on the dynamics of that particular time (the 1960s) but also on pre-existing conditions. Thus, to understand the overall picture, one must be aware of previous state transformations, relations between communities living in the area as well as with the authorities, etc. To offer comprehensive and credible explanations for these developments, history must seriously be taken into account. Hence, as Tilly (2006) points out, "from beginning to end, the process belongs to history." That is why I have chosen a historical approach for researching Kosovo student movements (1968, 1981, 1997).

The second chapter of this dissertation offers a historical overview of how the Albanians living in the SFRY viewed themselves and were viewed externally by other peoples in the country. Here I argue that while the Orientalist and Balkanist expositions of this region shaped a variety of discourses among communities living in Yugoslavia, particularly due to the diverse histories and specificities of each ethnic group, a uniform interpretation of Orientalism and Balkanism in the context of Yugoslavia cannot be made. Additionally, I will provide a historical overview of the disputes between Albanians and Serbs related to the establishment and development of educational institutions in the Albanian language as well as their role in political and national emancipation.

The third chapter seeks to understand the emergence and development of collective actions during the late 1960s, particularly in Belgrade (the SFRY's capital) and Kosovo. Here I analyze the conceptual connections and differences between student movements in Belgrade and Kosovo during the specific historical period. The main focus, however, remains on the student movements in Kosovo (1968). I explicitly look at the interactions between regional/local policies, institutions of higher learning, and student movements in Kosovo (1968) and the impact of these movements on the establishment of the UP. Further, the connections between politics and education are highlighted in every phase of the development of university level education in Kosovo. Here I present the connections between education and the objectives of two different political agendas (the SFRY and Albania). Thus, it was not the academic values, i.e. the desire to preserve and create knowledge as such, but the intentions of fostering political ideologies that were the main interest of multiple parties involved in the struggle for the "establishment and development" of the UP. Even though it functioned to some extent as an academic institution, the UP became an arena where different political forces struggled for control. Thereafter I present and analyze the eruptions and development of the student demonstrations of March and April 1981. These demonstrations will be remembered in history as events that triggered deep societal divisions in addition to generating destabilization and bringing about great changes both at the level of Kosovo and at the level of the SFRY. The fifth chapter covers the fraught atmosphere which dominated Kosovo during the 1990s. This was also the most challenging period for the survival of the UP. In September 1991, the Serbian police and army were deployed in front of elementary and high schools and the UP. The purpose was to prevent instruction in the Albanian language as well as exclude professors and students from the UP premises. Subsequently, after almost a decade of "forced patience," the parallel educational structures that had been formed in response to Serbian exclusion were considered as unacceptable by Kosovar Albanian students. Only when students started to organize demonstrations did the attention of Western diplomats and media began to focus on Kosovo. This is the background against which the three student movements in Kosovo (1968, 1981 and 1997) are analyzed in this dissertation. The key concepts of the analysis revolve around the links between higher education (specifically the UP), political influences, and students. By examining the dynamics of the demonstrations, I analyze the dimensions, forms and implications of student uprisings and resistance, as well as the

struggles for dominance by local (Kosovo), federal (SFRY), regional (Albania and Serbia) and international (outside the Balkans) actors. I also argue that patriotic emotions, fear of repression/assimilation, or – given that some student leaders subsequently became political figures – ambitions for political opportunities, were also factors prompting the students, and especially the organizers among them, to become committed to their respective movements. To help the reader understand that these demonstrations, although organized by students, were not necessarily academic but rather political, this dissertation presents and analyzes the impact that students had on mobilizing society to demonstrate for self-determination. Given that each demonstration took place under different historical and political circumstances, and that each was organized by a different generation of Kosovo Albanian students, this dissertation examines how the vision of independence impacted the first and subsequent student movements. Additionally, this dissertation elucidates the influence and reactions of domestic and foreign powers vis-à-vis the students and movements of 1968, 1981 and 1997 in Kosovo.

Taking into consideration the complexity and scope of the topic, I am aware that this dissertation cannot claim to be either perfect or complete. However, I hope that my modest offering will inspire further interdisciplinary discussions as well as an appreciation of the students' contributions.

Chapter 2: Uneasy liaison: Albanians and South Slavs in the Former Yugoslavia

2.1. Application of Orientalist and Balkanist theoretical lenses to Albanians in Yugoslavia

This chapter deals with the perception of Albanians by the South Slav majority in Yugoslavia, especially focusing on the Serbian perspective. To offer a comprehensive picture of these relations, I also examine the role of the Orientalist and Balkanist discourse in the Former Yugoslavia with a particular focus on Albanians. While the Orientalist and Balkanist expositions of this region shaped a variety of discourses among communities living in Yugoslavia, particularly due to the diverse histories and specifics of each ethnic group, a uniform interpretation of Orientalism and Balkanism in the context of Yugoslavia cannot be made. The multilayered and polyphonic character of Orientalism reflected in how the people living in Yugoslavia viewed themselves, were viewed externally by other peoples in the country, and were viewed by the West. By applying Orientalist and Balkanist theoretical lenses on Albanians living in Yugoslavia, this chapter provides some reflections on how Albanians defined themselves and how they were perceived by the South Slavic majority within Yugoslavia. Moreover, I ask why Albanians considered their nationality as the chief factor in defining themselves, unlike the other peoples living in Yugoslavia. Since the central angle of this dissertation is higher/university education in Kosovo, in this chapter, I also turn my attention to the historical disputes that these two ethnicities had about education.

2.2. Connections between Orientalism and Balkanism: Zooming onto the Balkans

Edward Said describes Orient as a label that designates the East in contrast to the Occident (referring to the West), while Orientalism, as a concept, is often used as an analytical term referring to how the East is seen by the West (Said, 1977: 210). Since the 18th century, Orientalism has been used as a traditional term for Oriental Studies, however, Said redefined this term forever in 1978 in his influential and provocative book "Orientalism" (Said, 1977). Using a philosophical analysis, Said positions the West as though gazing down from a position of superiority on "the Orient" as "the other," different, unusual, fanatical, violent, religious, and inferior. By analyzing the Western attitudes towards the East, Said considers Orientalism to be a powerful European ideological creation, and a way for writers,

philosophers, and colonial administrators to deal with the "otherness" of Eastern culture, customs, and beliefs. He describes the West's tendency to deal with the East through a generalized and systematic vocabulary portraying the Orient as unchanging and uniform and as something that the West should fear. He analyzes European and American observations of Arab and Islamic culture and the generally dichotomous ways in which the former try to delineate the East: barbarous vs. civilized, Western progress behind "us" vs. a backward "them," or Christianity and civilization vs. primitivism and Islam (Said, 1977; 137-151, 240). Orientalism also addresses universal clichés of human nature involving power and discourse that resonate beyond the broader "East-West" divisions (Said 1977: 246). By dismantling the West's tendency to present itself as rational, developed, humane, and superior while presenting the Orient as underdeveloped, aberrant and inferior, Said maintains that the Orient appeared as "the other" in Western descriptions of its domination.

Even though Said's theories have received criticism (Buruma and Margalit, 2005), they remain useful in understanding how the West perceives the Balkans. Building on Said's concept of Orientalism, Milica Bakić-Hayden and Robert Hayden argue that the Balkans can be viewed as a variation of the Orientalist theme that distinguishes this region as a part of Europe which used to be under the Ottoman rule (M. Bakić-Hayden & R. Hayden 1992). Milica Bakić-Hayden employs the term "nesting Orientalism" (1995); by introducing the notion of "nesting," she tends to dismantle the likelihood of each region to view the cultures and religions to their East as more conservative and primitive (M. Bakić-Hayden, 1995, 917). She argues that identities become fluid and overlapping in the process of nesting, while ethnic, national, religious, or gender identities could shift or become fixed for a time, yet are ever changing. In her theory, she also explains how a group that creates the Orientalized "other" can also be the subject of Orientalization by a different group. According to this concept, Asia is more "East" or more "other" than Eastern Europe and, within Eastern Europe, the Balkans are perceived as the most "Eastern." Such a hierarchy also exists within the Balkans. For example, Yugoslavs who reside in areas that were formerly part of the Habsburg monarchy regard themselves as more European than the Eastern Orthodox peoples, who in turn consider themselves to be more European than those who identify as European Muslims and who further differentiate themselves from the ultimate Orientals, non-Europeans (M. Bakić-Hayden, 1995; 922). On the other hand, Maria

Todorova, the author who launched the popular use of the term Balkanism,⁵⁴ challenges Bakić-Hayden's argument and insists that Balkanism is an altogether different discourse and that this part of Europe does not present an Orientalist variation, which requires a thorough historical analysis (Todorova, 1994; 454, 455). She convincingly presents historical evidence that Balkanism cannot be considered as a sub-species of Orientalism, because the concept evolved independently from Orientalism, and was strongly motivated by aggressive and passionate nationalism, not religion. Even though Todorova claims that the Balkans' inconsistent (but usually negative) image inside Western culture impacts the paradoxes of cultural reference and its assumptions, she still argues that the Balkans form a part of Europe, albeit a provincial or peripheral part for the last several centuries. Balkanism, according to Todorova, treats the differences within one type, Europe, rather than the difference between imputed types (the "Occident" and the "Orient").

Todorova thus insists on the difference between Said's theory of Orientalism and her theory of Balkanism:

Geographically inextricable from Europe, yet culturally constructed as "the other," the Balkans became, in time, the object of a number of externalized political, ideological and cultural frustrations and have served as a repository of negative characteristics against which a positive and self-congratulatory image of the "European" and "the West" has been constructed. Balkanism conveniently exempted "the West" from charges of racism, colonialism, Eurocentrism and Christian intolerance: the Balkans, after all, are in Europe, they are white and they are predominantly Christian (Todorova, 1994; 456).

The importance of Balkanism as a concept is also emphasized in identity constructions. In the case of the Balkans, the identity constructions involve the dual perception of the Balkans as a part of Europe, but also its opposition and its "darker side."

⁵⁴ Maria Todorova developed a theory of Balkanism. She argues that there is a discourse, which she termed Balkanism, that creates a stereotype of the Balkans, and politics is significantly and organically intertwined with this discourse (1994, 454). However, it was A. Seliščev who actually coined the term Balkanism in a seminal article. In its linguistic sense, Balkanism means exactly the opposite of Todorova's usage: it is a linguistic convergence among different Balkan languages that is the result of mutual multilingualism (1925, 37 – 54). Todorova does acknowledge this in a footnote.

Thus, according to Todorova, Balkanism evolved independently from Orientalism and, in certain aspects, in opposition to or despite it, and that, partially, because Southeastern Europe has been considered geopolitically distinct from the Near or the Middle East (Todorova, 2004, 20).

Nevertheless, both Todorova and Bakić-Hayden agree about the Balkans' perceived "otherness" in Western eyes, although the former argues that it is motivated by aggressive and passionate nationalism (Todorova, 1994), while the other stresses that religion impacted further division between the East (Orthodox churches and Islam) and the West (Catholic and Protestant churches) (M. Bakić-Hayden & R. Hayden 1992). When narrowing the focus further to only one part of the Balkans, namely Yugoslavia, it becomes clear that areas populated by a majority of inhabitants belonging to the Catholic faith, who resided in the former Habsburg monarchy, perceived themselves as different or "European" when compared to other areas formerly ruled by the Ottoman Empire.

Also, Bakić-Hayden analyzed how the Orthodox community perceived themselves as more European compared to those who identify as European Muslims (Bosnians). After these analyses, Bakić-Hayden concluded that while Slovenes and Croats used their Catholic faith and former affiliation with the Habsburg Empire to achieve their European aspirations, there did not appear to be any advantages inherent in having once been part of the Ottoman Empire, particularly for Muslims (M. Bakić-Hayden & R. Hayden, 1992; 923). The northwest portion of the Former Yugoslavia stresses its European character and the apparent advantages of having once been a part of the Habsburg Empire, while blaming their Ottoman heritage for the ills of the rest of the country. Although most of the peoples of Yugoslavia used their religion as an important tool to acquire Western and European identities and thus break free from their Ottoman past and each other, Albanians were an exception, according to Bakić-Hayden. Religion did not impact the Albanians' strong sense of national and "non-Slavic" identity (M. Bakić-Hayden, 1995; 925, 926). Therefore, it was Albanian nationalism based on language, ethnicity, and territory, rather than religion propagated by the Albanian elites, which unified ideologically both the country and its other territories. Yugoslavia's ethnic Albanians lived mainly in Kosovo, Macedonia, Southeastern Serbia, and Montenegro. Due to the Ottoman Empire's lengthy rule over some of the lands they inhabited, Albanians are also included in Maria Todorova's realm of Balkanism, where she argues that "it is preposterous to look for an Ottoman legacy in the Balkans. The Balkans

are the Ottoman legacy" (Todorova 2004; 83, 161). In addition to Todorova's example, the main way in which Balkanism has been internalized among Albanians living in Yugoslavia includes internal differentiation based on imputed Balkan characteristics, or what Bakić-Hayden describes as "nesting Orientalisms."

2.3. Self-definitions: Albanians' non-Slavic labels and points of origin

Perceived through an Orientalist/Balkanist lens and as a non-Western society, Albanian nationalist elites demanded that their community resemble their Western counterparts, which served as a source of reference for "modernization" and "progress" during the processes of modernization in the 18th and the 19th century (Todorova, 1996). Nathalie Clayer states that Albanian nationalism in the Balkans has been a product of political transformations permeating the Ottoman Empire (Clayer 2012). In their writings, Rrapaj and Kolasi periodized the curious development of Albanian nationalism into three main phases;

- a) The first commences with the highly symbolic publication of the first Albanian alphabet in 1844 and ends with the collapse of the League of Prizren (1881) or the publication of Sami Frashëri's⁵⁵ nationalist Manifesto in 1899.
- b) The second phase intensifies after the crushing of the League of Prizren by the Sublime Porte, and especially after the Greek-Ottoman crisis in 1897 and continues even after the declaration of independence, because of the amorphous state structure.
- c) The third phase of the spread of nationalism to the masses started only after 1920, with the establishment of a proper state structure and political stability (Rrapaj and Kolasi, 2013; 195).

This general periodization is also supported by Clayer (Clayer 2012; 137), who corroborates that, like most of the Balkan nations, Albanians also embarked on a quest for their pre-Christian lineage that, in their case, was constructed as being Pelasgian and later on as Illyrian. One of the main propagators of this idea, which was then adopted by Albanian activists, was the Austrian von Hahn, who in 1854 published in Vienna a book entitled, "Albanische Studien," which among other things says that the Albanians are autochthonous

⁵⁵ Sami Frashëri (1850 - 1904) was an Albanian writer, philosopher, playwright and a prominent figure of the Rilindja Kombëtare, the National Renaissance movement of Albania.

because they descend directly from the Illyrians, as do the people of Macedonia and Epirus, all stemming from prehistoric Pelasgians (Hahn, 1854). As the first step in their "modernization," as they sought to differentiate themselves from other populations in the Balkans and, obviously, "non-Slavic," Albanians started to view themselves as descendants of the Illyrians. The main reason for this, according to Dukagjin Gorani, is that the process of society's "Westernization" entailed the simultaneous exercise of their "de-orientalization"; thus one's "Westernness" could have only been measured through the prism of one's "non-easterness" (Gorani, 2011, 77). Even nowadays modern Albanians consider the idea of Illyrian heritage as part of their shared heritage.⁵⁶ Wilkes book, "The Illyrians" (1995), highlighted the notion that the lands between the Adriatic and the Danube River, now Yugoslavia and Albania, were the home of the peoples known to the ancient world as Illyrians. This is one of the few books in English which focuses solely on these ancient peoples and their province and, as such, it carries a lot of weight, but it also raises a lot of problems and disputed historical conclusions (Wilkes, 1995). There are historians, such as John V.A. Fine, who have concluded that Albanians are descendants of populations of the prehistoric Balkans, such as the Illyrians (Fine 1991; 10), whereas studies in genetic anthropology, which should not be disregarded, show that Albanians share the same ancestry as most of the other European peoples (Belledi, S. Poloni, Casalotti, Conterio, Mikerezi, Tagliavini and Excoffier, 2000).⁵⁷ However, very little evidence of pre-Christian Albanian culture survived, although their mythology and folklore are of Paleo-Balkan origin and almost all of their elements are pagan (Bonefoy 1993; 253). The legitimacy of these claims has been contested and has led to a conflict between Balkan ethnic groups (Kelley, 2012: 7).

⁵⁶ The theory that Albanians were related to the Illyrians was proposed for the first time by Swedish historian Johann Erich Thunmann in 1774. The scholars who advocate an Illyrian origin of Albanians are numerous.

⁵⁷ Michele Belledi, Estella S. Poloni, Rosa Casalotti, Franco Conterio, Ilia Mikerezi, James Tagliavini, and Laurent Excoffier. "Maternal and paternal lineages in Albania and the genetic structure of Indo-European populations." *European Journal of Human Genetics*, July 2000, Volume 8, Number 7, pp. 480-486. "Mitochondrial DNA HV1 sequences and Y chromosome haplotypes (DYS19 STR and YAP) were characterized in an Albanian sample and compared with those of several other populations from the European continent that speak Indo-European languages. No significant difference was observed between Albanians and most other Europeans, despite the fact that Albanian is a distinct branch within the Indo-European language family. The authors observe a general lack of a uniformly distinct genetic structure among Indo-European-speaking populations for both maternal and paternal polymorphisms, as well as low levels of correlation between linguistics and genetics, even though slightly more significant for the Y chromosome than for mt DNA. Altogether, the results show that the linguistic structure of continental Indo-European-speaking populations is not reflected in the variability of the mitochondrial and Y chromosome markers. This discrepancy could be due to very recent differentiation of Indo-European-speaking populations in Europe and substantial amounts of gene flow among these populations" (Belledi, S. et al 2000).

In tandem with the production of their claims of Illyrian non-Slavic identity, Albanians went about shedding their connection to their Ottoman past. Ottoman words were thrown out from Albanian language dictionaries,⁵⁸ and Albanian-born Grand Viziers⁵⁹ and other important officials who ruled the Ottoman Empire went unmentioned in official Albanian historical records. In addition, history textbooks started treating the Ottoman period of Albanian history as dominated by violence. Recently, there were heated debates when the Turkish government requested that Albania and Kosovo make certain interventions and remove inappropriate words describing the Ottomans. For instance, in a 12th-grade history textbook, it was suggested that the phrase on page 48, "stirred hatred against Ottoman rule," be replaced with "caused dissatisfaction with Ottoman rule," etc. (Gashi, 2015; 2).

Tirana-based sociologist Enis Sulstarova notes that the combination of being positioned as the Illyrians, as well as being counted as one of the "Westernized" nations, has led some Albanian intellectuals and politicians to emphasize Albania's early conversion to Christianity, declaring it to be the "true religion of Albanians" or the "religion of forefathers" (Sulstarova, 2012). Sulstarova also justifies this approach by saying that "creating a Western identity was a matter of survival for Albanian elites in the late 19 century" (Sulstarova, 2006; 9). Such history-telling started during the 19th century as part of the nation-building process known as the "national revival," which portrayed the Ottomans as the enemies of the Albanians. However, the practice of considering the legacy of the Ottoman Empire as responsible for almost every economic, cultural or political ill that the Albanians encountered throughout their history has continued throughout the entire 20th century and into the present. It is the position of this chapter that other reasons affected the survival of this tendency to dismiss the legacy of the Ottoman past. First, people may find it convenient to blame the Ottomans for today's problems by claiming that if the Ottomans had not invaded "us," we would have been a developed Western nation today.

⁵⁸ It is noted that every Balkan standard language did this, and modernizing Turkey actually did the same thing with much of this vocabulary, as it was of Arabo-Persian origin. This was first observed in: Kazazis, Kostas. 1972. *The Status of Turkisms in the Present-Day Balkan Languages. Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change. Contributions to the International Balkan Conference Held at UCLA, October 23-28, 1969*, ed. by Henrik Birnbaum and Speros Vryonis, Jr., 87-116. The Hague: Mouton.

⁵⁹ In the Ottoman Empire, the "Grand Vizier" was the Prime Minister of the Ottoman Sultan, with the absolute power of attorney and, in principle, dismissable only by the Sultan himself (see Collins English Dictionary. Copyright © Harper Collins Publishers).

This could also be considered as a sort of nesting Balkanism by the Albanians vis-à-vis the Ottomans.

Second, there is the fact that the political elites that ruled Albania after the First and Second World Wars, led by King Ahmet Zogu (1928-1939) and communist dictator Enver Hoxha (1945-1985), were brought to power with the initial agreement and support of Serbia. Thus, these Albanian rulers needed someone to blame for the fact that their political agreements with the "real enemy" made Albania one of the states that left half of its nation outside of its borders.

A third reason that should be considered as an important factor influencing these anti-Ottoman approaches toward history and national mentality – especially during communism, which itself had a revisionist character – was simply that the official ideology dictated that any reality created by foreign rule must always be considered as dark and hated. However, Albanian cultural anthropologist, historian, and philologist Rigels Halili, in one of his valuable comments about this chapter, considers the social factors, or the materialist interpretation of history as a long chain of class struggle, to be the most important factors influencing the Albanians' predilection for dismissing the legacy of their Ottoman past. Halili emphasizes that Ottoman rule was perceived as the rule of the aristocratic class over the people. Such an approach emerges directly from a Leninist approach to history. Even though communication between Albania and Yugoslavia was also difficult for Albanians, ethnic Albanians living in Yugoslavia were still very much affected by Albania's approach toward national, historical and identity definitions and approaches. It is mainly because of this impact that literature in the Albanian language produced and shaped in Albania also influenced the Albanians who were living outside of its borders.

However, there are ongoing debates in Albanian society about the necessity to re-interpret, change or improve historic materials from which Albanian pupils and students learn history in schools and at universities (Telegrafi, March 2013). Dritan Ego, an Ottoman-era historian, explains that this "softening" towards the Ottomans is the result of a more sophisticated and nuanced approach to social sciences combined with a renewed general curiosity about the period.⁶⁰ All these circumstances and tendencies to erase or

⁶⁰ Dritan Ego's interview is available here: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/albanians-question-negative-view-of-ottomans> [Last accessed on 07/02/2019]

ignore four or five centuries of history lead us toward the reasonable conclusion that, so far, history has been a lesson Albanians have been taught in a particular way.

Other intellectuals also agree that Albanian historical records were influenced by nationalistic propaganda during the 19th century's "national revival" and the communist regime of the second half of the 20th century (Albphilosopher and reporteri August 2014). Other elements that made Albanians "look different" from others living in Yugoslavia were their religious diversity, strong sense of national identity and their distinctly non-Slavic language. In contrast to all of the other constitutive "nations" living in Yugoslavia, who used religion as one of the most important identifiers, this did not hold true among Albanians. It should be underscored that while the national identity of South Slavs was strongly based on religion, in the case of Albanians, national identity was constructed rather on the basis of such elements as language, territory, history, and culture, while the role of religion did not play a central role. As Gorani puts it, "the nation retained the position of a genuine religion for Albanians" (Gorani 2012; 279). Bakić-Hayden also highlights that religion did not shape Albanians' strong sense of national and "non-Slavic" identity (M. Bakić-Hayden 1995; 926).

Isa Blumi theorizes that such an identity was politically mobilized and that it was culturally opaque and ideologically fluid prior to the 1912 Balkan Wars. In relation to the competition among various state and power structures, be it in the shape of a great power intervention or attempts at building new national identities, Blumi has shown that Ottoman reforms were successful in encouraging most subjects of the empire to commingle local interests with the fate of the empire, meaning that parochial concern for the survival of the immediate community, as it transformed over time, was directly linked to the survival of the Ottoman state (Blumi, 2011).

Thus, Albanians in Yugoslavia were perceived first as the national "other" and then, depending on who was looking at them, as the religious other. Even though they were seen as part of another nation and not necessarily as Muslims, which was reserved for Bosnians, giving priority to Albanian – linguistic and ethnic – identity still presented a reasonable approach, taking into consideration the fact that Albanians were one of the Balkans' most religiously diverse. It can be argued that another reason, which influenced prioritizing national rather than religious identity, is the fact that until the 20th century there were instances when Albanian Muslims were regarded by other communities living within

Yugoslavia as "Turks;" Albanian Orthodox were regarded as "Greeks;" and Albanian Catholics as "Latins." This is confirmed not only by oral sources who lived during the Yugoslav era, but may also be found in such written sources as Pashko Vasa⁶¹ in 1879 and Sami Frashëri, who, in 1899, wrote about this phenomenon in those very same terms. Trying to cope with their anxiety about being considered Turks or Greeks, etc., as well as to unify and strengthen national identity from the Ottoman era and onwards, Albanian elites followed a process of replacing religious differences with a common, language-based national identity that was neither Turk nor Greek nor Latin.

2.5. South Slavic majority's perception of Albanians within Yugoslavia

As stated earlier, the multilayered and polyphonic character of Orientalism and Balkanism was also reflected in how the peoples living in Yugoslavia were viewed by others. Albanians were also portrayed negatively within Yugoslavia, particularly by the Serbs, due to beliefs about their origins and for historical reasons. Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers (2008) considers this powerful stereotypical imagery against Albanians to be a sub-category of Balkanism that she calls "Albanianism." Some of the negative features of "Albanianism," or "Arnautism,"⁶² include perceptions of Albanians as corrupt, violent (in the sense of being unpredictably cruel), dirty, poor, ignorant of both state and religious law, open to bribery and prone to alcoholism, theft and murder (Schwandner-Sievers 2008; 57). When creating stereotypes, groups typically consider religion, ethnicity, culture, history, politics or other ideas. They use these categories in elaborating both reasonable and ridiculous ways to differentiate between "us" and "them." In the case of Serbian stereotypes of Albanians, available sources suggest that Albanians were portrayed very negatively in the context of Yugoslavia, not necessarily due to religious or other ideological differences. Noel Malcolm asserts that the ethnic conflict between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo is less a battle over bloodlines and religion than it is one over differing conceptions of national origins and history (Malcolm, 1998). However, in addition to these arguments about the secular and ethnic character of Albanian stigmatization, there are certain Serbian tendencies to use religion as a tool to deepen the stereotypes between these two nations which appeared

⁶¹ Pashko Vasa (1825 – 1892) was an Albanian writer, poet, and publicist of the Albanian National Awakening, and Governor of Lebanon from 1882 until his death.

⁶² "Arnaut" was the Turkish ethnonym for Albanians related to the Greek arvanitos (Schwandner-Sievers 2008; 56).

during the 1970s and 1980s. These stereotypes promoted the notion that Albanians from Kosovo were experiencing an Islamic revival, as illustrated by the popular media in Serbia of that time:

the truth about Kosovo and Metohija has not changed much over time, so that even today Muslim fundamentalism, persistently knocking at the door of Kosovo and Metohija, is trying to approach Europe. Even those in Europe who do not hold Serbia close to their hearts know very well that this old Balkan state represents the last barrier to the ongoing onslaught and aggression of Islam (Sarić 1990; 67-69, quoted by Bakić Hayden 1995).

When constructing social perceptions, different actors compete to render their portrait in the most effective way so that their particular community can impart whatever meaning they wish to a particular event. In line with their interests, different social groups or individuals build different constructs suitable for these purposes. Findings show that the Serbs' negative stereotypes about the Albanians were initiated through direct high institutional lines – mainly academic and political or state-controlled – and did not necessarily come from society itself. In his article "Rep kao argument za izlaz na more" (Tail as an Argument for Access to the Sea), Božidar Jezernik (2007) tried to explain Serbia's purpose in constructing negative stereotypes about Albanians in general. Digging back into history, Jezernik argues that these negative stereotypes mainly appeared due to the Serbian desire to gain access to the Adriatic Sea through northern Albania. Jezernik argues that Serbia's most offensive propaganda campaign against Albanians, in general, began with Vladan Đorđević's (1913) book entitled "Arnauti i velike sile" (Albanians and the Great Powers) (Jezernik, 2007).

By referring to J.G. von Hahn who wrote about some hearsay he heard in southern Albania, and to Edith Durham's book "High Albania," who wrote about meeting some Albanian highlanders, Vladan Đorđević – a member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences and a famous politician who also served as Prime Minister (1897–1900) – with the intention of influencing the Great Powers, (mis)quoted the aforementioned sources and described Albanians by citing reports and hearsay about people among the Albanians with tails, similar to monkeys hanging down from trees, and so ignorant that they were unable to

distinguish sugar from snow (Đorđević 1913). Jezernik notes that in this context Vladan Đorđević's "arguments" were also used by Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić in the 1930s government, who argued that the independence of Albania would neither be in the interest of Albania nor in the interest of Europe, because Albanians were neither ready for nor did they deserve independence, and they did not have people who would know how to rule the country (Jezernik, 2007).

Đorđe Stefanović (2005), in his reaction entitled "Seeing the Albanians through Serbian Eyes," also mentions the origins of Serbia's negative stereotypes against Albanians. The rise of the modern nation-states in the post-Ottoman Balkans, as Stefanović states, was accompanied by stigmatization, coercive assimilation, deportation and even extermination of ethnic minorities, especially local Muslims who were seen as former oppressors. Stefanović concludes that ethnic Albanians were repeatedly subjected to exclusionary stigmatization and discriminatory policies in the formative periods of the Serbian state and Yugoslavia. While these actions of the Serbian elite were guided by geopolitical security pressures and the coercive utopia of a homogeneous nation-state, Serbian policymakers were also influenced by a strong intellectual tradition of intolerance towards Albanians (Stefanović, 2005). Expansionist tendencies in territories inhabited by Albanians, as well as Serbia's negative perceptions of them, were also addressed by Serbian publisher Dimitrije Tucović. In his book "Srbija i Albanija" (Serbia and Albania) published in 1946, Tucović criticized Serbian policy towards Albanians revealed in direct reports from the front about Serbia's military violence against this nation. Tucović's famous statements about this military campaign are: "We walked into someone else's country [...] we have carried out the attempted premeditated murder of an entire nation [...] we were caught in that criminal act and have been obstructed. Now we have to suffer the punishment [...]" (Tucović, 1946).

Prishtina-based academic Pajazit Nushi added a list of cultural and scientific institutions and individuals who, according to him, contributed to and further expanded on Serbian stereotypes against Albanians. In his book "Të Vërtetat Për Kosovën" (Truths on Kosova), published in Prishtina, Nushi stresses that the negative campaign of Serbian authorities against Albanians living in Yugoslavia was conducted because the Serbian regime wanted to expand into Albanian territories. After the First World War, the Yugoslav government initiated a program aimed at colonizing Kosovo with the families of its officer corps. As compared to Jezernik, for example, who argues that the campaign against

Albanians began with Vladan Đorđević's book "Arnauti i velike sile" (Albanians and Great Powers), published in Belgrade, other Albanian authors such as Pajazit Nushi conclude that these efforts had started even earlier. According to Nushi, the roots of these negative and discriminatory approaches toward Albanians originated from the intellectual and political elites or, more specifically, from the Serbian historical treatise "Načertanije." This treatise documents the experiences of the Serbian army in 1878, 1913, 1937, 1945; works by Serbian scientists, writers and deceased politicians (Jovan Cvijić, Vasa Čubrilović, Ivo Andrić, etc.); and activities of Serbian cultural and scientific institutions, deceased policy-makers (Serbian Cultural Club, Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Associations of Writers of Serbia, Serbian Orthodox Church) (Stavileci & Nushi, 2000; 136). Serbs' negative perceptions of Albanians became even more obvious to the ethnic Albanians living within Yugoslavia. Tito's Yugoslavia was a nationally pluralistic country, where the slogan *Bratstvo i Jedinstvo* (Brotherhood and Unity) was among its cornerstones. Despite the fact that the 1981 census counted 1.7 million ethnic Albanians (Stanković, 1982), and that they exceeded the number of Macedonians and Montenegrins in the then-Yugoslavia, they were not recognized as one of the "constituent peoples" under the 1974 Constitution of the SFRY⁶³ (and also in the previous constitutions) because, according to the Yugoslav government, their traditional homeland was outside of Yugoslavia (Stavileci & Nushi, 2000).

Under the First (1921-1943) and Second Yugoslavia (1943) and until almost the 1970s, Albanians continued to be perceived as one of the most backward nations, with high illiteracy rates (which, by the way, constantly decreased during the communist period), a peculiar social structure bordering on a tribal mentality, and intrinsically criminal tendencies in Yugoslavia (Vickers 1998). Unemployment rates were high among the majority of Albanians, resulting in poverty, and even though Kosovo Albanians outnumbered Serbs and Montenegrins, these latter dominated the administration of Kosovo. It is worth mentioning, however, that this started to change at the turn of the 1960s and into the 1970s, especially after students began to graduate from the University of

⁶³ The Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, February 21, 1974, is available at the archive of Yugoslavia online: http://www.arhivyu.gov.rs/active/en/home/glavna_navigacija/leksikon_jugoslavije/konstitutivni_akti_jugoslavije/ustav_sfrj_1974.html [Last accessed on 07/02/2019]

Prishtina.⁶⁴ Institutional pressures upon Albanians in Yugoslavia were particularly visible during the late 1940s and 1950s, regarded by many in Kosovo as a particularly painful and repressive period. Miranda Vickers blames the regime for extreme measures which, at times, differed very little from those employed by occupation forces during wartime (Vickers 1998; 148). Also, various sources used by Miranda Vickers show that stigmatization of Albanians continued uninterrupted between 1944 and 1946, when over 36,000 and maybe as many as 47,000 Albanians were the victims of systematic mass executions by communists during the days of revolutionary fervor and, later, through "search and destroy missions," "pacification," "disarming," "rehabilitation programs," police torture and epidemics of typhoid fever affecting military units.⁶⁵ The situation changed for the better when the influence of Albanian politician Fadil Hoxha of the Yugoslav Communist Party grew during the 1960s and 1970s. However, as everywhere else in Yugoslavia at that time, those who acted against the regime faced repression, imprisonment and, at times, death. Nevertheless, the majority, who just wanted to make a decent living, had opportunities to do so.

Even though the next chapters will offer more detailed explanations of the role of the students, it is worth mentioning here the student movement of 1968 in Prishtina. The movement significantly affected positive developments for Albanians in Yugoslavia during these two decades. However, perhaps due to their nationalist nature, as well as the politically sensitive student demands, the demonstrations in Kosovo were far more violent than those in other republics of the SFRY. In response to the 1968 movements, for example, the SFRY Constitution would be amended in 1968. In 1971, it allowed even more local control in autonomous provinces, and in November 1969 UP was founded. The amendments adopted in June 1971 closely corresponded to the positions advanced by the Croatian leadership and

⁶⁴ The ethnic Albanians had Yugoslavia's lowest literacy rate: 68.5% individuals over the age of ten were able to read in 1979. In 1981 only 178,000 of 1.5 million Albanians in Kosovo were employed; one in four of those held nominal bureaucratic positions. Meanwhile, the student population of 470,000 was a constant source of political unrest and potentially higher unemployment upon graduation. (Sources: The Library of Congress Country Studies; CIA World Factbook - Data as of December 1990: http://www.photius.com/countries/yugoslavia_former/society/yugoslavia_former_society_albanians.html) [Last accessed on 07/02/2019]

⁶⁵ These sources include: S. Repishti, "Human Rights and the Albanian Nationality in Yugoslavia," in Oskar Gruenwald and Karen Rosenblum-Cale (eds), *Human Rights in Yugoslavia*, New York, 1986, p. 238. Several Albanians who had been participants in the signing of the Bujan Resolution in 1944 paid with their lives for the ideal of the unification of Kosovo and Albania. Rifat Berisha died fighting in the hills of Drenica in 1948, and Xheladin Hana was murdered by the UDBA (Yugoslav State Security Service) in 1948. Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment, 1948- 1974*, p. 25.

its representatives and strongly supported by the leadership of the Macedonian republic. The amendments did, however, maintain the integrity of the Serbian republic. Albanian pressure to elevate the status of Kosovo from that of an autonomous province within the Serbian republic to that of a separate republic was only partially accommodated by provisions intended to ensure regional equality through representation and participation in federal organs and interrepublican committees. Kosovo was to remain, at least symbolically, part of Serbia. In addition to the conflicts between the developed and underdeveloped regions over the allocation of investment credits obtained through international loans and over the determination of domestic investment strategies, the policy of the more rapid development of the insufficiently developed areas, and especially of Kosovo, became of special concern to all SFRY republics (Burg 1983; 213, 289). Amendments VII through XIX to the SFRY Constitution granted the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina more autonomy. Amendment VII redefined the SFRY as having eight rather than six constituent parts: six socialist republics and two socialist autonomous provinces. Instead of Serbia, the SFRY became the custodian of the provinces' rights and duties, and Kosovars were given the right to elect representatives to the SFRY legislature. Amendment XVIII renamed Kosovo-Metohija as Kosovo (Vickers 1998; 169-170).

Within a year after Tito's death (1980), deep-rooted antagonisms between Serbs and Albanians had once more resurfaced. In 1981, seven years after Kosovo's provincial government gained direct and separate representation in the main SFRY bodies via the 1974 SFRY Constitution, students in Kosovo were again at the center of the political turmoil. The level of intolerance and tension between the Serbian minority and the Kosovo Albanians was soon transformed into a war between the Serbian regime and the Albanians. This tense situation was (ab)used by Slobodan Milošević, who, by expelling Kosovo Albanians from institutions, also consolidated his authority in Serbia. Milošević also took measures to drastically reduce Kosovo's autonomous status within Serbia and instigated cultural oppression of the ethnic Albanian population (Malcolm 1998, Vickers 1998, Clark 2000, Judah 2008, etc.). All of these discriminatory measures, which lasted for decades, greatly affected the local Kosovo Albanian population, marginalizing it and resulting in consistent underdevelopment. The lack of employment opportunities led to widespread

migration.⁶⁶ Thousands of Kosovo Albanians left Kosovo in search of employment in other parts of Yugoslavia or outside of the country (Rusinow, 1980: 10). It is worth noting that discriminatory politics were one reason for migration, but social conditions and both the privileges and the pressures of modernization also led to migration, especially during the 1990s.

Long-standing ethnic tensions between the Albanian and Serb populations left Kosovo ethnically divided, resulting in inter-ethnic violence, including the Kosovo War of 1999 (Ramesh and Albrecht 2000; 44). The state media in Serbia played a crucial role in reviving ideas and opinions originating from the works mentioned above, encouraging hate speech. The warmongering campaign was promoted to such an extent that the media were identified as a military target, and on May 23, 1999, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)⁶⁷ aircraft bombed the building of Radio Televisija Srbije (RTS) in the center of Belgrade (Laursen 2002; 779). The Serbian government was informed of the attack and the time it was supposed to happen. The interest of the Western powers (mainly USA) in the Albanians living in Yugoslavia increased throughout the 1980s, particularly when inter-ethnic tensions continued to worsen in Yugoslavia (Rogel, 2003; 167). Kosovo Albanian political leader Ibrahim Rugova (1944-2006),⁶⁸ through building strong relations with the USA in particular, as well as with some of the most powerful European countries, managed

⁶⁶ Literature on Kosovo migration (Riinvest 2007; Vathi & Black, 2007; ESI, 2006; IOM, 2004) distinguishes four emigration waves from Kosovo since the 1960s and onwards: 1. The late 1960s-early 1970s: Unskilled young men with little education from rural Kosovo emigrate to Germany and Switzerland as guest workers. 2. Beginning of 1989-1997: Kosovo's autonomy is abolished, and mass dismissal of Kosovan Albanians from their jobs follows. More skilled and better educated young men from both rural and urban areas migrate to Western European countries to find jobs and escape Yugoslav military service; 3. Latest war in Kosovo during 1998-1999, when nearly a million Kosovan Albanians and other non-Serbs are forcefully displaced from Kosovo during the conflict. This trend is reversed immediately after the conflict, when a massive return of most of the displaced population occurs; 4. Post-1999: As political stability is established in Kosovo, the immigration policies in (especially) Western European countries are tightened towards Kosovans. The emigration wave mainly consists of a) migration for family reunification purposes; b) illegal migration of unskilled and undereducated youth and c) (temporary) legal migration of highly skilled and highly educated individuals through study or work arrangements. Source of information; KOSOVO REMITTANCE STUDY 2012, July 2012, available at; http://www.ks.undp.org/content/dam/kosovo/docs/Remittances/KRS2012_English_858929.pdf [Last accessed on 07/02/2019]

⁶⁷ After several unsuccessful attempts at a diplomatic solution, followed by the final failed peace talks in Rambouillet/France, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched a military operation against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). The bombings, which lasted from March 24, 1999 to June 10, 1999, were justified by NATO allies as a necessary tool to stop the bloodshed and ethnic cleansing of Albanians as well as prevent further destabilization of the region. The air strikes were only halted after the agreement which led to the withdrawal of Yugoslav armed forces from Kosovo, and the establishment of the international peacekeeping mission in Kosovo (see, NATO & Kosovo: Index Page, available at: <https://www.nato.int/kosovo/all-frce.htm#pb> [Last accessed on 27/05/2019].

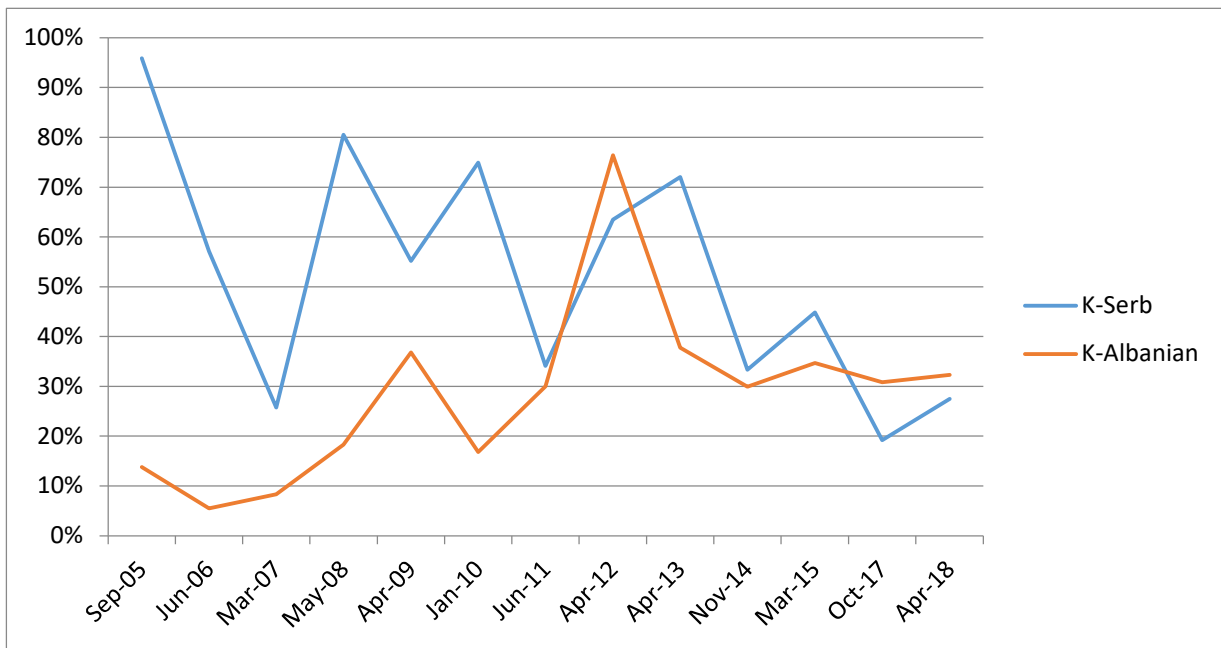
⁶⁸ Broader details about Ibrahim Rugova's role in Kosovo's contemporary history will be provided in the fifth chapter of this dissertation.

to gain the sympathy of the Western powers and direct their attention to the plight of Albanians living in Yugoslavia. The West's commitment to stabilizing the Albanian situation ended with a NATO military intervention. These radical measures were justified by the argument that peaceful efforts to stabilize the situation in Kosovo had not had any results.

However, even now, 20 years after Kosovo's de facto separation from Yugoslavia/Serbia, negative stereotypes among these two communities continue to exist, though the figures below show that the perceptions of both communities have changed some over time. For example, while in 2005 about 95% of Kosovo Serbs believed that interethnic relations in Kosovo were tense and hadn't improved, fourteen years later (2018) the percentage of those who indicated they believed this to be the case had decreased to about 27.5%.

Arguably, it is the political developments in the region that have impacted public opinion. When analyzing the perceptions of the Kosovo Albanians, one can observe that while in 2005 only 14% of them thought that relations with Kosovo-Serbs continued to be tense and had not improved, fourteen years later (2018) the percentage of Albanians who declared this to be the case had increased to about 32%. However, aside from the fact that Albanian perceptions about the rise of inter-ethnic tensions have increased as compared to the Serbs' perceptions, during the last fourteen years the percentage of Serbs who believed that inter-ethnic relations in Kosovo are tense and not improving was consistently higher, and it remains constant at this level. During the last decade, there were also three points (2007, 2011, and 2014) where the perceptions of K-Serbs and those of K-Albanians were almost equal (figure 3).

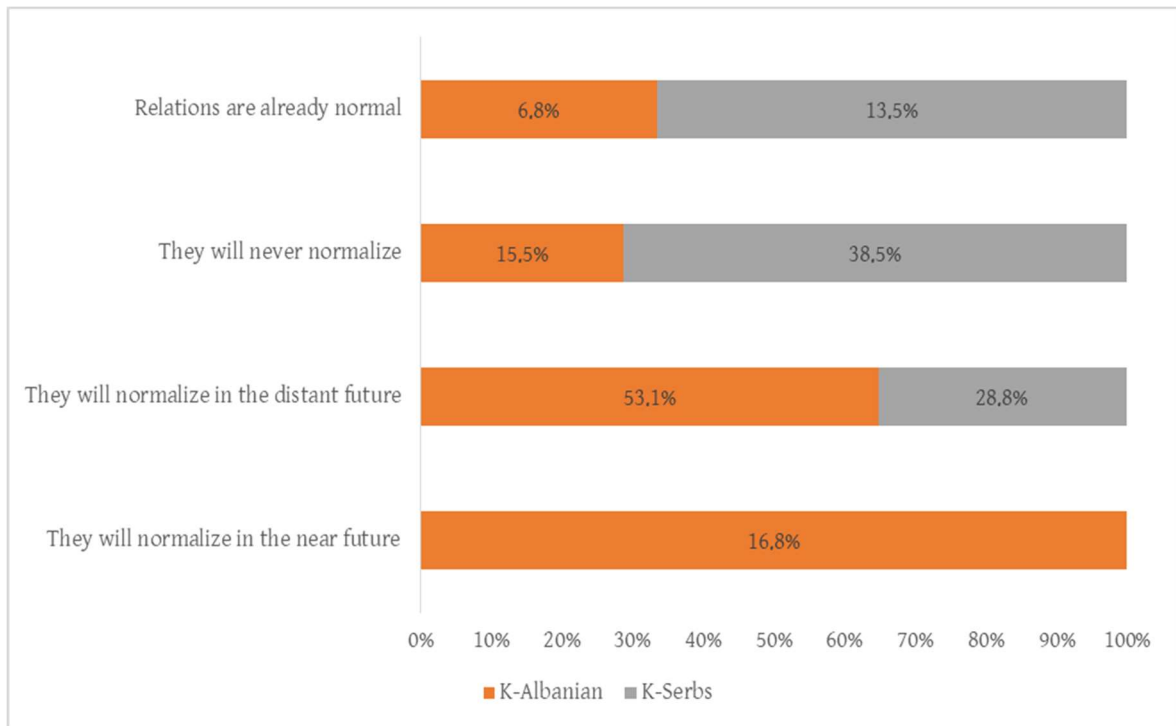
Figure 3: Trend of respondents who considered that interethnic relations continued to be tense and had not improved



Source: UNPD-Kosovo Public Pulse Dataset

Worrisome responses were also collected during a April 2018 survey. While a majority of Albanians (53%) consider that the relations between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo will normalize in the distant future, a majority of Serbs (38.5%) are of the opinion that they will never normalize. Only a small percentage of Kosovo Albanians (17%) consider that there is a chance that relations will normalize in the near future (figure 3).

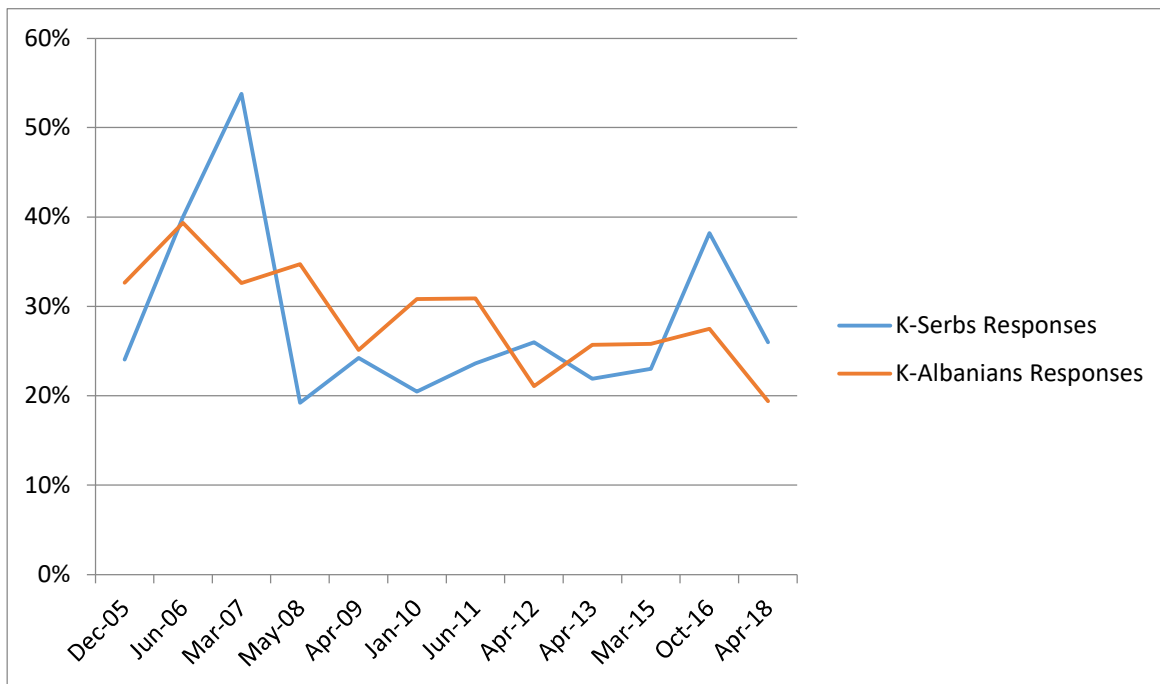
Figure 3: When do you think the relations between Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians will normalize?



Source: UNPD-Kosovo Public Pulse Dataset

Similar to the data collected by Public Pulse Project and by combining the responses of Kosovo Serbs and Albanians expressing their respective attitudes towards living, working, or marrying one another, I have calculated the social acceptance trend for both of these ethnic groups for the fourteen years. The latest findings of the interethnic social acceptance trend indicate that a majority of Serbs (74%) and Albanians (79%) in Kosovo would not be willing to live on the same street, work in the same place or marry one another (figure 3). I therefore conclude that mutual stigmatization – with Serbs in power and possessing the ability to bolster said power – has caused hate, distrust and other negative stereotypes on both sides. While in the past such negative stereotypes were initiated directly through high institutional lines and did not arise from the society itself, nowadays the opposite seems to be the case (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Interethnic social acceptance trends



Source: UNPD-Kosovo Public Pulse Dataset

2.6. Historical disputes over education in Kosovo

Given that the central focus of this dissertation is higher/university education in Kosovo, after having discussed the general state of relations between Albanians and Serbs, I would like to turn my attention to the disputes that these two ethnicities have had about education.

As in many other places, in Kosovo, too, schools have historically stood for much more than just a place of learning. Traditionally, education in Kosovo has been tightly interlinked with the politics of language use and the right to education in the Albanian language. This issue was complicated, because Albanians found themselves living in areas where they were seldom recognized as a minority and seldom accorded the appropriate rights. To better understand Albanians' sensitivity regarding the right to education in their own language, this section will first examine the context underlying challenges to the establishment of education in Albanian.

All Albanians (Sunni Muslims, members of the Bektashi Order, Orthodox and Catholic Christians alike) living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire spoke the same language. They, however, did not have the right to education in their language, because education was controlled by religious institutions. This remained unchanged even after the promulgation of the 1856 Hatt-i Humayun edict, which promised equal treatment in

education to all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁹ The Ottomans used religion as the defining criterion for nationality, calling groups of non-Muslim peoples living in their territories millet or confessional communities. The reforms affecting various sectors of state kept swinging uneasily between two models: traditional confessional communitarianism (i.e., millet system), and, on the other side, forced denationalization and Ottomanization in the mid-1860s, where the millet started to correspond closely to today's concept of ethnic minorities (Parolin 2009: 72, 73).

Professor Stavro Skendi argues that classifying Albanian and other communities by religion served the interest of both the Porte and the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Skendi 1967: 18). Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians, who had either gained or were well on their way to gaining full independence from the Ottoman Empire, were also against the establishment of schools in the Albanian language, because they saw it as an obstacle to the establishment of schools in their own languages in the areas inhabited by Albanians. Nevertheless, in the midst of educational reforms in the Ottoman Empire, including pressure from their neighbors, Albanian intelligentsia known as Revivalists (Albanian: Rilindas) attempted to establish Albanian schools in the Vilayet⁷⁰ of Kosova from 1890 (KEC 2000: 51).⁷¹ Elsie also mentions that the first Albanian schools in Kosovo were probably opened in Prizren in May 1889 by Mati Logoreci and Lazër Lumezi. Another Albanian school was opened in 1905 in Stublla, Municipality of Vitia. By 1909, several Albanian schools had been opened in Kosovo, but Muslim clerics opposed the new Latin alphabets approved at the Congress of Manastir in November 1908 (Elsie 2011: 91).

It may be argued that this was because they wrote in the Ottoman script and the sudden use of the Latin script meant that an entire community using that script would become illiterate overnight. However, the connection of the Arabic-based Ottoman script to Islam was also an important factor. It is worth noting that during the second half of the 19th century, the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek religious and state authorities established

⁶⁹ Hatt-i humayun, also known as hatt-i sharif (hatt-ı şerîf), is the diplomatic term for a document or handwritten note of an official nature composed by an Ottoman sultan.

⁷⁰ Vilayet was a major administrative district or province with its own governor in the Ottoman Empire. The Vilayet of Kosova, which was created as such in 1877, included the current territory of Kosovo and the western part of the Republic of Macedonia.

⁷¹ The first schools in the Vilayet of Kosovo were founded in Zym, Zllakuqan (1897), Siarinë (1899), Stubëll, School of Girls in Prizren, etc. (KEC 2000), whereas the first Albanian school was established on March 7, 1887 in Korça, in the Vilayet of Manastir.

their own schools in the region, but this seems to have been motivated purely by a desire for territorial expansion (Mayer 1995: 49)⁷².

To wit, following the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), Serbia acquired Kosovo, present-day southern Serbia, parts of the Sandžak⁷³ of Novi Pazar and present-day North Macedonia (except for the Strumitsa valley). The Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913), which amended the previous Treaty of London (May 1913), put Serbia in charge of internal administration of the newly acquired regions. However, a state-organized school system was not established in any of these regions. Instead, education remained under the authority of religious institutions, just as it had been under the Ottoman Empire. The first task of the Serbian government after the Balkan Wars was to establish a Serbian national school network to offset the influence of the Ottoman, Bulgarian and Greek schools in the newly acquired areas. Serbian laws on education and schools were simply imposed on the region, and Albanian schools were banned. Afraid that participation in such a system of education would lead to their assimilation, Albanians refused to attend schools taught in the Serbian language (Troch 2012: 97). After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Kosovo was divided by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. The opening of Albanian-language schools was allowed by Austria-Hungary in northwestern Kosovo, while Bulgaria obstructed both Albanian and Serbian language education in the rest of Kosovo and set up Bulgarian schools. It also closed the Turkish schools it had initially allowed (Kostovicova 2005: 53). As a result, the level of education in the region remained extremely low, particularly among Albanians and other non-Serbian speaking communities such as Turks. While the illiteracy rate for the Albanian ethnic group that lived in the region in 1921 was the highest (about 97%), the statistics also show that 89% of the Turkish ethnic group, followed by 84% of the general population in Macedonia, were also illiterate (Troch 2012: 111).

Challenges for education in the Albanian language continued in inter-war Yugoslavia as well. The 1919 Treaty of Saint-Germain signed by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes obliged the Kingdom to provide education in the native languages of minorities. Additionally, provisions concerning the education of minorities in their language was also assured in the Constitution of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes from June

⁷² Cited after Troch 2012.

⁷³ Sandžak or Sanjak is a historical geopolitical region, now divided by the border between Serbia and Montenegro. The name Sandžak derives from the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, a former Ottoman administrative district.

1921 (see Article 16).⁷⁴ Nevertheless, despite the internationally binding treaty and the Constitution, the Kingdom closed all schools in the Albanian language. Officially, the Kingdom reasoned that "the majority of Albanians are illiterate... and there are no possibilities to find teachers for them" (Malcolm 2001: 278). However, scholars have asserted that this was blatantly wrong: in 1930, an Albanian Catholic Priest speaking before the League of Nations stated there were 27 Albanian teachers in Kosovo and that they had been forced by the regime to close their schools (Ibid.).

Education in their own language became available to the Albanian citizens of Kosovo only during the Second World War, a period which was experienced as "liberation" by Albanians living in the Italian protectorate of Albania, which included most of what became Kosovo, the westernmost part of Macedonia, as well as adjacent bits of Montenegro and Serbia. Under Italian and then German occupation, hundreds of Albanian schools were opened in Kosovo and primary education (through the fifth grade) became obligatory, with Albanian replacing Serbian as the only language of instruction. Gymnasiums and professional schools teaching pedagogical courses were also established in Prishtina, Prizren, Pejë/Peć and Gjakovë/Đakovica (KEC 2000: 53, 54, 55). Robert Elsie, in his Historical Dictionary of Kosovo, notes that except for the years 1915-1918, when a part of Kosovo was under Austro-Hungarian rule, and for the years 1941-1944, under Italian and German occupation, schools in Albanian were prohibited (Elsie 2011: 91).

In 1945, Yugoslavia was established as a socialist and federal republic, assuring the equal use of their language to all citizens. The first curricula for primary schools with Albanian as the language of instruction were adopted in 1945. The communist party leader in Kosovo, Fadil Hoxha,⁷⁵ asked his counterpart in Albania, Enver Hoxha, for 200 Albanian teachers, and by the end of 1945 there were 392 schools in Kosovo: 357 offering classes in Serbian and 279 offering classes in Albanian. Yet the 1948 Yugoslavian Census showed that 74% of all Kosovo Albanians over the age of 10 were still illiterate (Elsie 2011: 93).

Education in the Albanian language was, indeed, provided during the communist period, but, as perhaps was to be expected, this was ideological education which primarily served the "brotherhood and unity" ambitions that became the *Leitmotif* of pan-Yugoslav

⁷⁴ The Serbian version of the Constitution of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes of June 1921 is available at the following link: [http://projuris.org/RETROLEX/Ustav%20kraljevine%20SHS_Vidovdanski%20ustav%20\(1921\).pdf](http://projuris.org/RETROLEX/Ustav%20kraljevine%20SHS_Vidovdanski%20ustav%20(1921).pdf)

⁷⁵ Fadil Hoxha (1916–2001) was an SFRY-era Kosovar-Albanian politician. Throughout his career, Hoxha held the positions of president of Kosovo, first prime minister of Kosovo, and vice president of the SFRY.

functioning. Dimova asserts that education in the Balkans was a requirement for nation-building since before the end of WWI (Dimova 2013: 73). As mentioned earlier, this view echoes Anderson's (1991) argument that establishing a unified system of national education can effectively create a sense of horizontal comradeship crucial to the modern nation-state. Conversely, as in most countries in the region, education in Kosovo was inevitably seen as the means by which the state indoctrinated its citizens. While politicization of the system of education has been seen by some Albanians as a state-sponsored effort at their assimilation, scholars argue that this system of education emerged as a focal point of the Kosovo Albanians' national struggle and resistance in Communist Yugoslavia (Kostovicova 2005: 29, 40). Often associated with the acquisition of power, the educational sector in Kosovo slowly but continuously became a symbol of nationhood and the existence of each ethnicity living in this region (especially Albanians and Serbs). At the same time, influential Albanian political figures and intellectuals promoted the need to increase the number of Albanian boys and girls in schools. Albanian intelligentsia – through internalizing an external discourse – persistently highlighted the notion that the "backwardness" of Albanians had its roots in their inability to establish and develop an educational sector in their language.

2.7. Conclusions

For historical and political reasons, Albanians were portrayed negatively within Yugoslavia, particularly by the Serbs. Negative perceptions of the Albanians by the Serbs – which also led to their continuous stigmatization – were particularly noticeable in the Serbian media/literature as well as among the intellectual and political elite, which presented Albanians as people with tails similar to animals, backward, unable to create and run a state, bloodthirsty, stunted, Muslim fundamentalists, and so ignorant that they could not distinguish between sugar and snow, etc. Findings show that Serbs' negative stereotypes about Albanians were promulgated mainly by academic and political/state-controlled institutions. These stereotypes produced continual stigmatization of Albanians by the Serbs, which served to foment hate, distrust and other negative emotions toward each other. While earlier negative stereotypes were disseminated through institutional lines and did not arise from society itself, nowadays the opposite seems to be the case.

In this chapter, I have argued that the discourse of Orientalism and Balkanism in the context of Yugoslavia produced Western stereotypes. Thus, all of the people living in Yugoslavia constantly tried to distance themselves from "Orientalism" as well as "Balkanism," and did their best to be seen as European as possible. These tendencies produced tensions among the populations living within Yugoslavia, which were mainly provoked out of their competitiveness to present themselves as less Oriental and more Western. This included the Albanians, who submitted to the image others had of them as the price to be paid in order to be seen as a civilized and pro-Western nation that had nothing to do with the East. The identity they established for themselves was built on their pre-Christian and figured Illyrian ancestry, ignoring the earliest historical sources and severing links with their Ottoman past.

Politically, however, the Albanians' Western orientation helped them gain the Western powers' attention and sympathy. They benefited a lot from this support, particularly during the last two decades, because it led to granting ethnic Albanians greater political rights and representation in the region and facilitated Kosovo Albanians' gaining an independent state.

Connections between politics and education were also obvious during every phase of the development of Kosova's educational sector. For each ethnic community, education was tightly and inextricably connected to their objectives for political ascendancy. The findings reveal tight interlinkages between the politics of language and the right to education in the Albanian language. Depending on the period in question, "education" for Albanians was associated with fear of assimilation or seen as a tool for political and national mobilization. Historically, and as has occurred in many other places, schools symbolized much more than just a place of learning.

To better understand Albanians' sensitivity regarding the right to university-level education (1960-1999), this chapter examined the contexts underlying challenges to the establishment of the educational system in the Albanian language. This opens the door in the next chapter to focus the analysis only on higher education and the UP. The chapter concludes that for the last two centuries the Balkans has continued to be a region of political and ideological experiments and a place of memory of the failures of local and international attempts to build societies according to civic paradigms. This is so because the Balkans is a place that has yet to clarify its present-day relation to its Ottoman and Yugoslavian past and, unlike

the West, it has never been given the chance to develop its own definition of civility, neighborly relations and social acceptance, though one can also argue that the Balkans during the Ottoman period was more civil, neighborly, and socially accepting than the West. It was the importation of Western nationalism that destroyed these Ottoman values.

Chapter 3: Social movements between demands for social change, justice and nationalism (the 1960s)

Historically, social movements manifest how a society bids farewell to its former self and transforms itself into a society that is better able to cope with modernity and the demands of its citizens. Thus, social movements have played an important role in influencing the policies and practices in a variety of fields. Depending on the period when a particular social movement occurs, diverse mechanisms are used to deploy the social movement's instruments of violent or non-violent protest. This chapter examines the emergence and development of collective actions during the late 1960s in Belgrade and Kosovo. In that vein, I analyze the conceptual connections and differences between social movements in Belgrade and Kosovo during a highly significant historical period, looking more specifically at the interactions between regional/local policies, institutions of higher education and student movements in Kosovo (1968). Additionally, the impact of the movements on the establishment of the UP is elaborated. With this in mind, I employ insights gained from the literature, archival documents and numerous interviews to present the disciplinary roots that governed the goals of social movements during the 1960s, providing valuable insights and examples of these movements.

3.1. The emergence of student movements in the 1960s

The 1960s will be remembered as a time when great changes occurred both locally and globally. The movements of the 1960s were revolutionary, aiming to create a better world. Numerous changes that many people take for granted nowadays took place precisely because of the movements of the sixties. Many scholars argue that this long decade can be considered as a cultural revolution, something that was most clearly visible in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy (Marwic 1998, Klimke and Scharlott 2008). In these countries, social movements led to major accomplishments, an example of which was the United States' Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibiting discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and gender, and leading to the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to handle discrimination.⁷⁶ For Great Britain, France,

⁷⁶ See Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Federal Laws Prohibiting Discrimination and Federal Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Laws, available at: <http://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm>

Italy, and some other European countries, the 1960s were a decade of unique historical significance which witnessed a transformation in personal relationships, attitudes towards authority, modes of self-presentation, material standards, customs, and behavior (Marwic 1998). Moreover, while this decade shaped civilization as we know today, it also left deep divisions among different groups, some of which are still felt today. The year 1968 in particular is seen as a moment in time when diverse histories converged and then diverged again (Bodnár 2018). These divergences particularly inspired students to begin organizing to fight against injustice and in support of equal rights for all.

Klemencic (2014), for instance, notes that:

"studentship", i.e., the state of being a student, can be highly conducive to "acting collectively in a public sphere," to express interests, ideas, make demands on some authority, or hold that authority accountable. The propensity to collective student political engagement lies in the characteristics of studentship as a life stage, which is that of "being free and becoming." Developmentally, studentship (as emerging adulthood) has been associated with higher levels of cognitive, emotional and practical maturity and also with nurturing idealist (and abstract) ideas... Unburdened by care for family or full-time work, the "typical" student has the leisure of time and peace of mind to engage in political action if so inclined (Klemenčič 2014, 399).

That is why some of the most important movements were initiated at universities or by students, because students were inspired by knowledge, and the universities where the students gathered served as locations for bringing together people of diverse backgrounds. As Klemenčič underscores, "academic institutions as distinct intellectual and social environments provide space for students to freely and critically exchange and develop their ideas and articulate political aspirations. The multiple and overlapping social networks that constitute university environments are fertile grounds for the cultivation and organization of student interests" (Klemenčič, 2014: 399). Loader et al. (2014) also regards university campuses as important sites for the politicization of young people, offering spaces for "creative development and performance of the political self, affiliations to particular fields

and access to cultural and social capital" (Loader et al, 2014: 1-3). Thus, university campuses have historically favored political and social engagement. They have often served as training grounds for those who aspired to political careers, but they have also exposed non-political people to political ideas (ibid.). Even nowadays, university campuses are environments where cliques are formed around ideological positions (Ibrahim and Crossley, 2016). Depending on their geographical location, universities and student life have also served as centers or places to develop a sense of nationalism and the need for social change. University campuses, student unions, dormitories, and classes produce networks by "drawing like-minded actors to the same locations, at the same times, and thereby increasing the likelihood that they will meet and form ties" (Crossley, 2003: 45).

Similar to the rest of the world during the 1960s, large student demonstrations also took place in Eastern Europe and SFRY. Cornell argues that student political activity in Eastern Europe has usually taken the form of opposition to an old-fashioned system, to outside political domination, to oppressive political regimes, or attempts to organize, regulate, direct, and control student life and activity (Cornell, 1968: 166). Unlike in the United States and Western Europe, where youth aspired to move away from capitalism, their counterparts in SFRY lived under a very different social order, namely communism. Thus, while Westerners mobilized for countercultural reasons, their counterparts in SFRY were demanding better implementation of communism at all levels of the state, an end to growing unemployment, economic emigration, social inequalities, corruption, and privileges for selected state officials, etc.

3.1.1. Student chaos in Belgrade (June 1968)

This next section focuses on how the worldwide wave of revolt of the 1960s inspired the students in Belgrade and also on the character of their 1968 student movements. While delving into this subject, I referred to a wide range of newspaper articles, documentaries, academic papers, and books published on the subject of the student protests. The demands of students in Belgrade were mostly social and centered on a critique of the bureaucratization of the Party, but they did not necessarily threaten the SFRY political system. Kanzleiter highlighted the following characteristics which, according to him, made the student movements in Belgrade exceptional. Unlike protests in most other European countries, the Belgrade protest was not directed against the fundamental values and

ideologies of the ruling political system. Indeed, students in Belgrade protested in the name of the principles of the communist system against its hypocritical and frustrating reality. Another characteristic was the integration of different ideas from student movements in both capitalist and socialist countries. Thus, the Belgrade student protests of 1968 were a protest between East and West. They were a hybrid that shook the Iron Curtain of the Cold War. Given that the political system in SFRY was neither entirely Stalinist nor completely capitalist, students in Belgrade were protesting against both. They called for "Democratization" and "Freedom of Demonstration," but they also protested against "capitalist restoration" or the program of the "Liberals" in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). This particular orientation was summarized in the popular slogan: "Down with the red bourgeoisie!" (Kanzleiter, 2008: 231).

3.1.2. In search of a better communism

Even though the student movements in Belgrade did not have the countercultural character of those in western countries, they are still important because they represent the first public criticism of self-management socialism. According to some of the organizers of and participants in these protests, students who demonstrated in Belgrade had their own unique justifications. On the 47th anniversary of the 1968 student protests in Belgrade, International Radio Serbia⁷⁷ reported that at the time of the showdown with political opponents, differences within society had come to be increasingly manifest, the unemployment rate was increasing, and, as dissatisfaction began to mount, many citizens migrated abroad. Migration was indeed allowed by the government, which saw this phenomenon as temporary (Dimova 2013: 31).

An interesting scholarly opinion about the reasons which influenced student movements in Belgrade is given by Croatian philosopher Branko Despot. He argued that the 1968 student movement was also triggered by an increased interest in philosophy, which was reflected in the high number of students enrolled in philosophy courses and studies. This argument should not be dismissed, particularly taking into consideration the fact that in Belgrade, as the main center of resistance, the largest meetings were held at the Faculty

⁷⁷ Accessible at; <http://voiceofserbia.org/ru/> [Last accessed on 10/02/2019]

of Philosophy. Eight professors who were later punished were from this faculty.⁷⁸ In Zagreb and Sarajevo, as well as in Prishtina, the movement began at the Faculty of Philosophy and continued to spread to other places around the country.⁷⁹ Popov, in contrast, claims that the SFRY student movements were triggered by the protests in the United States and Europe. The protests were not only a result of political and social emancipation but were also shaped by a quest for human universal emancipation from all types of dependencies: technology, economy, governance, and ideologies. According to him, different social movements can collide depending on the type of emancipation that is sought (youth, workers, women, etc.). The main reason behind the 1968 student movements in SFRY, however, was the political monopolization which excluded "others" from participation in the political scene, thereby producing a lack of democracy (Popov 2008). Arguably, the student protests in SFRY also marked the end of the economic reforms begun between 1964 and 1967, with the Assembly's focus on reducing the role of the state in economic management and creating the legislative foundation of market socialism. Reforms also included external trade measures: SFRY devalued its currency, obtained foreign loans, and joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.⁸⁰ However, this view may be only partially true. Even when discussing the Belgrade movements in isolation, undoubtedly, the central motivation of the protests was to make a difference. The student demands, which were later framed into a long and definitive document, were mostly social and centered on a critique of the bureaucratization of the Party. The students' main demands were the following: an end to growing unemployment, economic emigration, social inequalities, privileges for selected state officials, and corruption, and implementation of the students' demands for the democratization of political life, especially in the Party, as well as the application of self-

⁷⁸ Eight professors of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade (Dragoljub Mićunović, Mihajlo Marković, Ljuba Tadić, Zagorka Golubović, Dragan Životić, Svetozar Stojanović, Nebojša Popov and Trivo Indić) paid a high price for the 1968 student demonstrations. The sentence came seven years later – excluding them from the University. Also as a result, Aleksander Kron, assistant professor of philosophy, was expelled from the Party, and Jadran Ferlugai, professor of history, and Alija Hodžić, a sociology student, were seriously censured. Notwithstanding the "price paid," during one of the anniversaries of the student protests organized in Belgrade, academician Mihajlo Marković, a key participant in the 1968 student protests, stated that he was "proud of events that took place in 1968."

⁷⁹ Hrvoje Klasić's interview about the book he authored, "Jugoslavija i svijet 1968: Šezdeset i osma najbolji je Titov spin or (Yugoslavia and the world 1968": '68 is Tito's best spin)." Published by Novo list, available at: <http://www.novolist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/Hrvoje-Klasic-autor-knjige-Jugoslavija-i-svijet-1968-Sezdeset-i-osma-najbolji-je-Titov-spin> [Last accessed on 10/02/2019]

⁸⁰ See Yugoslavia's Country Data for Reforms of the 1960s, available at: <http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-14789.html> [Last accessed on 10/02/2019]

management (which was already official policy) at all levels, etc.⁸¹ While talking about the student demonstrations in Belgrade, Azem Vllasi mentioned one of the slogans which he found very contradictory: "The University of Belgrade to be named 'Karl Marx'" (Vllasi: October 2015). However, it is debatable whether the final version of the student demands was in line with the original motivation for the protests, which, according to some authors, was for "better communism."

Differences between the student movements in the West and the East were significant. Unlike their counterparts in Western Europe, the students in SFRY were concerned with their problems as students. Student discontent and protest were directed against the negative effects of the system, and even though the students' demands differed in their nature, student protests in this part of Europe were influenced by the wave of demonstrations that swept many countries in 1968 (Jandrić, 2002), and yet, in the SFRY demonstrations, there was a clear distinction that in none of them was criticism directed at Tito. Radoja insists that student demonstrations in Belgrade were primarily affected by the economic situation in the country, inter-republican and international relations, as well as the role of Josip Broz Tito, whom Radoja considers to have been a very skilled manipulator and the main "winner" in this process (Radoja, 2008). While agreeing with Radoja's arguments about Tito's being the main "winner," Popović also maintains that while in the West students rebelled against the existing state of things, seeking liberation of the individual, more personal and sexual freedom, students in Belgrade were fighting for "better communism." He even claims that the students took to the streets chanting "We are Tito, Tito is Ours" and singing "Comrade Tito, we swear never to stray away from your path" right after Tito's statement on June 8, 1968. The next day, major global publications proclaimed that Tito was the only politician in the world who gave rights to youth (Popović, 2008).

The situation was strictly controlled by the SFRY government. The regime prevented reaction, and repression limited the power and the effect of the students' rebellion. Besides punishing the professors, the police also used violence against students, however, they either denied it or the use of force by the police was not publicly discussed. Želimir

⁸¹ This list of demands is detached from the International Socialism Survey. November/December 1970. Yugoslav Student Struggles. From International Socialism, No.45, November/December 1970, pp.8-11. Transcribed & marked up by Einde O' Callaghan for ETOL. Available at; <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isj/1970/no045/survey4.htm> [Last accessed on 10/02/2019]

Žilnik's documentary on the 1968 student demonstrations in Belgrade, entitled "Lipanjaska Gibanja" (June Turmoil),⁸² reaffirms that the police resorted to violence to stop the demonstrations. In this documentary, students talk about the agreements they reached with the police. Further, they discuss the requests of the regime for the students to return to the university and drop their demands. This video clearly shows that student protests in Belgrade were considered to be pro-Yugoslav, inasmuch as the Belgrade students articulated demands within the framework of the official ideology, indicating unequaled ideals of freedom and emancipation in SFRY society. However, some of the protestors' slogans, such as: "Workers and Students," "We want Jobs," "Down with the Socialist Bourgeoisie," "They were shooting at us," "We are the Children of the Working people," etc., uniformly pointed at police violence, growing unemployment, social inequalities, privileges bestowed upon selected state officials, etc. Nebojša Popov, a Serbian sociologist who approached this topic both as a researcher and a participant and wrote about this field,⁸³ confirms that violence was used and argues that both students rushing to join the protests and fights with the police started soon after the protests began.

3.1.3. The Belgrade demonstrations' influence on other regions

While the banners hoisted in the United States and Europe mainly targeted general respect for human rights, transformations in attitudes towards authority, modes of self-presentation and behavior, the student movements in Belgrade were rather concerned with their student problems and slightly with some of the negative aspects of the system headed by Tito. This might also be one of the key reasons why the student movements in Belgrade did not enjoy significant support and sympathy from a majority of citizens. Indeed, Mitrović argues that "the demonstrations were comprehensive, open and friendly, but also a futile attempt to establish a bridge between generations" (Mitrović, 2011). Accusing the movement of not being willing to make sacrifices for the revolution, he argues that the students sought to change a way of life but without seizing power. Furthermore, despite a touch of Leninism,

⁸² Želimir Žilnik's documentary film, "Lipanjaska Gibanja (June Turmoil)," speaks of student demonstrations in Belgrade, 1969 and of the critical quality, enthusiasm, and discipline of this form of protest. It was the most powerful public criticism of "red bourgeoisie" - members of the communist apparatus who suppressed creativity and affirmation of new generations throughout the Eastern bloc, and is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=npI_jKXWwCY.

⁸³ "Tesno za Studente i Brigadiste" (Pressing for Students and Contingents), "Omladinski Pokreti u Jugoslaviji, Juče, Danas i Sutra" (Youth Movements in Yugoslavia Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow), "Režim Uzvrća Udarac" (The Regime Strikes Back, etc.)

Maoism, Trotskyism and other political orientations, Mitrović considers the 1968 student movement to have essentially been an "exaltation of individualism" (ibid.). However, due to the existence of conflicting ideals and realities throughout the university centers, where both students and professors rebelled, the "greatest tragedy" of the 1968 protests in SFRY could be that it gave rise to the nationalism that in the 1990s led to bloody conflict (Ivanović, 2008). Here Ivanović is referring to the protests which spread from Belgrade to other major SFRY cities: Zagreb, Sarajevo, and particularly Prishtina and some cities in Macedonia.

While students in Belgrade called for "better implementation of communism," their counterparts in Prishtina for the first time publically expressed their political aspirations for "Republic" status for Kosovo. Thus, even within the SFRY events did not have the same character: in Belgrade, student protest was primarily socially motivated, whereas the protests in Prishtina also had a nationalist slant. Due to their most unfavored position within SFRY, the most important nationalist claims and threats came from Albanian students in Prishtina and, later, from Albanians in towns across Macedonia.

3.2. Student protest in Kosovo (1968) and the establishment of the University of Prishtina

In Kosovo, similar to other places in SFRY, the Communist League of Yugoslavia (hereinafter LCY) built an entire political and social system based on the "brotherhood and unity" platform, where loyalty to Josip Broz Tito was especially important. The socialist political and intellectual elite that started to emerge in Kosovo fully embraced these principles. Kosovo too had its branch of the League of Communists (LoC), the country's only political party. The main Kosovo Albanian political figures at that time were Fadil Hoxha, Ali Shukria, Veli Deva, Xhavit Nimani, Xhevdet Hamza, Rahman Morina, Mahmut Bakalli, Azem Vllasi, Kaçusha Jashari, and others. Parallel to the establishment of political structures, the system was also involved in developing intellectual elites. By the 1960s, Kosovo already possessed a few intellectuals whose loyalty to the regime's doctrine had been tested on several occasions.⁸⁴ These experts in different fields were in charge of leading and working at Kosovo's newly established institutions and institutes of higher learning. Both the political and intellectual elites had a tendency to view themselves as the

⁸⁴ Some of the intellectuals that belonged to these elites include Mark Krasniqi, Dervish Rozaja, Syrja Pupovci, Gazmend Zajmi, Rexhep Qosja, Pajazit Nushi, and others.

most progressive segment of Kosovo's society. The fact is, however, that Kosovo's LoC acted strictly under the directives of the LCY.

Another aspect of this picture were the "illegal groups," i.e. the national Albanian movements in Kosovo formed after World War II, which were outlawed in the SFRY and functioned until the establishment of political pluralism in SFRY (1990). Until 1966, the political programs of these illegal groups were mainly rightist, and they directly called for the unification of Kosovo with Albania. However, when relations between Albania and SFRY improved, the political programs of the illegal organizations tilted leftward. Support for Marxism, Leninism, and Enverism was obvious in the groups' names and political programs. Keçmezi-Basha (March 2017)⁸⁵ explains that throughout this time the political programs of illegal groups shifted from calls to unify with Albania [Organizata Marksiste-Leniniste e Kosovës (The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Kosovo), Lidhja Nacional Çlirimtare e Kosovës (The Kosovo National Liberation League), etc. to the unification of Albanian-inhabited territories within one Republic in SFRY, and finally the establishment of the Republic of Kosovo [Partia Marksiste Leniniste Shqiptare e Kosovës (Albanian Marxist Leninist Party of Kosovo)]. However, no matter which political ideology they espoused, the "Republic of Kosovo" and other nationalist demands were the backbone of all of the political programs of the illegal groups, and they managed to merge two opposing concepts: Marxism-Leninism and nationalism. Later in this dissertation, I will provide more details about these groups and their members. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that Albanians demands for republic status for Kosovo pre-dated 1968. Yugoslav leaders during the interwar period verbally supported numerous Albanian movements in Kosovo that sought national recognition. In 1923, the Communist Party also released a statement in which it confirmed the Party's duty to "help the movements of oppressed nations in their goals of creating independent states: Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro, as well as the liberation of the Albanians" (Rajović, 1985: 85). Similarly, in 1942, Tito declared that the Party would "never depart from the principles stated by Lenin and Stalin, which is the right of every nation to self-determination." This included Albanians in Yugoslavia as well (Lee, 1983: 77), although they did not have the status of a nation. Albanians were a *nacionalna manjina* (national minority) until the introduction of the term *narodnost*

⁸⁵ Keçmezi-Basha has provided broader details on this topic, published in numerous reviews of the Institute of History 'Ali Hadri' Prishtine, including the "Kosova 40" (2015).

(nationality) in 1974. From December 31, 1943 until January 2, 1944, as can be seen from the signatures of the participants in the written protocol of a meeting in Bujan, both Albanian communists and non-communists joined in the conference of the National Liberation Committee of Kosovo. Here, among other points, they also adopted a resolution ratifying Kosovo's unification with Albania (AK ONO/1945-46/1⁸⁶). However, the conclusions of the Bujan Resolution – so named because the meeting took place in Bujan (northern Albania) – were strongly rejected by the LCY leadership. After the war (1945), Albanian communists were included in a newly constituted Assembly of the People's District Council. This assembly was dominated by Serbs, and they managed to adopt another resolution which stated that the "wish of the entire population of the region is to join a federated Serbia as its constituent part." The same resolution was accepted by the Anti-Fascist Liberation Council of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), serving as the country's postwar government. Soon afterward the National Assembly of Serbia passed a law regulating the status of the autonomous district (*oblast*) of Kosovo and setting its boundaries (Horvat, 1989: 92; Lee, 1983: 85-86). The boundaries were reportedly set based on "ethnic and historic" criteria. However, the criteria in the case of Kosovo were more or less the principle of keeping the territory of the first Yugoslavia as part of the second Yugoslavia. Albanian-inhabited parts of Montenegro and western Macedonia were left outside its borders, just as the Macedonian villages of Lower Prespa remained in post-War Albania. These critical events during World War II would establish Kosovo as an autonomous province of Serbia whose constitutional status would undergo several changes until Yugoslavia's eventual break-up in 1991 (Pula, 2004). As already highlighted in the previous chapter, during the mid-1940s and 1950s Albanians in Yugoslavia were subjected to institutional repression. Various published materials estimate that between only 1944 and 1946, thousands of Albanians were the victims of torture, systematic mass executions by communist police, and typhoid fever epidemics that affected military units.⁸⁷ This situation changed only when the influence of Albanian politicians in the Yugoslav Communist Party grew during the 1960s. The end of the '60s marked the beginning of substantial improvement favoring Kosovo Albanians.

⁸⁶ Referencing of the archival materials for the Archive of Kosovo is done as per the following order: AK refers to the Archive of Kosovo, the ONO refers to the name of the fond, the number 1945-1946 refers to the year, the number the number 1 refers to the box.

⁸⁷ These sources include S. Repishti (1986), Rusinow (1948-1974), etc.

This improvement started with the Brioni Plenum (July 1966), which was a war between two concepts. The "unitarist concept" was more reflective of the Soviet (Russian) ideology, and Tito's concept favored federalism and the West. Tito won this battle in 1966 by eliminating "Serbian unitarism" (Jović, 2008: 137), and, according to Buxhovi, Tito's first step toward "western values" was his proposal for the advancement of Kosovo at the federative level (Buxhovi: Jan 2016). The decisions of the Brioni Plenum regarding the SFRY's future political orientation were the turning point for the "Albanian issue," which had remained a major unresolved issue for SFRY. After the Brioni Plenum and the fall of Aleksandar Ranković (1966),⁸⁸ higher education became a top priority for Kosovo Albanian communist authorities and a means to catch up with others in the Yugoslavia of that time. Due to the criticism of discrimination against Albanians, which became widespread after 1966, and to the political calls for means to address this discrimination, the Socialist Republic of Serbia (SRS) in 1967 began to delegate limited educational authority to the provincial bodies. Nevertheless, the involvement of political ideologies and interest in institutions of higher education played a significant role in the subsequent mobilization of Kosovo Albanian students to protest for more political and national rights. The interaction between these regional/local political interests with institutions of higher education and students resulted in the demonstrations of Kosovo Albanian students (1968).

3.2.1. The genealogy of the University of Prishtina

Institutions of higher education in Kosovo have a relatively recent history. The Pedagogical School of Prishtina was founded in the academic year 1958/1959, which is the year that marks the beginnings of higher education in Kosovo. The Higher Administration School and the Higher Agricultural School were opened in Prishtina one year later. Other cities in Kosovo followed.⁸⁹ In October 1960, the Faculty of Philosophy was established in

⁸⁸ Aleksandar Ranković (1909-1983) was a Yugoslav communist of Serb origin, considered by some as the third most powerful man in SFRY. He ran Kosovo as a police state and supported a hardline approach towards Albanians in Kosovo until his fall from grace in 1966.

⁸⁹ Higher Pedagogical School in Prizren (1960), Higher Economic-Commercial School in Peja/Peć (1960), Higher Engineering School in Mitrovica (1961), Higher Pedagogical School "Xhevdet Doda" in Prizren (1962), Higher Pedagogical School "Bajram Curri" in Gjakova/Đakovica (1967), etc. (UP 2005: 12).

Prishtina.⁹⁰ In 1961, the Faculty of Economics and Law⁹¹ and an additional two Higher Engineering Schools⁹² were also founded in Prishtina. The trend of trade-oriented schools continued with the founding of the Faculty of Engineering in 1965. These four faculties and eight schools of higher education were the first institutions of higher education in Kosovo, and they all functioned as extensions of the University of Belgrade. About 3,320 students (1,046 full-time and 2,274 part-time) attended four high/secondary schools, and two faculties opened by 1961. The majority of them – 2,010 – were Serbs, followed by 928 Albanians, and 382 others. In 1964, 31 graduating students became the first generation of the Faculty of Philosophy: 16 Albanians and 15 others (UP, 2005: 11-15). Kosovo authorities were in charge of students' board and lodging.⁹³ Lectures were delivered in the Serbian language (UP, 2005: 10-13). Professors whom I interviewed for this dissertation explained that the first generations of students were very ambitious. The actual students of these institutions at the time clarified that the first semester classes were held in the gymnasium, but that they soon moved to military barracks. The quarters where soldiers had previously been billeted were repurposed as classrooms, and students later moved to the current premises of the Economic and Law Faculty in Prishtina. Even though they still lagged behind others in the SFRY, the process of Kosovo Albanians' transformation into an emancipated society steadily burgeoned starting from the mid-1960s. Intentions to establish university-level education were regularly presented at all levels of Communist Party meetings. On October 24, 1968, a delegation from Kosovo met with SFRY leader Josip Broz Tito. Veli Deva, chairman of the Provincial Committee in Kosovo and a member of the SFRY Presidency, stressed that around 40% of Kosovo inhabitants were illiterate, only 5-6% of Kosovo inhabitants had completed primary school education (six grades), and that the percentage of qualified workers in Kosovo was three times lower than in the rest of

⁹⁰ Initially, this faculty offered Albanological Studies, Serbo-Croatian Language, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology. Soon after, additional departments were opened, offering Russian Language and Literature and English Language and Literature. In the first academic year, 1960/61, 97 full-time students (60 Albanians, 32 Serbs, and 5 others) and 141 part-time students were registered. Lectures were conducted by 7 teachers (2 Albanians and 5 Serbs) and 7 associates (2 Albanians and 5 Serbs), four of whom were in possession of a doctorate and one of whom had a master's degree (UP 2005: 16).

⁹¹ In the first year, there were 586 students registered: 185 in Law (43 full-time and 142 part-time) and 401 students in Economics (120 full-time and 281 part-time), namely 323 Serbs, 134 Albanians, and 129 others (UP 2005: 14). The first professors at the Economic and Law faculties were Rifat Osmani, Abedin Ferovic, Mark Krasniqi, Nuri Bashota, Abdulla Zajmi, Zejnulla Gruda, and Fuad Rizvanolli (KTV: April 2017).

⁹² There were 364 students registered (87 full-time, 277 part-time) (UP 2005: 12).

⁹³ Initially, several existing facilities were adapted, and student dormitory No. 1 was built in 1961. Other student facilities were built thereafter, providing 750 beds for about 1,000 students (UP 2005: 12).

Yugoslavia. Accordingly, Deva invited the entire SFRY to contribute toward the resolution of education-related problems in Kosovo. "Given that (Albanian language) is a native language of 70% of Kosovo's inhabitants" (AJ 837/II-2-364),⁹⁴ the need to use the Albanian language in schools in Kosovo was also spelled out to Tito. In that sense, Albanian communist leaders made every connection between the lack of "qualified workers" and the hampering of the overall development in all sectors in Kosovo, and used every opportunity to promote prioritization of education in Kosovo at the federal level and in the Albanian language. Indeed, the country was in desperate need of qualified cadres to take public positions in Kosovo's promising economy during the late 1960s. A steady increase in the number of Albanian primary and secondary schools⁹⁵ in Kosovo served as a stimulus for further development of tertiary education as well. Political leaders used this space to establish institutions of higher learning (Kostovicova, 2005: 40). On the other hand, SRS opposed the creation of a university-level institution for Kosovo; indeed, they even discriminated against existing institutions of higher education in the province. The report of a commission for material issues of students in SFRY highlighted the difficult conditions for students in Prishtina. The rooms in the dormitories had 10-20 beds, while the capacity of student dormitories in other SFRY republics was as follows: Belgrade 10,057, Zagreb 5,383, Ljubljana 2,950, Sarajevo 2,160, Skopje 2,140, Novi Sad 1,166 and Nis 480. As for the material position of teachers, a document from the archive of Yugoslavia shows that in SFRY republics, as well as in the province of Vojvodina, teachers received stipends during the 1960s. Kosovo, however, was not mentioned in those parts of the document addressing credits and houses for teachers during the 1960s (AJ 145/60-258). When it came to student stipends, they were mainly given to the children of communist officials, whereas the children of villagers received much less (AJ, 145/86-377). The modest number of Albanian intellectuals of that time also supported an initiative for overall progress in the field of education. Developments in the sphere of higher education during the sixties also showed

⁹⁴ Referencing of archival materials from the Archives of Yugoslavia is done as per the following order: AJ refers to the Archive of Jugoslavija, 837 refers to the number of the fond, and the next number refers to the box.

⁹⁵ During the school year 1945/1946, there were 388 primary schools in Kosovo; all were four-grade schools. In 1956/1957, the number rose to 711, including six-grade and eight-grade schools, while in 1974/1975 there were 862 primary schools in Kosovo, of which 397 were eight-grade schools. The expansion of schools was accompanied by a change in the proportion of Serbian and Albanian students, approximating although not quite reflecting the ethnic make-up of the province. In the school year 1945/1946, 23,536 pupils attended primary school in Albanian and 27,211 in the Serbian language. In 1974/1975, 279,475 pupils were taught in Albanian and 60,188 in the Serbian language in Kosovo's primary schools (cited after Kostovicova 2005: 40).

the first signs of influencing the rising awareness of national issues among Kosovo Albanians. Kosovo students and members of the younger generation started to mature politically and to reflect on Albanian–Serb relations through a critical lens. For example, when it came to the student demonstrations of November 1968, Fadil Hoxha and his communist allies "identified" the (mis)use of historical memory as one of the tools which led to student mobilization or demonstrations in Prishtina. Specifically, they highlighted the manifestations of the 500th anniversary of Skanderbeg's⁹⁶ death (1968) in Prishtina, as a (mis)used memory for spurring student mobilization (AK LoCPC/1981/7⁹⁷).

3.2.2. Before the demonstrations in Kosovo; preparations, slogans, and other details

The 1960s saw a wave of student demonstrations worldwide, including SFRY. Under these circumstances, but also exacerbated by an already elevated level of citizen dissatisfaction with the overall social, political, economic, and cultural position of Albanians when compared with that of others in SFRY, preparations for student demonstrations began in Kosovo as well. The province of Kosovo was the least developed region in Yugoslavia. The total number of inhabitants in the province had risen from 733,000 in 1948 to 1,088,420 in 1965, but differences in the treatment of Albanians and Serbs were significant. Even though Albanians were the majority, the leading positions were mainly granted to Serbs and Montenegrins (AMFA 615/1967).⁹⁸ In the Provincial Council organs, Albanians were represented by only 18.5% of the members. In the state security service (known as UDBA) only 13.3% were Albanians; in the prosecutorial offices 12.5%; and in the judiciary, out of 122 judges, only 26 were Albanians. The names of streets were mainly in the Serbian language, and most of the monuments were of Serbian heroes. No Albanian was an ambassador abroad or held the rank of general in the army, whereas the soldiers were mainly sent for duty in other republics and not allowed to complete their

⁹⁶ George Castriot, known as Skanderbeg [Gjergj Kastrioti – Skënderbeu (1405–1468)], was an Albanian hero. He is considered as a symbol of the unification of the Albanians. Additionally, Skanderbeg has been the subject and inspiration for many arts, literature, poetry, prose and music performances. His reputation in Western Europe spread mainly during the 16th and 17th centuries. For more info, see Oliver Jens Schmitt's book on the subject: Skanderbeg. Der neue Alexander auf dem Balkan. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet 2009. 432 S., zahlr. Abb. 0.

⁹⁷ Referencing of the archival materials for the Archive of Prishtina is done as per the following order; the first initials AK, refers to the Archive of Kosovo, the LoCPC refers to the name of the fond, the number 1981 refers to the year, the number 81 refers to the box/session

⁹⁸ Referencing of the archival materials from the Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Republic of Albania is done as per the following order: AMFA refers to the Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the first number refers to the number of the dossier, 1967 refers to the year.

service in the province. When it came to cultural institutions, Albanian language TV broadcasts were offered only once a week for 25 minutes. Of the Museum of Kosovo's nine employees, only one was Albanian. The province did not have an orchestra, a gallery, or, as indicated above, an Albanian-language TV station (AMFA 415/1967).

In the 1966-1967 academic year, the proportion of Albanian students in the schools was as follows: in technical and professional schools 34%, in agricultural schools 25%, and in medical schools 30% (Zëri i Rinisë, July 1967). Archival documents also reveal the gloomy conditions in the schools of Kosovo, as well as a large number of children who remained unregistered due to a lack of spaces and schools. Many difficulties were also created by the necessity to study in the Serbian language. It is worth highlighting that the same discriminatory situation found among Albanians was also reported for Macedonia. For example, even though in the towns of Tetovo or Struga, where a majority of the citizens were Albanians, the administration was significantly dominated by Macedonians. In the libraries, most of the books were in the Serbian or Macedonian languages. In the library of Gostivar, for example, newspapers in the Albanian language were not to be found, even though – according to archival documents – a majority of the city's inhabitants were Albanian. The documents show that discrimination among women was even higher in Kosovo. From a conference held on January 26, 1967, Dritare Dugagjini highlighted that in the municipal councils women were not represented at all in some municipalities. In Dragash, for example, there were no women at all on any of the 115 elected municipal councils. Ms. Dugagjini mentioned that Kosovo Province had the highest illiteracy rates (42%), and of these 70% were women, of whom 99% were Albanian women (AMFA 415/1967).

At the same time, the Republic of Albania's actions for propagandistic work through their legate in Belgrade increased. Lik Seiti informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that – as requested by the Party – a lot of propagandistic work was being done regarding the "achievements of the Republic of Albania in all fields of life." Ideological literature was distributed mainly among Albanian students and citizens in SFRY. In the meantime, the Republic of Albania's legate in Belgrade was visited by numerous Kosovars seeking visas to visit Albania. Archival sources also show that during this period many letters from Albanians living in SFRY were directed to Enver Hoxha, begging for permission to repatriate or to visit their families, who either had remained in Albania during World War

II or who had migrated there afterward. From these letters, it is evident that people had no clue about the fate of their loved ones living in isolated Albania. Besides other explanations provided to their "clients," the officials of the Republic of Albania's legate in Belgrade used the opportunity to propagandize about "Albania's good governance, the developed health, education, culture, and economic sectors." In this correspondence, the legate's mission from Belgrade reported to their Ministry of Foreign Affairs that they were "raising Kosovars' love for our country and our leadership" (CAA 14/1968/502).⁹⁹ However, only in 1981 did the Albanian regime decide to increase the number of visas for Kosovo citizens to visit Albania, to allow more telegrams to be sent by Albanians in Albania to their families in Kosovo, and to invite family members (under the regime's control) in the matters of deaths, births or marriages (AMFA 1155/1981).

Discriminatory policies by the SFRY regime on the one hand and nationalist propaganda from the legate of the Republic of Albania on the other created a tense atmosphere among Albanians in Kosovo. Albanian communist elites voiced their concerns at the federal level, highlighting that Albanians were not satisfied with the system. As one of the biggest reasons for their dissatisfaction, they mentioned the inability to receive education in the Albanian language. In 1963, the Serbian language became the official language, although the ethnic proportion of the population in the province was well known. Albanian political figures' lobbying maintained that while people might be united as socialists, their languages and their cultures were not the same. Compelled at the central or federal level, during the joint Presidency session held October 22, 1968, the SKS commission for work on the development of relations between the republics, peoples and nationalities drafted a resolution highlighting the duties of the LoC of Serbia toward further development of national equality and of the brotherhood and unity of peoples and nationalities. SRS was required to assure "rapid development of their highly underdeveloped region (Kosovo), consistent implementation of socio-economic and political reform, the practicing of cultural activities of each ethnicity should be assured and promoted in TV, Radio, etc.; Intra-country (within SFRY) cooperation should be stimulated in activities such

⁹⁹ Referencing of the archival materials for the Central Archive of Republic of Albania is done as per the following order: CAA refers to the Central Archive of Albania, 14 refers to the number of the fond, 1968 refers to the year, and 502 refers to the number of the dossier.

as: science, culture, schools. Each national culture must be open to other national cultures in SFRY" (AS Đ-2/12/1968).¹⁰⁰

After the plenum of Brione, the federal level of the SFRY allowed the Albanian press in Kosovo to publicly condemn some of the crimes committed against Albanians. The practice of allowing the Albanian press to make public condemnations was short-lived and remained at the local level, whereas some interpretations appeared to try to claim that "everything was done by Ranković, and he is the one to be blamed." The Titoists promoted the slogan that "now on everything will be regulated" (AMFA 415/1967). Changes at the federal level reflected the institutions in Prishtina. Some of the Ranković representatives, including Ibra Hasko, a well-known figure in the mistreatment of Albanians in Kosovo, were dismissed from state security institutions in Kosovo (Shema: March 2017).

Overall, political developments at the regional and local level created new opportunities for Kosovo Albanian elites. During the joint session of the Presidency of Committees of the LoC of Serbia for Kosovo, held on June 8, 1968, Mahmut Bakalli¹⁰¹ stated that "from the moment we understood about the student movements in Belgrade, we assumed that Prishtina students might try to take similar actions...especially because they feel like the same students given that they are part of the University of Belgrade." The Presidency Committees were also informed about the meetings which had taken place with the students, professors and deans...explaining to them, that – in case of demonstrations – the complexity of the situation in Prishtina would have other implications and would give opportunities to "our enemies" (referring to the Republic of Albania) to misuse the situation (AK LoCPC/1968/7). Simultaneously, the propagandistic activities of the Albanian legate in Belgrade were ongoing, and they were already being criticized by SFRY officials. On June 24, 1968 the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Director Lipkovski, invited their representatives for a meeting highlighting that "Yugoslav organs found out you are distributing ideological materials...this is forbidden and might harm our relations as countries" (AMFA 322/1968).

However, the demands for rights for Albanians during this period had also been raised by Kosovo Albanian communist leaders. Buxhovi specifically pointed out that during

¹⁰⁰ Referencing of the archival materials from the Archives Serbia is done as per the following order: AS refers to the Archive of Serbia, the Đ-2 refers to the number of the fond, the number 12 refers to the box, and the number 1968 refers to the year.

¹⁰¹ Mahmut Bakalli was a chairman of the Regional Committee of the Kosova LoC and fifth president of the Kosova LoC.

an open debate with citizens which took place in Gjakova/Đakovica on August 16, 1968, Fadil Hoxha, the first prime minister (1945–1963) and president (1945-1953) of post-war Kosovo and vice president of the SFRY (1978–1979), decisively called for the establishment of the Republic of Kosovo within the SFRY for the very first time. On August 18, 1968, the newspaper Rilindja¹⁰² published a front page article entitled "No Self-determination – No Equality," referring to Fadil Hoxha's discussions in Gjakova/Đakovica (AK Rilindja/1968). After these developments, intellectuals such as Gazmend Zajmi, Fehmi Agani, and Rrezak Shala started discussing constitutional changes. It can be also said that the political and academic elites entertained the notion of a "Republic of Kosovo" at the local but also at the federal level. Thus, it was initiated by the communist political elites of Prishtina and later embraced by university professors. When this idea was rejected, apparently without any significant consequences for the elites that had requested it, this vision was passed on to the students (Buxhovi: Jan 2016). Azem Vllasi, one of the major communist leaders in Kosovo, also claimed that the demands for "Republic" status for Kosovo in the late '60s were first initiated by Kosovo Albanian communist elites and intellectuals (Vllasi: October 2015). However, as the findings below will show, Kosovo Albanian communist leaders managed to state their visions for Kosovo's republic status within the SFRY but were not able to further promote their ideas.

Stimulated by the overall student movements of the sixties, and affected by the Republic of Albania's propaganda as well as by the demands of Kosovo's political and academic elites, Albanian students in Prishtina founded the "Committee of Students," which later served as the main body for the organization of the 1968 student demonstrations. Some members of this committee included Osman Dumoshi from Prishtina (Technical Faculty), Adil Pireva from Podujeva/Podujevo (Philosophical Faculty), Selatin Novosella from Vushtrria/Vučitrn (Albanian language and literature), and others. This group was established in June 1964, some days after the arrests of the activists of the "Revolutionary Movement for the Unification of Albania," along with the leader of this movement, Adem Demaçi.¹⁰³ In the beginning this student group focused its activities on disseminating

¹⁰² "Rilindja" (established in 1945) was the first Albanian language newspaper in SFRY. In 1945, Rilindja published only 60 issues in the area of Prizren but became a daily newspaper and moved its layout and printing activities to Prishtina on November 29, 1958.

¹⁰³ Adem Demaçi was a chairman of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms of the People of Kosovo. He was also a founder and activist of "illegal political groups" in Kosovo and a longtime political prisoner who spent a total of 29 years in prison for speaking out against the treatment of ethnic Albanians in SFRY.

nationalist political ideology through reading and sharing historiographical books from Albania. This political group (which was unnamed in the beginning) based its program on the statute from the "Revolutionary Movement for the Unification of Albania" (Sh. Berisha, 2008: 3). The Kosovo LoC analyzed the actions of "foreign propaganda" which – according to them – by utilizing disinformation tried to ruin "our socialist values." Written materials (books, newspapers, etc.) and radio programs were considered to be the main propagandistic tools of "the enemy" (referring to the Republic of Albania) (AK LoCPC/1968/7).

Nevertheless, the members of the Committee of Students emphasized that they were affected by the waves of global and regional (Belgrade) protests, although this influence was mainly formal. Given that these were the Kosovo students' first protests, they looked to their peers in Belgrade for the technical aspects on how to act, when to withdraw or attack, etc. Otherwise, "we didn't have absolutely anything else in common with the protests in Belgrade," says Novosella (Novosella: October 2015). But while denying any connection with Belgrade, Novosella also confirmed the links of the organizers of the 1968 student protests with the illegal groups¹⁰⁴ as well as with the Republic of Albania. It is important to mention that some of the main activists of illegal groups, such as Adem Demaçi, were imprisoned on June 8, 1964. During the same summer, other members of these groups were also arrested in Prishtina, Pejë/Peć, Gjakova/Đakovica, etc., and the arrests of those affiliated with illegal groups lasted until September 1964 (Shema: March 2017).

However, interviews with the organizers of the demonstrations of 1968 reveal that it was the students' duty to consult with veterans of the illegal groups and ex-political prisoners. Hasan Dermaku, one of the organizers, was in contact with Metush Krasniqi. Selatin Novosella reported to Hyrie Hana, an ex-partisan and actress connected with Bije Vokshi, who was a friend of Enver Hoxha. Novosella says that he got instructions from Hyrie Hana not to clamor for "Republic of Kosovo" or "Unification with Albania" during these demonstrations. Instead, the organizers were advised to chant for "Self-

¹⁰⁴ Here, "illegal groups" is understood to mean national Albanian movements in Kosovo formed after the Second World War. Until 1966, the political programs of illegal groups were mainly rightist and directly called for the unification of Kosovo with Albania. However, once the relationship between the Republic of Albania and the SFRY improved, reflecting the new political circumstances in the SFRY, the political programs of illegal organizations became increasingly leftist. Support for Marxism, Leninism and Enverism can be seen in almost every name and political program of these organizations, such as Organizata Marksiste-Leniniste e Kosovës (OMLK) (Marxist-Leninist Organization of Kosova), Partia Marksiste-Leniniste Shqiptare e Kosovës (PMLSK) (Albanian Marxist-Leninist Party of Kosova), Lidhja Nacional Çlirimtare e Kosovës (LNÇK) (Kosova's National Liberation League), etc. They remained operational until the establishment of political pluralism in SFRY (1990).

determination." This came as a surprise to the students, who did not expect that the Republic of Albania would not support slogans calling for a "Republic." However, given that they were affiliated with the illegal groups, which were influenced by the Republic of Albania, at the beginning Osman Dumoshi also suggested starting the demonstrations without placards to see whether the students or protestors would chant for the "Republic." Later, according to Novosella, it was the students and the citizens who clamored for a "Republic," but not necessarily the organizers (Novosella: October 2015).

The student organizers declared that Enver Hoxha was not pro "Republic" in 1968, and archival documents also support that assertion. In correspondence with their legation in Belgrade, the Republic of Albania instructed them as following : "we do not distinguish the solution to the Kosovo problem from the solution to the general problem of Yugoslavia" (AMFA 360/1968). According to Albania's communist regime, only the replacement of the Titoist clique with a Marxist-Leninist leadership could solve the national question in Yugoslavia and assure the right to self-determination for the Albanian population in SFRY. This case illustrates Enver Hoxha's political game. On the one hand, he supported and kept in contact with the representatives of illegal groups whose main mission – according to their political programs – was "unification with Albania" and "Republic" status for Kosovo. On the other hand, he gave the following instructions to their representatives in Belgrade "...as far as the question of whether we are for a republic or an autonomous province, you have our guidelines. We do not agree on the creation of a republic, because it would not solve the problem." The final point of this document, sent by Albania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to their legate in Belgrade, was the following: "when people ask you about this (Republic) do not tell them our position, just mention that Kosovo needs to gain as much as possible" (AMFA 360/1968). This situation requires us to ask: For whom did the "illegal groups" work? They claimed to be working for a "national cause," and they mythicized the figure of Enver Hoxha and the Republic of Albania, and, according to their programs, their mission was "Kosovo's unification with Albania" and later the "Republic of Kosovo." Yet the Republic of Albania did not want to unite with Albanian-inhabited territories in SFRY, nor did they support a "Republic of Kosovo."

Taking into consideration these complexities, as well as the Yugoslav political regime and the position of Albanians in this federation, the circumstances under which these demonstrations were organized are unimaginable from today's perspective. The students

held their preparatory meetings in their houses. Justifications such as gathering for coffee, tea, or listening to the music had to be made constantly so that they did not appear suspicious to the regime and their own families. This lasted for a while, until the initial plan as well as the speeches were drafted and finalized. Then, after these preparations, for about three weeks the organizers started to mobilize the students to join demonstrations. Given that they were being organized "secretly," one of the methods was to meet with people and say, "I heard that some demonstrations will be organized, they will take place on this day, and in this location at this hour..." "We were nine (9) organizers," declared Novosella, "and each of us had to do the same." After a few days, people in the faculties and streets also started to circulate the same words, adding that "...I heard that the Republic of Kosovo will be demanded..." This process shows that the 1968 protests in Prishtina had a classical development which included idea, organization, preparations, speeches, etc.

Opinions voiced by direct participants in the demonstrations reveal interesting details. Mejreme Shema was arrested on June 1964 for being an activist in one of the illegal groups. She says that "there were no gender barriers in our group - aside from the fact that the number of females was smaller." Shema stressed that illusions about the Republic of Albania and amazement at Albania's music, theatre, and national songs were the main reasons that prompted her to join Adem Demaçi's group. Even though she was not one of the organizers of the protests of 1968, Shema participated and was wounded and also imprisoned in the aftermath of the 1968 protests. People believed that the 1968 demonstrations in Kosovo were supported by members of the illegal groups, but according to her the real organizers were the Kosovo Albanian communist elites, alluding specifically to the university professors and a group of people who were members of the commission for changes to the constitution of Kosovo, Gazmend Zajmi, Fehmi Agani, and Rrezak Shala.

These "real organizers," however, should have had the green light from the Kosovo Albanian political elites for such actions. The Kosovo political and intellectual elites could have organized these demonstrations, mainly to test the pulse and reactions of other republics in the SFRY regarding Albanian demands for "the Republic." Findings show clear interactions between political representatives of both the Republic of Albania and the province of Kosovo, with the institutions of higher education in Prishtina and with the students. However, it is also obvious that each of the political groups followed rather separate political agendas.

The assumptions that the demonstrations of 1968 suited the Kosovo Albanian political elites at that time are also supported by others who observed these demonstrations. Ilmi Hetemi, for example, chief of police in Ferizaj/Uroševac (1962-1981), confirmed that politicians were aware of and tacitly allowed the organization of the 1968 student demonstrations, explaining that the demonstrations might have been provoked by the regime itself. Hetemi claims that:

We were ordered to treat arrested organizers politely. Considering the political context of that period, such student reactions suited the Albanian political elites. We, however, all wanted what the students chanted for: "Kosovo Republic," "We want a University," etc. Of course, we could not have joined the demonstrators, but we were with them in spirit (Hetemi: April 2017).

Neither the archival documents nor the interviewees indicate any reason for assuming the SRS's involvement in the incitement of the Kosovo student demonstrations in 1968. Indeed, highlighting Kosovo's "unsolved problems" at that time did not suit SRS at all. In his writings archived in Prishtina, Professor Skënder Rizaj even emphasized that Tito favored Albanians during the late 1960s in order "to punish pan-Slavism." According to Rizaj, Tito personally allowed Fadil Hoxha to organize the demonstrations of 1968 "through some Albanian professors, such as Fehmi Agani, Gazmend Zajmi, Ali Hadri, and other senior state officials, such as Rrezak Shala" (AK SR/1945-1999). It must be noted that prior to these demonstrations Ali Hadri had stressed to his Party colleagues that "by using the rights for self-determination, Kosovo can become a creative element for a 'new Yugoslavia.'" Supporting the idea of self-determination, Zajmi mentioned as well that "this right belongs to the 'narodnost' as well, the same as it belongs to nations." Agani suggested that these demands should be presented to the federation as "the requests of the majority of the population in Kosovo," whereas Rrezak Shala insisted that "the Republic of Kosovo is the imperative of time and we will not back down from it" (Mišović, 1987).

Based on his discussions with political and academic personalities, Buxhovi also confirmed that Tito personally "allowed these demonstrations as a test," willing to see the reactions of Serbia. However, given that Serbian feedback was vehemently opposed to republic status for Kosovo, Tito then went for another compromise: "it will not be called a

republic – but, it will a part of the Federation." Soon thereafter the constitution was amended (Buxhovi: Jan 2016). Azem Vllasi also had a discussion with Tito in his capacity as SFRY's President for Youth in 1978. This meeting took place in Brione, when, while having a coffee under a nice shade tree, Tito asked him: "do you often go down there...I know there were problems, but since 1974 you have had decision making powers." Indeed, there were improvements, but Vllasi did not hesitate to mention that it would have been much better to have the name "Republic" as well. Here Tito confirmed that this issue had already been discussed with Mahmut Bakalli and Fadil Hoxha, and it was agreed that Kosovo would have everything that the Republics have, but when it came to the name, "do not touch it right now." Vllasi ended this story, warning that "when Tito said about something 'do not touch it,' it was never a good idea to talk about it again" (Vllasi: October 2015).

Apart from the existence of complex relations between Kosovo, Albania, Serbia, and the Yugoslav Federation during the end of the sixties, it is obvious that both "Enverists" and "Titoists" demanded that the Albanians' rights be advanced and that they be recompensed for the SFRY's previous mistakes vis-à-vis Albanians. Thus, this period marks a harmonization of objectives with the Albanian community living in the Yugoslav federation. A political, intellectual and social consensus had been achieved for proceeding with demands for RK.

3.2.3. During the demonstrations

Before the demonstrations of 1968, people had already started talking about them in Prishtina. Activists such as Shema were surprised, wondering how the demonstrations could be considered illegal when at the same time everyone knew about them. Looking at the timing as well as at the locations where the demonstrations took place (market days, among youth and in the schools, etc.), one can argue that these uprisings were orchestrated by the Kosovo Albanian political/intellectual elites, rather than only by "amateur" students. Additionally, the content of the slogans used at these locations shows that the events were well-organized, had the same intentions, and were linked to one another (AK LoCPC/1968/7).

The first protests took place on October 16, 1968, in Prizren, the second largest city of Kosovo, and were organized by Neriman Braha. Reports collected from the archive of Prishtina, which were sent from Kosovo to the SRS, highlighted that "these events were

organized by the *'nepriatel,'* meaning 'enemy' (referring to the Republic of Albania)...protestors chanted 'we want a republic, we want a constitution.'" Neriman Braha was known to the police, because his brother lived in Albania and worked for "Albanian State Security" (AK LoCPC/1968/7). To measure society's pulse and see how a small city would react, the second demonstrations were organized in Suhareka and followed in Gjilan/Gnjilane and Podujeva/Podujevo. On November 17, 1968, demonstrations were held in the morning in Ferizaj/Uroševac and in the afternoon in Prishtina. The participants, according to documents found in the Archives of Serbia, were mainly high school students and teachers of Albanian nationality (AS Đ-2/51/1968).

Sahit Berisha, who was a contact point for one school in Prishtina, confirmed receiving instructions from Osman Dumoshi for the mobilization of high school students. Discussions were held at school, and professors saw to the laying of groundwork. No specific plans or agendas were prepared; the idea was simple: Students were to meet in front of the faculty at 15:55 and announce their slogans. Skender Kastrati and Osman Dumoshi were supposed to hold their speeches, while others were left on their own (S. Berisha: March 2017). Dumoshi's speech, which was read in the name of the Organizing Committee, demanded the following: realization of national rights, assurances that Albanians would enjoy the same equal rights as the other nations in the SFRY, improvement in employment – particularly in leadership positions, and improvement of students' living conditions (Novosella: October 2015). When analyzing the archival sources, it is obvious that the demands of the students corresponded with those that the Kosovo communist elites used during different meetings organized on a local as well as on a federal level. However, as will be seen below, after Dumoshi's speech, the protestors burst out with other slogans, including one calling for "Kosovo Republic." When the students first went out into the streets, they started chanting "bashkohuni me ne" (unite with us), calling out to passersby who hadn't joined them.

The creation of an Albanian language university in Prishtina, the establishment of Albanian as the official language of government in Kosovo, self-determination for Kosovo and the Albanian areas of Macedonia and Montenegro, and granting Kosovo the status of a republic within SFRY with its own constitution were the main demands in these demonstrations. There were also people shouting other slogans as well, such as "free our friends from prisons" and "long live Enver Hoxha." While the names of other politicians

were mentioned by the protestors, these did not dominate the movements. Berisha remembers that soon thereafter people with 'long coats – from which we knew that they were from the state security services' – entered the lines of the demonstrations and led the demonstration according to their agendas (S. Berisha: March 2017).

While Berisha claims that "afterward the demonstrations were not in the hands of the 'organizers' anymore," I would rather argue that – perhaps – that is exactly when they fell directly into the hands of the real organizers. The crowd headed toward the building of the Provincial Council, placing Albanian flags in the building's garden and threatening the security forces that "today, we'll put them here – tomorrow on the building's roof." Participants interviewed about these demonstrations revealed that the police did use violence when the demonstrators responded by destroying street signs which were in the Serbian language. After these "actions," people with long coats managed to convince the crowd to go to the TV station. News spread that the police had arrested some professors and organizers.

At around 7 p.m. some of the professors asked the students to go home and leave the streets, but the masses of mainly high school and university students continued to march and chant "Kosovo Republic," "Self-determination," "We want a constitution," "Long live Enver Hoxha," "Long live Tito," "We want a university." During the demonstrations, windows were broken, cars in the streets were damaged, and public property was demolished. In an archival document entitled "Information on the demonstrations in Kosovo and Metohija," there was also a report stating that the demonstrators tried to enter the municipality, the provincial committee, and some other public buildings, but they were not allowed to do so by state security troops (AS Đ-2/51/1968).

While the demonstrators were blocked by a police cordon, someone from the technical school (Murat Mehmeti) left the line and turned to face the demonstrators, waving with his hand and calling to the protestors "come forward, come forward." At this moment Mejreme Shema, one of the wounded demonstrators, explained that Murat Mehmeti had been shot in the chest from the buildings, with the police cordon behind him. No one knows whether he was killed by the police or by Serbian inhabitants living in the apartments of that building. This participant was killed, while Mejreme Shema, Sulejman Kastrati and three or four other demonstrators were also wounded. The demonstrators started to run,

trying to escape. In the midst of this chaos, Murat Mehmeti was put in a car and taken to a hospital, but he could not be saved and did not survive his wound.

A number of the police officers were injured, too, although the official state institutions admitted that the number of injured protestors was much higher. Shootings were reported from both sides, but only one person was killed (AS Đ-2/51/1968). These demonstrations affected the other SFRY areas inhabited by Albanians. Less than a month later, on the 22nd and 23rd of December, Albanian youth rebelled in Tetovo, Macedonia. Macedonian authorities labelled these demonstrations as "nationalist." Hundreds of people demonstrated, including workers, doctors, teachers, and other young Albanian intellectuals. These demonstrations were precipitated by the placing of an Albanian flag on the shop of an Albanian owner, which was violently removed by a Macedonian man. During the demonstrations, the main slogans were "Tito-partija (Tito-party)" and "Tito-Fadil Hoxha." There were also speeches such as "If there are two Germanies and two Koreas, why can't there be two Albanian states" (AJ, 837/II-4-b-34).

3.2.4. After the demonstrations in Kosovo

The Central Committee of the Union of Communists of Serbia accused Kosovo's intelligence services and, especially, Albanian communist elites, of allowing these "forces" to organize protests. The SRS communist elite's take on the protests was: Now, when the Albanian "narodnost" is marking new achievements, the reactionary forces are even wilder and becoming ever more chauvinist (AJ, 837/II-4-b-35). Kosovo authorities assured the federal authorities that the SFRY's laws would be respected and that necessary measures would be taken against the "betrayers of the nation" and the initiators of inter-ethnic hatred that tended to destabilize the SFRY (ibid). The highest ranks of the communist elites in Kosovo raised their voices against the protests. The daily newspaper "Rilindja" was also criticized for offering its congratulations to the Kosovars on the 28th of November (the anniversary of the Republic of Albania's gaining independence). The student protests were categorized as "not spontaneous, but organized by the enemy." Protestors were reported to have been armed, even though state officials reported that the demonstrations mainly involved high school students. The committee decided to take measures against all who had organized and participated in the movements (AK LoCPC/1968/7). After the protests, political leaders calmed the situation by taking measures against those labeled as "the

organizers" and a few participants, while at the same time assuring citizens that "good things were in the making." In the period following the demonstrations, not more than two or at most three people were allowed to walk together in the streets. It is worth noting that on November 28, 1968 both Fehmi Agani and Rrezak Shala escaped to Turkey, returning only when the situation had returned to normal. Certain voices – particularly those of Serbs – within the LCY continued to blame the Albanian communist leadership for allowing, or even inciting, the organization of these protests in Kosovo. Albanian communists rejected these "insults" in a letter sent to Tito saying that "you might have been misinformed... but there have been also some demands that we cannot consider chauvinist, such as "Long Live Tito," "Long Live Fadil," " We Want a University" (AJ 837/II-4-b-35).

In a closed meeting with the LCY political structures, Veli Deva criticized his Serbian communist colleagues, saying that Serbian propaganda was "very high, while Kosovo leadership is very surprised that there are no reactions from the central level. Fadil Hoxha was attacked and none of you reacted." Hearing the voices of "brotherhood and support" from Serbs and Montenegrins would have been very important for "us," accused Deva (AS D-2/71/1968).

Two days after the demonstrations, Tito held a press conference with local and international journalists. From his statement published in Rilindja on December 2, one can observe Tito's tendency to minimize the effects of these events. In addition, he also managed to "attack" both of his targets, SRS and Republic of Albania. Of course, Tito did not "attack" them openly, but he said: "I think that these events are being dramatized enormously – they were not like some (alluding to Serbs) tend to think." He also claimed: "the enemy (alluding to the Republic of Albania) is still present there and they had a finger in these events." Meanwhile, in a manner similar to the case of the demonstrations in Belgrade, he somehow "justified" the students with the words "some shelves and windows were broken as happens every day in the West" (AK Rilindja/1968). Enver Hoxha sent his response to the events immediately, claiming: "Albania had no part in these demonstrations...the Titoists know this, and still, they made it up." Even with regard to the slogans that concerned him, Enver Hoxha claimed that they came from "SFRY agent provocateurs that were embedded in the protests" (CAA 10/1968/238).

Archival documents also show that Serbs and Albanian members of the LoC argued about suspicions that even the children of political leaders participated in the

demonstrations and how the rise of Serbian nationalism had provoked or forced the Albanian student movement. Archival materials show that during this period each group began spreading different propaganda to justify their actions. Serbian and Albanian political leaders did not hesitate to report these cases even during the highest level meetings of the LCY. For example, in a meeting of the Presidency of the LoC, Xhavit Nimani¹⁰⁵ reported how police had caught a Serbian student in the middle of the night shouting "Long live Enver Hoxha," then "Long live Fadil and Veli Deva." The Serbian elites blamed the Albanian provincial leadership for organizing the demonstrations. After the demonstrations, accusations such as "someone is playing dangerous political games, but they won't suit anyone" were also heard among Albanian and Serbian communists. During December 1968, Serbian newspapers were full of articles and headlines such as "the organizers of the demonstrations are provocateurs that tried to stab us in the back," "direct threat to brotherhood and unity," "chauvinist attacks in Tetovo" (*Borba*; December 1968), "the enemy has shown his face," "investigations of all those that organized protests" (*Politika*; December 1968), "nationalism is anti-communism" or "illusions about Albania" (*Večernje Novosti*; December 1968). These propagandistic media actions provoked a nationalistic response, particularly among those Serbs and Montenegrins living in Kosovo. As a result, in January 1969 the information service of Serbia started receiving anonymous letters from Serbian people living in villages in Kosovo (such as the one from the village of Bustranja). Kosovo Serbs were asking for help from their "Serbian brothers...we are not safe...Albanians are burning our houses..." (AJ, 837/II-4-b-35). However, no burned houses were reported by any other source during this period. Nevertheless, ethnic tensions grew after 1968, and Kosovo Serbs reported feeling insecure. The Kosovo political elites took this into account and tried to control the situation by preventing its escalation, at least for a while.

It was obvious that the demonstrations of that time were at least allowed to be organized by the political elites of Kosovo. The political situation of that specific time needed these movements to justify or push forward the Kosovo Albanians' demands for a "Republic," as something that people were asking for. However, when the demands for "Republic" status were presented to Tito by a delegation of the LoC of Kosovo, he rejected

¹⁰⁵ Xhavit Nimani was a chairman of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

them by claiming that "Republic is not the only factor which solves problems" (AK Rilindja 04 November 1968).

Even if the students were just actors, they cannot be considered as manipulated puppets, given that ultimately the situation can be described as win-win, both for the students who were successful in having their demands heard and for the political elites, who got the attention of Tito as well as a new constitution. These protests in the context of Kosovo created a sense of unity among students, intellectuals, and political elites. As a result, the unresolved problems of Kosovo Albanians were brought up and, what was most important, these demands (a university, language, cultural freedom, etc) were accepted as legitimate by the LCY. The 1968 student demonstrations were the first contributions of institutions of higher learning to the political independence of Albanians in Kosovo. This was the first time the students' slogan *cum* demand "Duam universitet (We Want a University)" appeared (AJ 837/II-4-b-35).

At the ninth congress of the Party in 1969, Tito included two requests for national equality: the first was the use of national symbols and the second was the University of Prishtina. The biggest historical achievement of these protests was the creation of the UP in 1970 (Buxhovi: Jan 2016). These demonstrations also led to the 1968 and 1971 amendments to the SFRY Constitution allowing autonomous provinces more local control and input. In practice, this meant that Kosovo's leadership functioned without almost any interference from the SRS or the SFRY federal government (Vickers 1998: 169-170). The Albanian language became official, and this was an enormous advantage for Kosovo Albanians. The governmental administration of the province primarily functioned in the Albanian language. This left Serbs and other Slavic-speaking populations in Kosovo uninformed about important issues going on in the province. Compared to the past, Albanian literature and culture flourished as never before in Kosovo, paving the way for deeper Albanian cultural growth.

3.3. Internal political challenges for the establishment of the UP

Albanians' profound marginalization and isolation made the value of education very significant. Thus, when someone from the educational sector would stand up for something, society's support was unconditional. When Albanians mobilized for the establishment of a university-level institution in Kosovo, Serbian political and academic elites mainly opposed

it, citing a lack of qualified personnel to staff such an institution. Indeed, education played a crucial role in the fragmentation of large socialist multinational federations such as Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union. Serbian elites knew that allowing minorities to formalize education in their native languages would enable them to reject the dominance of groups that spoke Serbo-Croatian (Dimova 2013: 74). The 1968 demonstrations, which were intended to challenge Serbia's dominance in the province, showed the role that higher education in a native language could play in fostering movements for equal rights in a multiethnic federation such as the SFRY. In a documentary about the establishment of the UP made by Kohavision (KTV), the first generation of professors and students explained the challenges Albanian political leaders, professors, and students faced in establishing and maintaining institutions of higher learning. They were greatly sabotaged at all levels. Professors from the University of Niš were invited to teach some courses for which the UP lacked academic staff, but there were instances when they did not come. Professor Pajazit Nushi (1933-2015), a member of the Kosovo Academy of Sciences, known for his contribution to the social and scientific development of Kosovo, said meetings regarding the establishment of each department of the future UP were followed by extremely heated debates:

This one time we were debating the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine, and because of all the undue tensions created by the Serbian participants, who opposed the establishment of additional faculties in Prishtina, Fadil Hoxha left the meeting, urging me "Get up, Pajazit, we have nothing to do here!"

The amendments to the SFRY Constitution (1963) were used by Albanian communists and the Provincial Assembly of Kosovo as the basis for establishing the Faculty of Medicine.¹⁰⁶ Serbian was the language of instruction regardless of the national background of the lecturers and students. Sveta Canović, Dean of the UP Philosophical Faculty in the 1960s, strictly opposed the use of the Albanian language at the UP as a whole. However, due to the efforts of Albanian members of the Communist Party, in 1967 a decision was taken to organize classes in Albanian. The date of October 17, 1967 was

¹⁰⁶ The Faculty of Medicine opened during academic year 1969/1970. The first dean of the Faculty of Medicine was Osman Imami, who was followed by Talat Pallaska and Izjedin Osani (KTV: April 2017).

considered a historical one for the Economic and Law Faculties: the Academic Council recruited 32 teaching assistants whose job description read "teaching in the Albanian language" (KTV: April 2017).¹⁰⁷

Students welcomed this move, hoping it would enable them to achieve better academic results, as they would be finally able to take exams in their native language. Once language barriers were removed, students started filing complaints about discrimination, because available scholarships were mainly distributed to the "*deca komunizma*" (children of communism), an expression used to refer to children of those serving in public functions (AJ 145-86-337). Amidst the ongoing challenges, on November 18, 1969, Albanian intelligentsia managed to deliver a decision to establish the UP. Once established, existing departments were merged into the new university, enacted into the Law on the Establishment of the UP adopted by the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo (Official Gazette 1969 and *AK Rilindja* November 19, 1969). On February 13, 1970 — considered as the day of the establishment of the UP (*AK Rilindja*, February 16, 1970) — Professor Dervish Rozhaja opened the founding conference of the UP. However, tensions over the UP continued. Belgrade proposed Stanoje Aksić as the UP rector, but Albanians strongly rejected him. Albanian communist leaders insisted on an Albanian rector, especially because the UP was the only university in the SFRY which offered education in Albanian. This was accepted by acclamation, and Dervish Rozhaja became the first rector of the UP (KTV: April 2017). Nowadays, most people interviewed for purposes of the present study give credit for the establishment of the UP to the Albanian communist elites. However, archival documents show that right from the onset the UP was meant for the political emancipation of the masses to implement political agendas, but not necessarily for the type of "political emancipation" conceived by Karl Marx. Marx divided emancipation into two forms: political and human. According to Marx, one can become politically emancipated once one is free in relation to the state. In other words, once the laws of the state treat people equally, political emancipation of the masses can be achieved. However, Marx considered human emancipation to be a better solution. Even though this concept was never defined by Marx, the way it is contrasted with political emancipation

¹⁰⁷ Fatmir Lama, *Rrëfime për Kosovën – Universiteti i Prishtinës* (Stories about Kosovo – The University of Prishtina), Documentary, directed by Koha Vision (April 2017; Prishtinë: Koha Vision). Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmIw1p-NczE> [Last accessed on 15/02/2019].

leads social scientists to suggest that human emancipation means the "actual emancipation of humans, not the state, from oppression" (Marx 1843).

In the case of Kosovo, higher education as such was intended as an instrument that would lead toward the education of as many Albanians as possible, but mainly to strengthen the "brotherhood and unity" concept advocated within the SFRY. The 1968 student demonstrations, calling for the "equal treatment" of Kosovo mirroring all other SFRY republics, in a way proved that there was a potential for reaching the "foreseen emancipation" of Albanian society in the SFRY by (mis)using higher and university level education. Bexhet Shala, head of Kosovo's Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, claims that it was the politicians who came out with the demand for the establishment of the UP. In the end, the SFRY, with the SRS's blessing, allowed the establishment of the UP, not because it wanted Albanians to progress, but because it served to prevent future political demands for republic status or unification with Albania. The SFRY leadership planned on governing Kosovo by controlling the UP and, by extension, controlling the wider public (Shala: January 2016).

3.4. Conclusions

The findings in this chapter corroborate the fact that most transformations throughout history, particularly those that occurred during the 20th century, and especially in the Western world, happened due to decades of work and effort invested by different activists and thinkers who organized and participated in social movements. Several conclusions can be drawn from analysis of the development of collective actions with the emergence of global student movements and those in SFRY and Kosovo in the 1960s. The first part of this chapter shows the critical importance of social movements for societies that have undergone rapid political, economic, or cultural transformations, particularly during the second part of the 20th century. The section which presents the wave of youth mobilization in the SFRY demonstrates how tensions over the political future of the existing regime spilled over into the streets. Also, this wave proved that the new generation which emerged from the debris of communist rule aspired to live in a society free from the mechanisms of social control employed under the same rule. Students or civic activists delivered their message, legitimized their action, and achieved social and national benefits through

mobilizing supporters, occupying the streets, spray painting political slogans, and creating different ideological and cultural tools (public speeches, slogans, etc.).

The social movements of the sixties were influenced by one another, but the demands of the protestors varied between social change, justice, and nationalism, depending on the geographical, political, historical and social contexts in which they took place. However, by comparing and contrasting the main goals and approaches of specific social movements in the West, SFRY, and Kosovo, this chapter showed the inter-linkages of these movements as well as the differences in their nature. In addition, through exploring the influence of these movements at the global, regional and local levels, this chapter highlighted what motivated the organizers and individuals who participated in these social movements as well as the approaches and strategies these actors employed to develop the movements, reach their goals, and how the global wave of revolt passed through the SFRY. Unlike the United States and Western Europe, where youth aspired to move away from capitalism, their counterparts in the SFRY lived in a different social order. While Westerners mobilized for countercultural reasons, their counterparts in the SFRY were demanding "better implementation of communism" at all levels of the state. In contrast, students in Prishtina expressed their political aspirations for "Republic" status for Kosovo. Yet, in addition to banners calling for a "Republic" and "Self-Determination," the slogan "We Want a University" was the main one revealing that student protests even within the SFRY did not have the same character. This chapter documents that even though the students embraced and publicly demanded it, the idea of a "Republic of Kosovo" came from the political and academic elites. Kosovo Albanian elites channeled this idea for a Republic of Kosovo into society at the federal level as well. When this was rejected, apparently without any significant consequences for the elites that requested it, this vision of a "Republic of Kosovo" was passed on to the students. However, the research I conducted reveals that standing behind the student demonstrations in Kosovo were the "real" organizers, who were the Albanian communist elite and university professors. Despite the complex relations between Kosovo and Albania or between the "progressivists" and "illegal groups" during the end of the sixties, even without specific coordination, both Kosovo "Enverists" and "Titoists" demanded the advancement of the rights of Albanians and recompense for the SFRY's previous mistakes vis-à-vis Albanians.

The Republic of Albania, even though it interacted with the illegal groups, members of which were also the students or organizers of the demonstrations, still prioritized its political interests and held the view that the problem of Albanians in the SFRY was solvable only by removing Tito's clique from power. The interaction between the state political representatives of Kosovo and professors and students managed to unify the interests and claims of the Albanian communities living in the Yugoslav federation. As a result, a political, intellectual and social consensus was achieved for proceeding with the demands for RK. Even though the founding of the UP – one of the students' main demands – was realized after the demonstrations, both political and academic Kosovo Albanian elites backed down from what was initially a joint request for a RK. These demonstrations also showed that Albanians in the SFRY did not insist on unification with the Republic of Albania, although they aspired to Republic status for Kosovo. Indeed, the communist elites of Kosovo did not support unification with Albania, or at least I did not manage to discover any such support in my research. However, the option of unification with Albania remained a widely held position among a majority of Albanians in the SFRY, given that such ideas – mainly promoted by illegal groups – had spread into the society.

Political developments at the regional and local levels influenced students as well as the institutions of higher learning in Kosovo, meaning professors and official policies. Therefore, it was not academic values but the intention of fostering political ideologies that seems to have been the main interest of multiple parties involved in the struggle for the "establishment and development" of higher education and UP. The SFRY leadership proclaimed the political emancipation of Albanians in Kosovo to reinforce the "brotherhood and unity" platform or "Titoism," whereas the Republic of Albania supported national "emancipation" amongst Albanians in the SFRY, while promoting nationalist ideas about a "perfect" Albania and "Enverism." While political interference in the system of education in the communist and socialist federations/countries was usual, the battle between "Enverist national-communism" ideologies and "brotherhood and unity" challenged political borders and raised the ambitions of students and, later on, society in general to mobilize and strengthen Albanian identity in the SFRY. I have argued in this chapter that the students played a crucial role in the political and national mobilization of Albanians in Kosovo and the SFRY. However, while they provided energy and some logistics, the political and intellectual elites created the general political and judicial climate and played a significant

role in the organization of the 1968 protests in Kosovo. The interaction of political and academic actors from the SFRY, the Republic of Albania and Kosovo, including students and other actors, made the UP a critical venue for imagining and articulating national ideals rather than academic values, and, as Anderson maintains, "once imagined, they are modeled, adapted and transformed" (Anderson 1991: 157).

Chapter 4. The University of Prishtina (UP) – between politics and academia

4.1. Introduction

Despite the fact that Albanians as a community in the SFRY, and in Kosovo as a region, remained highly discriminated against, between the late-1960s and early 1980s Albanians in Kosovo enjoyed numerous rights. Indeed, the Brioni Plenum (July 1966) marked the beginning of a substantial improvement in their circumstances. In March 1967, Tito visited Kosovo, and in 1969 the term Albanian (*Shqiptar* in Albanian and *Albanac* in Serbian) officially replaced *Šiptar*, which by then was regarded as a slur used by a majority of the Slavic population to put down Albanians living in the SFRY and ergo very derogatory and demeaning.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the UP was founded as an Albanian language institution (Elsie 2011: 6).

Other concessions were also introduced as a result of the 1968 student demonstrations, especially in the field of education. The 1968 student demonstrations are one of the events and developments that led to the 1974 SFRY Constitution, which assured that Kosovo's communist leadership would function without almost any interference from the SRS or the SFRY. The Albanian language became a co-official language of the province, which was enormously advantageous for Kosovo Albanians. In one of his valuable comments about this chapter, Besmir Fidahić¹⁰⁹ shared the results of his legal review of languages as defined in the 1974 SFRY Constitution: it proclaimed the equality of all regardless of language (Article 154), free use of one's own language and script for all (Article 170), the right of nationalities to use their language and script before official organs of the state and the right to education in that language (Article 171), and the right of all to use their own language in court (Article 214), etc. (Fidahić: March 2016). This naturally led to a true renaissance for the non-Slavic population of Kosovo. During the 1970s, governmental administration of the province started to function mainly in Albanian, and Kosovo Albanians experienced enormous and rapid educational development. By the late

¹⁰⁸ Professor Friedman viewed the term *Šiptar* as a bit more complicated, claiming that it became demeaning as a result of Tito's attempt to differentiate between the Albanians of the SFRY and those in Albania by creating a separate identity (Friedman: December 2015).

¹⁰⁹ Besmir Fidahić is a professional translator and interpreter of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and English. His doctoral dissertation, "Linguistic Justice: Translation and Interpretation at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavi, Maastricht University, 2018," focuses on legal and linguistic issues during the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav period.

1970s, around 95% of children in Kosovo received elementary education (Pipa and Repishti, 1984: 133). Following the establishment of the UP, other scholarly institutions such as the Institute of History and Institute of Albanian Studies were re-established. The Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts was founded in 1975. These milestones also fueled Albanian ambitions to promote further their national identity in the SFRY. Simultaneously, they triggered wider cultural developments, offering Albanians a sense of pride and confidence.

From a society that had previously had the highest illiteracy rate in SFRY, within a relatively short period, Kosovo Albanians established cultural and higher education institutions. The SFRY played a supportive role in the establishment and development of these academic and cultural institutions. However, all of the academic personnel engaged at the UP (and other academic/cultural institutions) were usually screened and appointed by the Party. Their job was to implement the "brotherhood and unity" platform and to integrate Kosovo into the SFRY framework. As in other territorial units within the SFRY, political elites intended to channel their "ideological power" through the system of higher education. Hence, as Althusser explains, "state power is disseminated through the ideological state apparatuses that rely on school and education" (Althusser, 1971). In the meantime, though the political character of the UP was obvious from its founding onward, unsurprisingly and behind the scenes, this academic institution became an arena for power struggles among different political factions.

4.2. Influences of the SFRY and the Republic of Albania at the UP

Relations between the SFRY and the Republic of Albania were tense from 1948 until around 1968. Blaming "Belgrade's tendencies for supremacy," *inter alia*, Albania's communist leader Enver Hoxha (1944-1985) cut all ties with the Yugoslavs in 1948. As positive developments started to take place in Kosovo after the Brioni Plenum (1966), relations between Albania and the SFRY also began to improve. On October 4, 1969, while speaking in Tropojë, Hoxha mentioned the importance of good neighborly relations. That same year Josip Broz Tito did the same while speaking in Ulqin/Ulcinj. These speeches produced positive effects: in a meeting between state representatives of both countries, Bujar Hoxha and Ilija Vakić highlighted the necessity for cooperation. Vakić also emphasized that "The Republic of Albania should not forget that there are around one million Albanians in the

SFRY" (CAA 511/1968/30). Other senior-level representatives¹¹⁰ also gave a green light for the SFRY to expand bilateral relations with the Republic of Albania (AK *Rilindja*, May 27, 1970). In April 1970, Tito personally stated that "these relations mean a lot for stability in the Balkans...and further improvement of relations with the Republic of Albania was a long-term policy for the SFRY" (AK *Rilindja*, May 25, 1970). Similarly, the Albanian newspaper "*Zëri i popullit*" wrote in April 1970 that despite ideological differences, the Republic of Albania wanted the best for the nations of the SFRY. Readiness to help each other if the imperialists threatened "our" freedom was also highlighted (*Zëri i Popullit*, April 3, 1970). Thus, relations between the Republic of Albania and the SFRY were based on elements of security, regional stability, economy, etc., but were also influenced by the presence of the Albanian population in the SFRY (AK PSoER/1979-88/36/3). In 1970, the Republic of Albania and the SFRY re-established diplomatic relations. One year later these two countries exchanged ambassadors in Tirana and Belgrade (AK *Rilindja*, February 6, 1971). Soon after these developments, in July 1970, a delegation from the University of Tirana (hereinafter UT) visited Prishtina at the invitation of the UP. Three months later the UP leadership, professors Idriz Ajeti, Božidar Jovanović, and others visited Tirana (AJ 319/1/1). Subsequently, on October 27, 1970, the UP and UT rectors, Agim Mero and Dervish Rozhaja, signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) (AMFA 661/1971). However, this move was met with skepticism by the Serbs, who argued that the UT did not have the qualified academic staff to help the UP, and the Republic of Albania would not allow so many teaching staff to visit Kosovo (AMFA 639/1971). Other SFRY republics (Macedonia and Montenegro) verbally expressed their readiness to cooperate with the Republic of Albania in the field of archives, libraries, academic staff exchange and collaboration between the national institutes of history (AJ 319/50/66).

4.2.1. Implementation of the agreement between the UP and the UT

The management of both universities evinced high expectations for the implementation of the 1970 MoU. They exchanged academic staff, texts, manuals, publications and study visits for students (AMFA 511/1976). Over 50 professors from UT were immediately

¹¹⁰ During one of his visits to Kosovo, Miko Tripalo, a member of the Executive Bureau at the Presidency of Communist League of Yugoslavia, said: "despite ideological differences, there is a willingness among the SFRY leadership to expand bilateral relations with Albania..."

brought to Prishtina, while teachers and professors from UP were sent to Tirana for specialization and qualification in certain subjects that were to be taught in Prishtina. Other institutions also began cooperating, the Academies of Sciences from Kosovo and Albania exchanged literature, funds, and other materials from their archives and libraries, and also offered thematic lectures, especially in the fields of linguistics and human sciences (AK PSoER/1972-84/1-97/4).

Through Prishtina's Academy of Sciences, Albania's Academy of Sciences also helped educational and cultural institutions in other parts of the SFRY (CAA 490/1978/582). Kosovo's cooperation with the Republic of Albania was also initiated in other cultural and educational fields, including music, theater (CAA 511/1971/182), and cinematography (AK PSoER/1979-88/36/3). One cultural activity that brought many visitors and was a direct product of this cooperation was "*Java e Filmit Shqiptar*" (Week of Albanian Film), which took place in Prishtina (CAA 511/1971/182). Associations of writers (CAA 490/1976/411) and associations of figurative and applicative arts (CAA 511/1976/241) of both countries also cooperated. One of the most important events during this period was a congress for the unification of the Albanian language held in Tirana in November 1972. This event resulted in the expansion of patriotic feelings among Albanians in the SFRY¹¹¹ (CAA 511/1972/48). Additionally, there were many cultural activities outside the framework of the provincial administration. All of these events and activities undoubtedly contributed to the "national emancipation" of students in Prishtina and throughout Kosovo.

The Republic of Albania had two main objectives for engaging in cooperation with Kosovo academic and cultural institutions: First, to help prepare Albanian cadres and specialists in Kosovo and the SFRY; and second, to contribute towards the "empowerment of patriotic feelings, the deepening of love for Albania, and the preservation of Albanian traditions, pride and nationhood" (CAA 511/1973/203). While it is clear that cooperation between these two universities did not have purely academic objectives, the "normalization" of relations between Belgrade and Tirana in 1970 allowed Kosovo Albanians to reconnect with their "homeland" and made the UP a channel through which political and national messages from the Republic of Albania were disseminated to Kosovo and the SFRY. As

¹¹¹ This conference was also the result of the resolutions taken by Albanian intellectuals in the SFRY in 1968. See now Elliott (2017) for a detailed discussion of the significance of these decisions.

Clark notes, "teachers and books from Albania" were essential in the expansion of Kosovo's political emancipation (Clark 2000: 58). Indeed, the UP was transformed into a tool for the national emancipation of Albanians throughout the SFRY. Professors from the UT came to the UP, the academic home of SFRY Albanians (Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Presheva/Preshevo, Bujanoc/Bujanovac, and Medvegjë/Medveđa), which in a way reflected a sort of "unification." Ideas generated in this academic laboratory were distributed to other parts of the SFRY. It was expected that generations completing their studies at the UP would return to their respective places to continue to disseminate ideas learned at the UP.

With the improvement of relations between the Republic of Albania and the SFRY, Albanians in Kosovo were empowered politically (Malcolm 2001: 339). Indeed, they played a key role in the intensification of these relations for a decade. The empowerment of Albanians and tangible results in the field of education made the Serbs from Kosovo and Serbia uncomfortable. Professor Victor Friedman, whose multidisciplinary research has involved fieldwork in the Balkans for over 40 years, in his first visit to Kosovo in 1972 noticed many tensions between Albanians and Serbs. He also noted that he did not observe such tensions between Albanians and Macedonians in Macedonia. When he returned to Kosovo in 1974, tensions were even higher. Professor Friedman explained how he saw some Albanian students standing around in the hall of a UP building while he was looking for Prishtina's Academy of Sciences. He approached them, and "because my Albanian was very poor at that time, I spoke to them in Macedonian. They just looked at me and ignored me... Then I told them in Albanian, "No, no, I'm American. Of course, everything was fine then" (Friedman: December 2015). During the 1970s, Serbian professors and politicians in Kosovo observed these developments and warned professors from Tirana, such as historian Kristaq Prifti, to be careful especially when lecturing on sensitive topics about the region's past. Professors from Tirana were advised by their republic to be careful around the Serbs, "who are only looking for a reason to destroy cooperation between the two Albanian universities" (CAA 511/1972/237).

The political character of the UP was conspicuous in every phase of its development. From the beginning, both sides were aware that cooperation between the UP and the UT might be viewed as a political threat. SFRY was worried that Albanians in Kosovo might be influenced by Tirana's national leftist ideas, whereas the Republic of Albania was afraid

that their professors and others visiting Kosovo might be "infected" with social-democratic ideas. During the 65th session of the SFRY Presidency held on December 14, 1976, while reporting on "political achievements," it was highlighted that there were many illusions about the Republic of Albania, but Kosovo visitors who used to be nationalists returned extremely disappointed from their visits of the Republic of Albania (AJ 803/498). Indeed, some of them were disappointed, but some blindly stuck to their illusions and kept promoting the image of a "perfect" Albania and "Enverism." For example, while interviewing Hydajet Hyseni, an ex-political prisoner and a founder and famous member of the illegal group known as "Revolutionary Group," I noticed that even now he continued to speak about how "perfect" and even militarily strong the Republic of Albania was during the 1970s (Hyseni: December 2015). In contrast, Albanian linguist Rexhep Ismajli, a UP professor and a member of Kosovo's Academy of Sciences since 1993, whose main aim in the 1970s was to continue with postgraduate studies at the Institut de linguistique générale et appliqué René Descartes, Sorbonne, said that when he and his friend Ibrahim Rugova visited the Republic of Albania for the first time in 1972,

"We did not like their system. We were there as visiting scholars and stayed there for about two weeks, but we spent most of the time arguing about literature and art with our colleagues from Albania. Mehmet Elezi accompanied us and, for example, he always rejected Franz Kafka or any other 'foreign' writer, even though he did not have a chance to read them at that time! However, Mehmet admitted he was brainwashed by the system only when I met him again in 1992" (R. Ismajli: March 2017).

Thus, the situation in the Republic of Albania was perceived according to the actual level of political awareness of those who visited it. Indeed, it was common in communist Albania to suspect each Kosovan tourist and keep him/her under surveillance, considering them as potential agents of the SFRY. Those who accompanied visitors from Kosovo were obliged to write detailed reports (*relacion*) with impressions, including profiles of writers, researchers or other institutional visitors who came to Albania during the 1970s. The *relacion* had to be delivered also by professors or visitors from Albania who came to the SFRY during this period. These reports included information about political, cultural and

social issues. They even mentioned jokes that Kosovans told about Tito. I came upon most of these *relations* in the Albanian Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some of them have already been published and disseminated through local portals in Kosovo or Albania.¹¹²

Political interference in the educational sector of communist and socialist federations/countries was "normal." However, the battle between "Enverist national-communism" ideologies and the "brotherhood and unity" platforms promoted at the UP challenged political borders and raised students' ambitions – and later those of the wider public – to forge and strengthen the Albanian identity in the SFRY.

4.2.2. The UP; between dissemination of knowledge and ideology

Knowing that an emancipated society consciously becomes the guardian of the "rights and freedoms" in whose traditions they have been educated, the UP became a target for domination by two different interest groups. The SFRY leadership proclaimed the political emancipation of Albanians in Kosovo to coincide with the "brotherhood and unity" platform or "Titoism." On the other hand, the Republic of Albania proclaimed national emancipation amongst Albanians in the SFRY, trying to expand nationalist ideas about a "perfect" Albania and "Enverism." Both groups used the UP to disseminate their ideological positions. Due to great difficulties in the provision of high school and university textbooks in Albanian, in November 1969 a representative of the Rilindja Publishing House, Ismail Bajra, met "Art eksport" representatives in Tirana. An agreement was reached according to which Kosovo would be supplied with literature in Albanian from Albania. The parties were also obliged to create a joint committee of specialists to review books to ensure that they were suitable for Albanian students in Kosovo and the SFRY. Under this contract, the Rilindja Publishing House started ordering literature from the Republic of Albania (AJ-319-1-1).¹¹³ Given that Albanian schools in Macedonia and Montenegro also lacked literature

¹¹² See the news portal Telegrafi (<http://telegrafi.com/viti-1973-si-u-survejuan-pese-shkrimtaret-e-kosoves-ne-shqiperi/>), Viti 1973: Si u survejuan pesë shkrimtarët e Kosovës në Shqipëri? (Year 1973: the surveillance of five Kosovo writers in Albania), (<http://telegrafi.com/viti-1973-miqte-spiunonin-koleget-shkrimtare-nga-Kosovo-2/>) Viti 1973: Miqtë spiunonin kolegët shkrimtarë nga Kosova! (Friends were spying on their writer colleagues from Kosovo), and (<http://telegrafi.com/viti-1973-çfare-barsoletash-tregoheshin-per-titon-4/>) Viti 1973: Çfarë barsoletash tregoheshin për Titon!? (Year 1973: What kind of anecdotes were told for Tito).

¹¹³ During the period between 1969 and 1971 alone, 42,266 books of Albanian literature and other translated material, including 3,031 textbooks on 46 subjects, were delivered to different schools in Kosovo. Textbooks were also sent to the faculties of economics, natural sciences, law, history, languages, electrical engineering, mechanical

in Albanian, books and school texts were also sent to these republics via Kosovo (CAA 511/1971/182). The literature exchange took place mostly between the UP and the UT: the UT regularly provided the UP with copies of each publication published by the UT at that time, including textbooks. Additionally, the national libraries of Prishtina and Tirana exchanged all publications, leading to approximately 430 scientific and 20 periodical titles being exchanged every year (AK PSoER/1979-88/36/3). Even though both parties agreed that only material that did not contradict the official ideology of the Communist League of Yugoslavia could be sent and disseminated in Kosovo/SFRY, this agreement was not always respected (AK PSoER/1972-84/1-97/4).

In a document delivered by Albania's National Library to the Ministry of Education and Culture, for example, it was stated that the libraries of Mitrovica and Ferizaj/Uroševac, as well as the House of Culture in Vushtrria/Vučitrn, had to return books "which were not ordered" (AMFA 1112/1980). However, Albania's Ministry of Education instructed the National Library to stop sending books to those libraries that returned them, but also asked for the same materials to be sent to libraries in Kumanovo, Pejë/Peć and Gostivar (ibid.). The first generation of UP students stated that to vouchsafe against the confiscation of books coming from the Republic of Albania, there were cases when the first several pages of a book, which usually contained the speeches of Enver Hoxha, would be removed, after which the book would be distributed to the students. Novosella also confirms that books which came from Tirana "inspired us to patriotic acts" (Novosella: October 2015).

Given that hitherto writers and artists from Kosovo had mainly been influenced by the creativity of their colleagues in the SFRY, when "confronted" with Albanian literature and art, most of them found themselves caught between "two sides" (AMFA 639/1971). In communist countries nothing could be published without the state's initial approval. Indeed, the state also attempted to control all other forms of dissemination, but, as attested in this specific case, it did not always succeed. These materials contained ideological resources, hence, different sources claim that the UP promoted populist education, including nationalism, during the 1970s. Findings also show that once the agreement with the UT was reached, the most fruitful cooperation was with the Faculty of Philosophy, especially the

engineering, medicine. As far as other teaching tools are concerned, during the period between 1969 and 1971, 108,970 pieces were sent, mainly maps, geographical and historical tables, newspapers, journals etc., including 60,000 gramophone records with Albanian songs (CCA 511/1972/48).

Department of Albanian Language and Literature,¹¹⁴ but also with the Department of History (AK PSoER/1972-84/1-97/4). Lectures by the UT professors from these departments attracted a large number of people, most of whom were not necessarily students. Audiences were often composed of people from different cities and towns of Kosovo, but also from other SFRY republics such as Montenegro and Macedonia (AMFA 661/1971).

This shows that after the Second World War Albanians living in the SFRY idealized the Republic of Albania: everything that came from Albania was considered good and worthy of attention, including "Enverism." However, taking into consideration the historical circumstances and the fact that Albanians in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Yugoslavia, including the SFRY, were discriminated against and usually treated as second class citizens, it is to be expected that due to their shared nationality Kosovo Albanians would idealize the Republic of Albania. While the SFRY, by translating Serbian textbooks into Albanian, aimed to "strengthen the sense of belonging to the socialist community of Yugoslav nations and love towards it" (Kostovicova 2005, 40), the Republic of Albania, on the other hand, by focusing on the two most sensitive UP departments, aimed to preserve the national spirit and/or undermine any sense of identification with the SFRY.

During meetings held in June and September 1979, the Presidency of the Kosovo Provincial Committee discussed the large number of people attending the lectures and their applause for a specific professor from the Republic of Albania who spoke about the "heroic character of the Albanian nation, thanks to the work of the Party and Enver Hoxha." The issues of "secret meetings of Albanian youth," mainly to listen to speeches by Enver Hoxha and songs containing nationalist elements, were also discussed (Mišović 1987: 436). However, by the late 1970s, the UP already had 26,000 students. In the 1981-1982 academic year, the UP had more students than any other university in SFRY (Horvat 1988: 137). 70% of the UP students studied linguistics and human sciences, and only around 23% were in other disciplines and technology. These statistics were used by Dušan Čurebić when proclaiming the UP as the center for massive nationalistic teaching (AS Đ-2/327/1981).

Serbian authors, including SFRY political leaders, acknowledged their failure to monitor the implementation of the agreement between the UP and the UT and confirmed

¹¹⁴ Professor Idriz Ajeti received his degree from the Albanian studies department at the University of Belgrade and founded the UP Albanian department jointly with Latif Mulaku, Gani Luboteni, Enver Gjergjeku, Anton Ceta, Mehdi Bardhi, and others.

that "the enemy was much more prepared and organized than us in the expansion of their nationalist ideologies among youth in Kosovo" (Mišović 1987: 425). Kostovicova points out that the historical pattern of domination of one national group over the other in Kosovo was also reflected in education (Kostovicova 2005: 29). Thus, each ethnicity intricately linked the educational sector with its own political domination objectives. Thus, it was not academic prosperity but the possibility for domination that seems to have been the main focus of multiple parties involved in the struggle for the "establishment and development" of the UP. Located in the midst of different state actors – the Republic of Albania, the SFRY, and Kosovo authorities – the UP was a forum in which groups with varying political motivations struggled for control. However, it must be also noted that aside from these challenges, the UP managed to produce cadres of engineers, architects, doctors, and professionals in other necessary fields which did not previously exist in Kosovo prior to the UP's establishment.

4.3. Political trajectories and the ethnonational awareness of Albanians in SFRY

Developments in the sphere of higher and university education enabled a rapid increase of awareness about national issues among Kosovo Albanians. Between 1966 and 1981 in Kosovo one-third of the country's population was enrolled in a school or university (Rusinow 2008: 255). During the 1970s, the UP became a training ground for students in the position of Albanians in the SFRY. Students started developing political positions and evaluating Serb-Albanian relations in Kosovo through a critical lens. Intellectuals – particularly those persecuted during the Ranković era – were eager to learn about their history and culture, and, consequently, started playing a vital part in encouraging Kosovo Albanians to examine their national identity by studying their history, literature, and traditions at the UP. Petrit Imami observed that at that time increasing numbers of Albanians echoed the historical injustices against Albanians from the Congress of Berlin (1878)¹¹⁵ and Conference of Versailles (1919)¹¹⁶. Albanian communist elites were also blamed, because at the Assembly of the National Liberation Council of Prizren (July 1945) they had accepted

¹¹⁵ Albanians blamed the Berlin Congress of 1878 for the partition of some Albanian-inhabited territories which "unjustly [gave] Serbia the eastern part of Kosovo, and Bar, Podgorica, and Gusinje to Montenegro. (citation)"

¹¹⁶ Albanians also blamed the Peace Conference in Paris, because it decided that the area around Prizren would be given to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia), that the southern Albanian areas (southern Epirus/Çamëri, which had a mixed Albanian and Greek population), were given to Greece, and Italy was made the defender of Albania's territorial integrity. Albania was not represented at the conference.

Kosovo's joining the SRS. Imami also points out that the books and newspapers that were distributed in Kosovo told Albanians they were the direct descendants of the Illyrians, autochthonous inhabitants of all the Balkans (Imami: March 2016). The results of population censuses (1981) in Kosovo and Macedonia were openly contested by some of the Albanian students and young intellectuals. The embassy of the Republic of Albania in Belgrade also reported on Macedonia's attempts to reduce the number of Albanians (AMFA 1205/1980), and that around 10-15,000 Greek migrants had been brought in and placed in Macedonia prior to the census (AMFA 1161/1980). It is worth noting that the refugees from Aegean Macedonia arrived in the 1940s, thus they probably meant Aegean Macedonian refugees living in other parts of the SFRY.

These new post-Ranković elites also started expressing opinions that the development of Kosovo was purposely not allowed due to the SRS's using their profits from the Trepça/Trepča mines. Indeed, economically Kosovo lagged behind the rest of Serbia and all of the other SFRY republics, but Albania at the time was lagging behind even Kosovo! Nevertheless, the Republic of Albania was presented as a utopia of a country without unemployment and social injustice, without foreign credits that regular citizens had to pay off, and good living standards, etc. (Imami: March 2016). The intensification of cultural cooperation between Kosovo and Albania contributed to the strengthening of populism among students during the 1970s, culminating in 1978 during the commemoration of the League of Prizren.¹¹⁷ Kosovars' self-perception changed as they reaffirmed their cultural heritage and discovered the role their forefathers had played in the struggle for Albanian independence from the Ottoman Empire (Biserko: November 2015). Fidahić also emphasized the impact the findings of the Ottoman records (defters) had when they were found in the SFRY. These defters revealed that the Ottomans had tried to suppress Albanian identity and banned the use of Albanian language and Albanian-language schools.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ The League for the Defense of the Rights of the Albanian Nation (Lidhja për mbrojtjen e të drejtave të kombit Shqiptar), commonly known as the League of Prizren (Lidhja e Prizrenit), was a political organization whose official foundation in the Kosovo Vilayet of the Ottoman Empire on June 10, 1878 is regarded as the first step in creating an Albanian state.

¹¹⁸ See especially Skendi (1967:366-404). The Young Turks lifted the ban in 1908, but after the Balkan wars and World War One, the territory of Kosovo was divided between Serbia and Montenegro in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The constitution of the Kingdom recognized only three "tribes, 'Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians, of "one single Yugoslav people" and their languages. In 1929, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia issued a Law on People's Schools (Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije - Official Gazette of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), December 5, 1929, CXIX/289 (The Law on People's Schools)) which, in practice, gave rights for the use of language and education in those languages only to German, Hungarian and Romanian minorities.

Initially, the SFRY did not do much for the Albanians either, as it only offered rights to nations (in Serbian, *narodi*), not minorities (*manjine*), a term later replaced by nationalities (*narodnosti*) as a euphemism for minorities (Fidahić: March 2016).

Albanians started re-examining their role in the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. With their increased political awareness, Albanians regularly started referring to their old wounds, which were, according to them, inflicted by the Ottoman and South Slav occupiers. Therefore, developments in the sphere of university education during the seventies facilitated a rapid increase of awareness about national issues among Kosovo Albanians. During this decade the UP became a hotbed, where demands for reconsideration of the position of Albanians in the SFRY were articulated. This made the UP a major pillar in the national emancipation of Albanians in the SFRY. James Pettifer also considers the UP to have been an essential element in the process of forming a national elite in Kosovo, "...after the sixties Kosovo was equipped with many teachers of a nationalist orientation..." (Pettifer 2002: 7). Professors, literature, and the study visits of Albanians from the SFRY to the Republic of Albania had a tremendous effect on the political orientation of students and the wider public in Kosovo. As Anderson (1991) points out, a unified system of education is central for the emergence of nation-states and the accompanying process of nation-building. The interaction between political and academic actors from the SFRY, the Republic of Albania, and Kosovo, including students and other actors, made the UP a critical venue for imagining and articulating national ideals.

4.4. Tito's death and the political circumstances that influenced the 1981 uprisings in Kosovo

Even before Tito's death, numerous frictions between "progressivists" and "illegal groups" contributed to the instability of the political situation in Kosovo. After marking the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren, the illegal groups' aspirations for unification with Albania intensified, as did their propaganda, with the slogan "one language, one nation, one state" (J. Krasniqi; December 2015). The proceedings of the conference that was held in Prishtina marking the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren – which was attended by Professor Friedman in June 1978 – was supposed to be published within a year of the conference, but the volume was not allowed to go forward until 1990 (Friedman: December 2015). During Tito's visit to Kosovo in October 1979, on his way to Brezovica, he had to

pass through Ferizaj/Uroševac. In this city, members of illegal groups organized a symbolic protest. Among others, a sign saying "you are not welcome" was hung on a stray dog's neck, which was then released to run around in the city center (H. Ismajli; February 2018). This action terrified the local Kosovo authorities, and after Tito's visit several arrests were made and numerous people were sentenced in Yugoslav courts by Albanian speaking judges.

At the Federal Assembly meeting which took place on December 10, 1980, the President of the LoC of Kosovo, Mahmut Bakalli (1971-1981), presented statistics on the deepening of the economic and social crisis of Kosovo. The President's report for Kosovo submitted to LCY also highlighted that "...despite the fact that Kosovo participates in energy production and metallurgy in the economy of Yugoslavia with over 60% of the SFRY's overall production, still, compared to the SFRY's average, Kosovo's economic backwardness has deepened from 28% in 1948 to 48% in 1980..." Abdulla Prapashtica, an investigator in the Kosovo intelligence services and founder of an illegal group, "Partia Komuniste Marksiste Leniniste e Shqiptarëve në Jugosllavi (PKMLSHJ; The Communist Marxist-Leninist Party of Albanians in Yugoslavia)," noted that Bakalli's statements served as a sign to proceed with the organization of demonstrations and request republic status for Kosovo. In January 1981, PKMLSHJ sent a final letter to Fadil Hoxha, threatening that "either you (the progressivists) raise the request for the Republic of Kosovo at the federative level, or we will organize the demonstrations" (Prapashtica: February 2018). On the one hand, "the progressivists" were not undertaking any concrete steps forward in this regard; on the other hand, the Republic of Albania increased its "pressure" on SFRY authorities to guarantee the rights of Kosovo Albanians with the constitution. This empowered illegal groups, and they mobilized around the idea of demonstrations even more. When Tito died in 1980, an economic decline was affecting the entire SFRY, but it can be argued that the effect was disproportionately felt in Kosovo owing to the already poor economic conditions. Differences in the economic development of Kosovo, compared with that of the other SFRY republics, were deepening further. In October 1980, the Embassy of the Republic of Albania in Belgrade reported that the economic difficulties had brought on an unpleasant situation in the province, which was the reason that "institutions there are predicting a repetition of 1968" (AMFA 1205/1980).

Thus, the early 1980s found Albanians in Kosovo in complicated social, political and psychological circumstances. At this time tensions between the "illegal groups" and

"progressivists" had reached their highest peak. Both groups claimed to be working for the good of Kosovo, and each of them chose an opposing political and ideological orientation. The progressivists carried out their agenda through the state apparatus, whereas the illegal groups tried to do the same through disobedience. Regrettably, they allowed their different political and ideological orientations to keep them from working in concert toward their ultimate mutual goal. Although the SFRY constitutional reforms of the 1970s allowed the autonomous provinces more local control and input, this decade also led to the deepening of the inter-ethnic rifts between Albanians and Serbs.

In messages labeled "decodings" that the Albanian embassy in Belgrade sent to their Ministry of Foreign Affairs from April to December 1980, it was confirmed that the police had made some arrests in Kosovo because of the distribution of anti-Titoist and nationalist brochures. There were also a few Serbs and Montenegrins who were tried for conducting anti-Albanian actions. Rilindja journalists were ordered not to publish any more articles from the Republic of Albania's newspaper "Zëri i Popullit," as they had done earlier. Representatives of the Republic of Albania in Belgrade were informed about the discussions of the organization "Ylli i Kuq (Red Star)" to organize a demonstration on November 28, 1980. Before the "November holidays" (the 28th of November was Albania's Independence Day), authorities in Kosovo arrested many university and high school students, questioned them, and released them only four days after the holidays (AMFA 1151/1980). The overall situation in Kosovo frightened other SFRY republics. Azem Vllasi, a communist leader, pointed out that during this period other republics in the SFRY criticized Kosovo authorities for showing tolerance vis-à-vis those who used every opportunity to express Albanian nationalist sentiments. All of these developments contributed to increased tension between "illegal groups" and "progressivists" and also deepened inter-ethnic segregation in Kosovo (Vllasi: October 2015).

Professor Victor Friedman points out that even during the 1970s it was clear that there were many tensions between Albanians and Serbs from Kosovo. He stated that similar tensions could not be felt between Albanians and Macedonians in Macedonia. When one went for a stroll in "korzo" (promenade) in Skopje, one could meet all kinds of people there: Albanians, Macedonians, Roma, Turks, etc. In Prishtina, however, even a "korzo" was segregated: Serbs and Albanians strolled on opposite sides of the main street (Friedman: December 2015). The revolt among the Kosovo Albanian population and the tensions

among Kosovo Serbs after Tito's death on May 1980 increased the political uncertainty in the SFRY. Kosovo Albanians I interviewed who were students at the time stated that after Tito's death they became fearful that the course of SFRY policies would change to their disadvantage. They believed that the 1974 Constitution left open the doors to the SRS and the SFRY to deny Albanians the autonomous rights guaranteed by the 1974 SFRY Constitution. Illegal groups justified their fears with the fact that the SRS had greatly resisted the 1974 constitutional amendments, and these were reasonable concerns. Dragoslav Marković¹¹⁹ formed a working group of professors to prepare a study known as the "Blue Book" (cited after Biserko 2012: 209). The Blue Book complained that provinces considered themselves equal to the republics, which consequently led them to disrespect the authority of the SRS, even in those spheres in which the republic (as a sovereign body of the state) had authority. The SRS politicians and authorities listed dozens of examples of such autarchy: in foreign relations, defense, economics, and educational policies (Jović, 2008: 173).

Dušan Janjić¹²⁰ describes this book as evidence of the SRS's proclivity to try to gain more power at the federal level of the SFRY, rather than a genuine appetite for the "colonization" of Kosovo (Janjić: February 2016). Still, Albanians viewed this book as a denial of Kosovo's autonomy and considered Serbs to be neighbors who could not be trusted. Already in June 1977, after a long session of all the political leaders in the SRS (including those from Kosovo and Vojvodina), even the "progressivist" Kosovo leaders declared that the Blue Book was a "Bible of Serbian nationalism" (Jović, 2008:175), thereby accusing the Serbs of attempting to undermine the autonomy of the provinces, which was – in their view – unconstitutional. Thus, it was obvious that the SRS, the only SFRY republic with provinces, felt "unequal" to the others and continuously searched for opportunities to make constitutional changes. Moreover, Jović argues that in these circumstances an even more paradoxical situation ensued: Albanian students were calling for constitutional changes out of the same motivations and feelings as the SRS leaders in Belgrade: they both felt unequal vis-à-vis the relevant "others." Just as the SRS leaders felt that Serbia was unequal to the other SFRY republics and that it was lagging behind them economically and

¹¹⁹ Dragoslav Marković (1920) was the president of the Assembly of the Federal SRS and chairman of the SRS and SFRY Presidency (1969-1984).

¹²⁰ Dušan Janjić (1950) was a member of the SRS LoC (1968-1988), as well as founder and a vice president of Social Democracy (1997-1999).

politically, many Kosovo Albanians felt the same way about their own status and the status of Kosovo (Jović 2008: 178). Bajram Kosumi, one of the organizers of the 1981 demonstrations, notes that in addition to feelings of insecurity vis-à-vis the SRS, the economic pressures and backwardness which had left Kosovo the poorest part of the SFRY also served as crucial factors impelling students towards open rebellion.

Indeed, economically Kosovo was the least developed area of the SFRY. The gap between Kosovo and the most-developed SFRY Republic, Slovenia, was widening. Although in 1952 Slovenia had a GDP per capita 4.1 times larger than Kosovo, in 1981 the ratio was 5.4 times higher, with a tendency to increase even further. Other economic data show an even greater difference, approaching an 8:1 ratio. Kosovo lagged behind not only Slovenia but also all of the other SFRY regions. Although in 1955 its GDP per capita was 43% of the SFRY average, in the early eighties this had fallen to 26%. With a ratio of 6.1:1 and a projected annual growth rate of 2%, Kosovo would need 91 years to reach the 1981 Slovenian levels, concluded a leading SFRY (Croatian) economist, Branko Horvat (Horvat 1988, 136, 137).

The unemployment rate in Kosovo was the highest in the country. For one available job, 43 unemployed persons were available. In Kosovo, Albanians constituted 74% of the active population but made up 65% of the work force. Serbs were 17% of the active population, and 26% of the active work force (cited after Jović, 2008: 190). However, during the 72nd joint session of the Presidencies of the League of Communists (LoC) of Serbia and the SRS held April 23, 1981, Serbian communist leaders stated that they did not want to talk about economic problems in Kosovo. Beside the fact that the economic situation was considered to be the main reason for the student revolts, they still maintained that "when it comes to economic development we are on a good path" and that the answer for the "student rebellion cannot be found in any economic, social and development problems in Kosovo" (AS Đ-2/327/1981). Kosumi confirms that national concerns, such as "the isolation of Albanians...the tendencies to separate the national identity of Albanians, the alleged split between Albanians in Albania and Šiptari in the SFRY," also served as important factors for the organization of demonstrations (Kosumi 2001). However, the demands for "egalitarianism" from both Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians served as the main driver for the 1981 demonstrations in Kosovo and subsequent heavy-handed reactions of the SRS authorities.

4.4.1. Before the demonstrations: preparations and genesis

Economic, political and ethnic divisions inspired students to organize social movements. Everything began at the UP, which, as an educational institution, brought together people of all different backgrounds. The beginning of the 1980-1981 academic year found UP students extremely annoyed about the conditions of the student dormitories and dining hall. These conditions had not been satisfactory in previous years either, but nobody seemed to be keen on improving them. Professor Friedman, who was visiting UP in the seventies for a seminar, conveyed his firsthand experiences with student life in Prishtina. The organizers put the seminar participants in the UP dormitories, but "both the food and the dormitory were terrible, the sinks in the bathroom drained onto the floor, and there was no way to take a proper shower in the dorm, so we had to go shower at Bozhur – the only hotel at that time in Prishtina" (Friedman: December 2015). Moreover, seminar participants were told they were staying in a dormitory for women and that this was the reason the dormitory appeared somewhat clean. The dormitory for men was much worse. Consequently, if this was the best the seminar organizers could offer foreign visitors to Prishtina, one can only imagine the ordinary living conditions of students at that time.

Gani Koci reveals that because of all these conditions, in November 1980 a group of students demolished the office of the Director of Dormitory. As a result, an urgent meeting was organized among the students, the dormitory administration, and representatives of the Kosovo Secretariat for Education. Students voiced their concerns and warned that they would take other action should conditions not improve (Koci: Dec 2015). When several months passed and nothing had really improved, at around 8 p.m. on March 10, 1981, Koci invited Januz Januzi, Kadri Kryeziu, Ramadan Dobra, Murat Musliu, Selim Geci, and Bedri Dobra to meet him in dormitory number 3, room 310 (Demonstrations Judgment of Supreme Court, AP-KZH, nr.437/81). The participants of this meeting planned and set March 11, 1981 as the date to start with "concrete actions." During this meeting, they concluded that students were angry about the terrible conditions in the dormitories and dining hall and that students would support any action to address these issues. "Each of us," says Koci, "was supposed to talk with as many students as possible and, normally, the number of those having the information increased. It was agreed to meet in the dining hall at 7 p.m. on March 11, 1981. Students started to gather sometime before 7 p.m. When all had gathered, someone came into room 310 to inform us that another line for food had been

set up, so that students wouldn't have to wait for so long anymore. This was a clear sign that someone had found out about the students' plan and that there were attempts to abort it." Soon Koci and Kadri Kryeziu entered the food lines, stopping the incoming food, saying "No food today." Other people in the dining hall knew about the activity, and that's when it all started, confirms Koci. Some witnesses say that Salih Salihu was the first one who started it all by breaking a plate, whereas Koci says that it was not Salihu who started it, but somehow everyone started shattering plates and protesting at the same moment.

In this vein, Petrit Imami claims the demonstrations were first provoked by Osman Osmani, a nephew of Abdullah Prapashtica, who was a strong figure in the state intelligence services in Kosovo in 1981: Osmani flipped a table over as a protest against just how bad the food was – which indeed it was – and many students then joined him (Imami: March 2016). As was mentioned above in §4.4, Abdulla Prapashtica, who was also described by the arrested students as violent, was a founder of an “illegal group” (PKMLSHJ) while at the same time serving as an investigator for the intelligence services.

During our interview, Prapashtica confirmed that the decision to organize the demonstrations of 1981 was made by the PKMLSHJ leadership on December 10, 1980. Initially, the PKMLSHJ invited – in writing – the existing illegal groups as well as the Albanian political structures of Kosovo and the federation to unite around one platform: Republic of Kosovo (Prapashtica: February 2018). However, it must be noted that I asked Prapashtica how it was possible for him to be simultaneously an organizer (as a part of the PKMLSHJ) and an investigator responsible for keeping order and reporting to the LoC for 1981 demonstrations. He did not respond to this nor to some other questions. He mentioned, however, that some answers would be provided in a book that he plans to write about these events. Be that as it may, the events in the dining hall were the starting point of the 1981 demonstrations. Organizers also considered this to be a very difficult process, because after the dining hall events, the situation spread to the dormitory and got out of control. The organizers planned to articulate political demands with the leitmotiv of "bad student conditions," because there was also a fear that by immediately focus on the political message rather than the social message – i.e., the bad conditions – would cause students to hesitate to join the cause. Thus, it was decided to follow the mood of the students, rather than shift demands from the academic to the socio-economic and political and patriotic/nationalist. Koci confirms that students read a lot of illegal literature (Stalinist,

Enverist) and had connections with illegal group activists (Bajrush Xhemajli, Hamdi Zymeri, Bajram Kosumi, etc.). However, Koci claims that no one single group or affiliation, "progressivists" or "illegal groups" alike, gave a particular green light to start the demonstrations, but that mostly the unaffiliated student body itself was responsible for the spontaneous start of the demonstrations. Shattering plates, turning over tables, demolishing the student center, and protesting against "the conditions" (understood as the students' living conditions) was just the flash point.

4.4.2. During demonstrations: actions and reactions

Soon after breaking plates in the student dining hall, the organizers and a group of students went out to the streets where they chanted: "Kushte" (Conditions), "Disa në karriga të buta e disa pa bukë" (Some on soft chairs and some without bread), "Poshtë borgjezia e kuqe" (Down with red bourgeoisie), and "Lironi shokët tone" (Release our friends -- referring to the imprisoned illegal group activists). Once on the main street, students headed downtown, and some citizens joined them along the way as well. The student organizers explained that seeing long lines of people shouting "Conditions, conditions, conditions" encouraged students, who started acting irresponsibly. Koci mentions that he shouted "Kosovo Republic," but that Kadri Kryeziu put a hand over his mouth saying "It's still early for that, don't rush."

Once the crowd reached downtown, a group of students took down SFRY flags hanging from light poles. At this time there were no slogans, only commotion by the students. Koci claims that the entire episode would have remained at the level of mere commotion, but then the police showed up. They intervened brutally near the Faculty of Philosophy, and the demonstrators struggled to rescue a student from their hands. This student was severely beaten by the police. Another student named Ali Lajqi climbed up a light pole and started giving a speech, saying: "What is all this force, energy and spilling of the blood of youth about? What is this *vurmak* (a loanword from Turkish meaning "hitting")?! You are giving *vurmak*... (cited after Demonstrations Judgment of Supreme Court, AP-KZH, nr. 437/81). Organizers claim Mehmet Bislimi also gave a short speech. These speeches excited the masses and inspired them to stand up to the security forces even more defiantly.

Demonstrators started smashing store windows with stones and blocked the road. This lasted until 5 or 6 a.m. Police reported that about 2,000 students and citizens protested that night. The chanting was in Albanian. Many UP students of Albanian nationality from Macedonia and Montenegro also participated in these demonstrations. The Kosovo Provincial Committee (PC) reported that police were attacked: around 19 policemen were hurt and hospitalized. Seven cars, two buses, and one private coffee bar were destroyed, and there was damage to the dormitory. On March 12, 1981, the Presidency of the LoC of Kosovo and the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP) of Kosovo held a joint session. Mahmut Bakalli, President of the LoC of Kosovo, emphasized that despite many attempts by socio-political organizations, as well as the infiltration of activists among the students who demonstrated, the authorities had not managed to convince the students to calm down and to discuss their concerns. Here it was confirmed that the situation in other municipalities was calm and that these demonstrations impacted only Prishtina. Mustafa Sefedini, in charge of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, confirmed that "our intelligence service did not have any information or indication about the student rebellious actions of March 11. This happened in a moment and spontaneously" (*AK LoCPC/1981/81*).

According to the declarations of double-agent Abdulla Prapashtica, this was not true. Prapashtica claims that the leadership of both Kosovo and the SFRY Federation knew that demonstrations in support of the idea of a Republic of Kosovo would take place. The PKMLSHJ, whom Prapashtica considers to have been the organizers of the demonstrations of 1981, notified Fadil Hoxha, Mahmut Bakalli, Ali Shukriu, Xhevdet Hamza in writing, and they also sent letters to the address of Josip Broz Tito (Prapashtica: February 2018). However, after the demonstrations of March 11, 1981, Sefedini's ministry took measures and mobilized additional reserve police units. Therefore, in the event of a repetition of the demonstrations, Sefedini stressed that the security organs of the SAP Kosovo were well equipped both in numbers and technically, even though it all depended on the situation. Especially given the fact that the students were also chanting against the "red bourgeoisie," the anxiety of political leaders regarding the frustrated masses was apparent in all of their meetings. Mehmet Maliqi, one of the senior communist officials and later Minister of Internal Affairs, stressed that the communists should not be naive and allow the students to demonstrate in the streets, because from one rebellion they might start demanding other things. In the meantime, Maliqi mentioned that during the meetings with the students, the

main issues raised included: "why do students in Serbia receive their scholarships on time – whereas we get them with three-month delays," "why we are still sleeping in garages," etc. (AK LoCPC/1981/81). It is obvious that the students really had become “radicalized” by their poor living conditions. Thus, they were not so much an ideological vanguard as they were a very influential segment of the population that was being mistreated. Moreover, it was the general mistreatment of Albanians in Kosovo that left them vulnerable to Enverist propaganda. Albania at that time was a giant concentration camp, and the persecutions taking place there were notorious. The Albanians of Kosovo were, in a sense, hoodwinked by Enver’s agents, but this process was made possible due to Serbian mistreatment and subsequent events.

Kosovo political leaders reached an agreement on how to "categorize" the March 11 protests. Upon Mahmut Bakalli's significant insistence, most of the communist leaders were in favor of ascribing "social" rather than "political" motives to the protests of March 11, 1981. The communist elites were afraid that any other branding of these events would also foster Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism. Bakalli urged his colleagues to be very careful in their public speeches..."we do not want to give these demonstrations a political dimension." After the discussions that Bakalli had with Dušan Dragosavac¹²¹ (federal level), he also warned his colleagues that there should be no press conferences, especially not with foreign journalists (AK LoCPC/1981/81). Afterward, Azem Vllasi and other political leaders invited the students, through the rector and some professors, to find out what they wanted. They had discussions and requested that the students refrain from vandalism (Vllasi: October 2015). However, the organizers of the demonstrations I interviewed remain adamant that all of the politicians and UP professors were opposed to demonstrations and that none of them offered to discuss student demands with them.

It was evident that the students did not trust the politicians anymore, because they had raised their concerns for so long without any result. The politicians appeared for discussions only when students started protesting. Instead of finding solutions, the communist elites accused the illegal groups of (mis)using economic weaknesses and encouraging the students to demonstrate. The communist elite's behavior – appearing only minutes before the meetings – can also be considered as tragicomic. On the one hand, they

¹²¹ Dušan Dragosavac was a Yugoslav politician and a chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from October 20, 1981 until June 20, 1982.

admitted that the food in the dining hall was bad and nutritionally lacking, while at the same time they blamed "enemies" for (mis)using the students' rebellion against the poor quality of the food and organizing the demonstrations. Instead of looking into how the students were living and what kind of food was being served in the dining hall, the regime chose to blame "enemies." One could argue that no other options remained to the students to have their concerns addressed. Their basic demands had not been resolved in a timely manner. In such a situation, the students became a target for "attacks" from Albanian communist elites as well as Serbo-Montenegrin nationalism, which also increased at that time. The mistreatment of the students by the various interests as well as the abominable living conditions in the UP dormitories sparked the eruption of further student demonstrations.

State reports did not mention any injuries caused by the police to the students or other citizens that night. After these events and meetings between the organizers and students, the students grew even more frustrated. The police started taking punitive action right away. The Kosovo media did not publish a single word about the demonstrations of March 11. This caused the students to bond with each other even more. During all this time, the Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LoC remained in communication with the SFRY Presidency and with the leadership of the SRS LoC, as well as with the SFRY and the SRS intelligence services (AS, D-2/30/1981).

Arguably, the protests of March 11 gave state institutions two messages. First, they caught them asleep, and the "element of surprise" was indeed discussed among the highest ranks of the LCY. Second, these events revealed the growth of a collective consciousness and a higher degree of political culture in Kosovo Albanian society. Serbian archival documents show that during the period of March 11-27 special police units (special forces, helicopters, and internal security services) of the SRS were prepared and mobilized at Zaječar, Kraljevo, Leskovac and Niš. The vehicles of the mobilized units, with all necessary equipment, were placed in Raška and Bujanovc/Bujanovac, towns in Serbia bordering Kosovo. The Secretariat of Internal Affairs of SAP Kosovo was informed about the location of these units. Additionally, the preparation of all special police units in the SUP Serbia was ordered (AS, D-2/304/1981).

4.4.2.1. The March 26, 1981 demonstrations: a proper articulation of slogans

The situation immediately following the March 11, 1981 demonstrations was calm, however, graffiti with "hostile content" began to appear on some private houses as well as on public buildings. They were erased by the authorities but served as evidence or a warning of further collective action. At the same time, the number of students imprisoned or injured in the streets was increasing (*AK LoCPC/1981/81*). After these developments, in a speech delivered during the session of the Provincial Presidency of the Executive Council, Mahmut Bakalli characterized the demonstrations of March 11 as being uprisings with "social elements." Stane Dolac as well – one of the most influential people in Yugoslav federal politics at that time – considered these demonstrations to be a student rebellion against social conditions, but he was mocked by the Serbian newspapers (these examples can be found in several newspapers, as well as in "Rilindja" published during March 1981). During that period "Štafeta mladosti"¹²² (the Relay of Youth) was supposed to pass through Kosovo on March 26, 1981 for the first time since Tito's death. Students wanted to organize new demonstrations on that day. On the evening of March 25, 1981, Ali Lajci, Hamdi Hajdini, Riza Demaj, Sylë Mujaj, Ramë Demaj, Bajram Kosumi, and some other students met in rooms 402 and 403 of the Prishtina men's dormitory to plan for the March 26, 1981 demonstrations. Most of these students were affiliated with operational illegal groups. Bajram and Musli Kosumi had even established and pledged allegiance to an illegal group that they named "Bardhi."¹²³ They also established and adopted the group's statute, assigned code names to their members, and started implementing its program (Demonstrations Judgment of Supreme Court, AP-KZH, nr. 437/81).

The active presence of illegal group members was unmistakable after the March 11 demonstrations. Slogans and a speech listing demands ending with "otherwise, we're ready for anything" were prepared that night. During the 83rd session of Presidencies, Bakalli mentions that with respect to the March 26 demonstrations, the authorities were informed that in one of the rooms of the dormitory a group of people had gathered and were planning demonstrations. Police entered that room together with the dormitory guard and found only

¹²² "Štafeta mladosti" was a symbolic relay race through the whole SFRY, ending with the awarding of the *štafeta* to President Tito at the end of the race on his birthday on May 25.

¹²³ "Bardh", definite Bardhi, is an ordinary male proper name in Albanian, and it is associated with connotations of honor and success, as in Albanian *faqebardhë* 'honorable, successful' (literally face-white).

those students who were legally living there sound asleep (*AK LoC/1981/83*). This shows that a "spy" must have been within the group of organizers. The organizers wanted to make sure that the regime prepared for the demonstrations, given that higher levels of brutality inspired further resistance and the organization of further protests. This particular protest focused on an otherwise vague situation and opened the doors for the bloody demonstrations of April 1 and 2. On March 26, the dormitory was blocked, but when the rector, Gazmend Zajmi, as well as some professors and political representatives came, the doors were opened. Azem Vllasi was assigned to talk to the students, together with some professors and the rector. While the authorities urged the students to refrain from whatever they were doing, Riza Demaj read the students' demands, then Ali Lajci, Hamdi Hajdini, et al. took the floor.

In addition to their demands for better conditions, the students also highlighted their socio-economic and political concerns, such as unemployment, a fair census, (ab)uses of the Trepça/Trepča mines by others, demands for the removal of Slavic suffixes from Albanian surnames in Montenegro and Macedonia, etc. (Demonstrations Judgment of Supreme Court, AP-KZH, nr.437/81). The organizers I interviewed claimed that after finishing their speeches/discussions, the students did not listen to the advice of the rector and other representatives of public institutions. Instead, they started chanting slogans and hoisting placards that they had prepared earlier. During the meeting in the dormitory, someone came and told the political representatives to get out of there, and "Once we left, police attacked the students," says Vllasi (Vllasi: October 2015). The police acted very brutally in an effort to disperse the students. The situation got heated and out of control. Bakalli reported that due to the large number of students in the discussions prior to the demonstrations (around 400), once the police intervened, violence was used on over 400-500 students. In anticipation of Štafeta Day, the regime wanted to be sure that students could not make it out into the streets, so they decided there would be beatings again after that meeting. Bakalli's justification was that "the reason why we decided to block them that way was related to the Štafeta" (*AK LoCPC/1981/83*). As the situation spiraled out of control, additional forces were needed. In consultation with communist authorities from the federation, Bakalli confirmed the need for additional forces from the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs. These units came into Kosovo and jointly with "our security organs helped clean up the situation" says Bakalli (*AK LoCPC/1981/83*).

That day (March 26, 1981), the "Štafeta mladosti" passed through Prishtina with 40,000 spectators. Brutal interventions against the students started the very same day. Elite police units were brought in by helicopter and directly occupied the dormitory. Hundreds of young men and women were beaten on the premises of the UP dormitory; injured students went back to their cities and homes. The news that some police forces had come from Belgrade to torture "our kids" spread throughout Kosovo. The repressive apparatus acted very badly, particularly because Kosovo local police were not the only ones present on the afternoon of March 26. Vllasi says that the police forces which came "from throughout the SFRY" acted very brutally, but Professor Imami stressed that the active police included only Serbs. The SFRY Minister of Internal Affairs, General Franjo Herljević, indicated that these special units were "SFRY forces." However, since Serbia did not have the right to directly intervene in the demonstration – because the 1979 constitutional orders banning such actions were still in force – the SFRY decided to send "other" additional forces to manage the crisis. When the "other" additional forces arrived on March 26, it was noticed they were almost exclusively Serbs, not mixed SFRY units (Imami: March 2016). While there are arguments that the security forces sent to Kosovo on March 26, 1981 were mainly from the Serbian elite units, in the minutes of the meetings of the SRS and the LoC of Serbia, it was consistently claimed that "we sent the special police units of all the republics and Vojvodina to the territory of Kosovo" (AS, Đ-2/304/1981).

However, those students that managed to leave the dormitory premises headed towards the downtown carrying the Albanian national flag. The flag was usually carried by a female student, such as Trëndëlinë Labinishti. This indicates the crucial role of women in the demonstrations, especially knowing that saving the flag at any price was an important obligation according to Albanian culture as well. The students' aspirations for a "Kosovo Republic" appeared as one of the main slogans in these demonstrations as well. But on this occasion this slogan was being used in entirely different political and historical circumstances for Kosovo and the entire region. Some of the other slogans included: Trepça/Trepča works – Belgrade builds; We are Albanians - not Yugoslavs; Unification of Albanian territories; Republic, Constitution by agreement or by force; Long live Marxism-Leninism, Down with Revisionism; and EHo, EHo (referring to the initials of Enver Hoxha). Demands for a Republic of Kosovo were equally loud and clear on March 26, 1981. Even though these demonstrations were characterized as nationalist, the dominant slogans

urged for the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist – that is Enverist – future of Kosovo. Due to this behavior, they were also viewed as, and indeed sounded, anti-Yugoslav as well. These slogans are evocative of the students' affiliation with illegal groups. The police intervention was extremely brutal. Vllasi confirms that the situation got out of control, and four or five municipalities declared a state of emergency (Vllasi: October 2015). Even though the March 11 demonstrations were considered social in nature in the beginning, from March 26, 1981 onward, the Presidency of the Headquarters of the Committee demanded a rigorous response to such "enemy" and "nationalistic" demands (AK LoC/1981/83). At the session of Presidency of the PC of the LoC of Kosovo, held on March 27, Bakalli immediately declared these demonstrations to be full of hostile elements and part of an offensive against the SFRY, exploiting current strained economic and social circumstances, the internal situation, and a vague international situation.

The March 26, 1981 protests took place in Prishtina and Prizren. Veli Deva¹²⁴ and Mahmut Bakalli were uncertain whether they should report to the SFRY bodies what had happened in Prizren as well or downplay the overall situation and not reveal it. While Deva was in favor of qualifying the Prizren demonstrations as political and also of reporting them to the higher SFRY structures, Bakalli wanted to avoid this. Other communist elites asked each other how it was possible to have this situation at the UP, taking into consideration that 4,000 members of the Yugoslav Communist Party worked there? (AK LoCPC/1981/83). Given that the information provided by the intelligence services was not clear about the nature of the demonstrations, the then Croatian member of the SFRY Presidency, Vladimir Bakarić, invited Miodrag Nikolić (adviser to Fadil Hoxha) to discuss the demonstrations. After the meeting, which took place at the end of March, the demonstrations were labeled as "counterrevolutionary" (this is according to Professor Imami's discussions with Vladimir Bakarić). Later on, the authorities, building on the conclusions of the 16th and 17th sessions of the PC of the LoC of Kosovo, the 14th session of the LoC of Serbia, and the 20th session of the SFRY, also categorized the student demonstrations in Prishtina as "hostile" and possessing "counterrevolutionary" intent. These demonstrations, according to the authorities, were organized by nationalist and irredentist Albanian elements, whose mission was to destroy brotherhood and unity and destroy the SFRY. Their aim was to destabilize Kosovo and to destroy the constitutional

¹²⁴ Veli Deva was the chairman of the Provincial Committee in Kosovo and a member of the SFRY Presidency.

order of the SFRY, putting at risk the territorial integrity of the SRS and the SFRY (AS, D-2/28/1981).

The labeling of the demonstrations as "counterrevolutionary" served as a green light for even harsher police interventions against protestors. Even though, as Julie Mertus argues, "calling the demonstrations counterrevolutionary served to hide the larger national, social and economic issues behind the unrest" (Mertus 1999; 32), Vllasi confirms that Kosovo leaders were constantly asked by the SFRY whether they had enough forces and if there were any need to send the SFRY's elite police units (Vllasi: October 2015). The report of the SFRY Presidency's Federal Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order highlights Kosovo's inability to manage the situation (AJ 803/101). Previously, on January 12, 1979, the SFRY leadership had prepared an order on what to do in the event of a crisis (AS, D-2/304/1981).

During the April 1, 1981 Joint Meeting between the SFRY Presidency, the Central Committee (CC) Presidency, and the LoC, it was decided that security measures needed to be implemented in Prishtina and Kosovo. This effectively meant that these bodies were proclaiming a state of emergency in Prishtina and Kosovo. At the same meeting, the SFRY Presidency ordered additional special police units of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs nicknamed "Rubin" (3,500 policemen) to be sent to Kosovo, as well as two divisions of the Yugoslav Army (AJ 803/101, AJ 837/364). This was in accordance with the Constitution of the SFRY Article 316 point 3 and Article 111, the law on national defense as well as the directive for the preparations and undertaking of measures and activities for the elimination of crises in the country. It was only on April 2 that the Presidency of the SFRY decided on the establishment of a measure of readiness at the first, second and tertiary level in the whole territory of the SFRY and, in particular, in certain republics and provinces (AS, D-2/304/1981).

Given that the decision to send the special units and the army was taken on April 2, then who ordered the sending of "additional forces" on March 26, 1981? Even though Vllasi claims that Mahmut Bakalli and Xhavit Nimani¹²⁵ said they did not request these troops and that the SFRY sent these forces on their own, the archives reveal the opposite to true. In his report to the 13th session of the CC and the SRS LoC, Bakalli reiterated that the Kosovo Provincial Committee had had to ask for help from the SRS because even if Kosovo wanted

¹²⁵ Xhavit Nimani was a Chairman of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova.

to mobilize their entire reserve police force to remedy the situation, they did not have enough uniforms to do so.

Kosovo received uniforms from Bosnia and Vojvodina and managed to activate 4,500 policemen, says Bakalli, but, still, "We were unable to complete the tasks. This was the reason we asked for assistance: first, we requested one special police force unit from the SRS and then the SFRY forces." In his speech, Bakalli also asked those present to keep these reports a secret from "our enemies," because "I am furnishing this information to prove that it is not true that these were unilateral actions of the SRS police as the popular story purports, but that the deployment of all these forces was requested by our side" (AS Đ-2/304/1981). Additionally, during the 72nd session of the Presidency of the SFRY held on April 28, 1981 in Belgrade, where members of the SFRY Presidency, as well as Presidents of all six SFRY republics and the two provinces participated, Lazar Koliševski, a communist political leader from Macedonia, stated that the SFRY had stopped the counterrevolutionary escalation in Kosovo by means of vigorous action; "the political leaders of Kosovo agreed not only to receive support, but they asked for it from us." He also demanded that the SFRY not remove its forces from Kosovo "until the illegal groups are dismantled" (AJ, 837/364).

Dušan Janjić, at that time a member of the SRS committee for dealing with ethnicities (Kosovo), insisted that the Serbian leadership, especially Draža Marković (with whom he worked), was against military measures and interventions in Kosovo. This was because they knew that the presence of the military could damage relations between Albanians and Serbs even more. Instead, according to Janjić, it was the leadership of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbian politicians, who were influenced by Russia, who insisted on military intervention against the students and "ovo je ljutilo demonstrante (this pissed off the demonstrators)" (Janjić: February 2016). In light of this situation, the document "Presidency of SFRY no. DT111/5 dated May 13, 1981," shows that the SFRY republics also agreed to develop a military and war plan for defense. These can be considered as signs presaging the dissolution of the SFRY, for already all was not well within the federation. Learning from their experience with the demonstrations of 1968, it should have been clear to the authorities that the greater the pressure from the state, the bigger the resistance from the students.

4.4.2.2. The bloody April of 1981

On April 1, the demonstrations spread throughout Kosovo. Students kept adding ethnic and ideological dimensions to their social demands, while political structures considered these demands as a potential source of destabilization for the entire SFRY. During the Joint Session of the Presidency of the SRS, LoC, CC, and the Presidency of the Federal SRS, held on April 1, 1981, participants also included Petar Sepić, the commander of the First Army, Vinobran Stanojević, Secretary of the Internal Affairs of the SRS, and other officials responsible for national security. After reporting on the political situation and Kosovo's inability to stabilize it, the chairman urged activation of the plan and measures to stabilize the situation (AS Đ-2/304/1981). As a result, additional SFRY and SRS forces headed towards Kosovo. The police's brutal intervention only served to further fuel the students' resistance. On March 28, 1981, some UP faculties boycotted the institution, accusing the system of returning to "Ranković's methods" of punishment. Prishtina was reported as "extraordinarily demolished," while the organizers had managed to get high school and university students, teachers, and several workers out into the streets. All reserve police units, as well as territorial defense headquarters, were mobilized. In addition to the decision of the SFRY to send more forces, an order was given to arm and to reinforce their units for the provision of vital facilities in the province. Bakalli declared that even though a large number of communists in Prishtina were engaged, Kosovo could not "organize properly to defeat the enemies." That is why the decision was made to demand support for strengthening the security situation.

During this entire period Kosovo authorities were in close touch with the presidency of the SFRY, the Presidency of the SRS, and the Presidency of Kosovo, which was also fully mobilized. While chairing the session, Bakalli stressed how the authorities tried to avoid the use of guns and in some cases even the use of tear gas among the workers, hoping that they would be able to convince them through negotiations. During the discussions, however, "other solutions" were mentioned, which included preparation of JNA (Yugoslav Peoples Army) units. Bakalli urged his communist comrades to deploy these units immediately – together with wagons, tanks and other forces and equipment – to Prishtina to calm the situation. This was not due to the lack of police forces, since by then Kosovo had received the "SRS's support"; however, the regime's tear gas and the police batons

could not restrain the masses. The joint session of both Presidencies in Kosovo, held on the April 2, 1981 was begun while the "hostile demonstrations were continuing from yesterday," said Bakalli. A general from the JNA, continued Bakalli, said that once we decided about this issue he was ready with his units for action. Military tanks were considered to be the only way to restrain the unarmed demonstrators. Another decision that was also made was to close the UP and high schools in Prishtina, by the order of the Provincial Secretary.

As for the other municipalities, the most difficult situation was reported to be in Podujeva. Immediately after April 1, the authorities decided to declare "semi-administrative measures" in this municipality (AK LoCPC/1981/85). During this period, documents show massive mobilization of communist politicians in every municipality, not only of cadres from Kosovo but also of people from the SRS and the SFRY. As early as April 2, Mahmut Bakalli declared that he was already having problems with his throat and that he had lost his voice. This was due to his constantly having to speak and even shout while engaging with diverse groups and trying to calm the situation in the field.

The hardest days of demonstrations were Thursday, April 2 and Friday, April 3. Ordinary citizens were angry and joined the students in the demonstrations. Workers¹²⁶ also joined organized groups, claiming they were trying to defend their children. High school students also joined in demands for a republic. Active demonstrations started in Prizren, Ferizaj/Uroševac, Gjilan, Mitrovica, Podujeva, Gllogoc, Viti, etc. Since Prishtina was the only Kosovo city with a university, demonstrations in other cities were mainly supported by other social groups, such as workers, high school students, and ordinary citizens. The propaganda machine on the other side coordinated its actions accordingly. As a result of police brutality and propaganda launched by different parties involved in the movements, the situation escalated quickly. The police were shooting into the crowds, collectively beating men and women, and firing tear gas at people. Demonstrators responded by throwing stones. The police reported that the demonstrators were also shooting at the police. Bakalli's report to the joint session of the SFRY Presidency confirmed that one policeman

¹²⁶ The workers included those from the construction company "Ramiz Sadiku" of Prishtina, a factory producing shock absorbers, a part of the "Kombinat of Obiliq," a part of the workers of the Trepça/Trepča Mines, and others. An eye witness of these events stated that messengers arrived from Prishtina to inform the miners in Trepça/Trepča that the special police were killing their children on the streets of Prishtina! These messages were emotional blackmail aimed at mobilizing the miners to join the demonstrators. Such a detail speaks about the level of organization and planning of the demonstrations and points to a series of events that were managed rather than occurring spontaneously.

of Albanian nationality was killed, three policemen were injured by fire, nine protestors were killed (eight with automatic guns) and one drowned. In his book "Martyrs of the Albanian Spring of 1981," Novosella states that Naser Hajrizi, Aslan Pireva, Xhalal Maliqi, and Salih Abazi were killed in Prishtina on April 2, 1981. These deaths were followed by additional killings: Rizah Matoshi and Sherif Frangu were killed in Ferizaj/Uroševac on April 3, 1981, and the deaths of Salih Zeka and Ruzhdi Hyseni occurred in Vushtrri on April 3, 1981.

During attempts to commemorate the first year after these events, Afrim Abazi from Ferizaj/Uroševac was arrested. The torture to which he was subjected in the police station made him jump from the fourth floor of the police building (Novosella 2011). People who lost their lives were between 17 and 71 years old; they included five who were high school students under the age of 18), one university student, two workers, and one retiree from different cities and regions of Kosovo. The ages of those killed attests to the fact that the students managed to mobilize the general population, but the majority of those killed were mainly innocent youngsters. The precise number of wounded is not known. According to data offered by academic Minir Nushi, former UP rector, around 80 students and pupils were wounded and around 700 students imprisoned (Dushi 2004). A report sent by Kosovo authorities to the SFRY Presidency after the demonstrations specifies nine killed (eight citizens and one police officer), 75 wounded, as calculated on the basis of those who requested medical assistance (55 from automatic guns), 127 police wounded (three seriously), one police car burned, four damaged by fire, and 12 with broken glass. Measures were taken against 28 people who were formally indicted by the court; police reports were filed against 193 people; 807 persons were arrested; 689 were officially warned; 544 guns were confiscated (66 people did not have permits to carry guns), and 1,485 bullets of different calibers were seized (AJ 803/498). The majority of wounded protestors did not seek medical assistance, knowing that their names would be registered. Thus, according to the student organizers/participants interviewed, the number of wounded protestors was much higher. It is also interesting to note that all of the individuals interviewed for this study declared that during the demonstrations Albanian protestors did not attack their Serbian colleagues (students, workers, etc.). The members of illegal groups and other organizers of the demonstrations explained that "we didn't have a problem with any community in Kosovo, not even with Serbs." Rather, they saw their problem as being with

the official politics of Belgrade. Additionally, the students and members of illegal groups who were interviewed declared that they wanted Kosovo Republic not to orient Albanian politics against any of the nations in the SFRY, but to be equal at the federative level with the other nations, being of the mindset that the "Serbs of Kosovo were not a problem for Albanians" (J. Krasniqi, Çeku, Novosella, Hyseni, Bytyqi, etc.).

However, given that numerous reports indicate that inter-ethnic relations were tense during the early 1980s, I am more inclined to consider these declarations as an example of memories being biased in retrospect, consonant with the contemporary focus in Kosovo on multi-ethnic tolerance. This is particularly so in view of the fact that most of the individuals I interviewed who participated in the demonstrations later became politicians or prominent intellectuals. While on the one hand they tended to present themselves as "innocent or peaceful" demonstrators, on the other, some of them claimed to have been victims, accusing Kosovo Serbs who mainly lived in a more privileged area of the cities – such as the city center – of throwing boiling water, stones, flower pots, and other heavy or metal objects at the Albanian demonstrators. I am not saying that this is definitely not true, but most probably Serb witnesses – whom I unfortunately could not interview – would likely tell us something completely different. In addition to my intention to be critical of my sources, the medical doctor Agim Bytyqi recalled how a few days after the demonstrations, as a student at the Faculty of Medicine in his last year of study, he was asked by Professor Mustaf Cakaj (a neuropsychiatrist) to take one patient's medical history. Bytyqi explained that she came into the office and started telling the doctors how from her shoe shop in the city center of Prishtina: "I was throwing stones and boiling water at the fucking Šiptari." In the clinic there were a few Albanian doctors and students of Medical Faculty in their last year of study, and they asked the patient why she was cursing. But the Serbian patient, stated Dr. Bytyqi, started yelling and swearing even more, saying that "all Albanian mothers are whores," etc. The young Albanian doctors started to react, yelling back at her, and Professor Cakaj intervened, saying to the woman, "Sweetheart, calm down," and he asked the nurse to send the patient to another room. The professor asked his students and younger colleagues to calm down as well, and in a private conversation with the Albanian students, he explained that this Serbian patient, for these actions, was to be sentenced to a month in prison on the basis of having a psychiatric examination for mental illness. An Albanian youth, however, for the same acts would have been sentenced to seven years. All of them were very young,

and Professor Cakaj warned that "if at this age they experience prisons and violence, they will never be afraid of wars" (Bytyqi; February 2018). Indeed, later developments proved Professor Cakaj to be right about everything he said.

During the 85th joint session of the Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the LoC of Kosovo and the Presidency of the SAP Kosovo held on April 2, 1981, Serbian party members of the province stated that the country had come to the point where constitutional order and territorial integrity were being threatened. Dušan Ristić expressed his concerns that "we came to a point when the army had to appear" (AK LoCPC/1981/85). Ristić also expressed fears that it would soon come to the point when members of the party would lose trust in each other. And, indeed, by that time mistrust had already appeared among workers and ordinary citizens. Trust had been considerably shaken even among the political elites. For example, at a TV station in Serbia, on the evening of April 1, at a debate in which some of the communist cadres participated, a discussion about "who is more and who is less Yugoslavian" had already started. This meant that the "kitchen" in Belgrade had already started to cook the "lack of trust" issues for the Albanian communist leadership in the SFRY (AK LoCPC/1981/85). However, Veli Deva's main concern was propaganda that came from the Albanian side which – according to him – was against the Kosovo, SRS and SFRY political elites. Since the beginning of the 1981 demonstrations, the SFRY authorities had insisted on stopping the transmissions of Radio and TV Tirana to Kosovo as well as strengthening the network signal of Radio Prishtina, which unfortunately could not be heard at all in Tirana or elsewhere in Albania. However, they were unable to do so. It was clear that the Republic of Albania had invested much more than the SFRY in this type of technology. Owing to the lack of technological capability, Radio Prishtina could not transmit to Albania at all (AK LoCPC/1981/99).

The Republic of Albania was also mobilized for propagandistic action, using its embassies in Europe, as well as TV, radio and the press to disseminate information about the events of 1981. While the illegal groups and the Republic of Albania labeled the 1981 demonstrations as a peaceful uprising of the general population for the national rights of Albanians in the SFRY, the "progressivists" described these demonstrations as having "counterrevolutionary tendencies; the demonstrations a show staged by the enemy. (AK LoCPC/1981/99).

During a meeting held on April 22, 1981, the SFRY Presidency decided to resume strong measures against Albanian irredentism; units of the Yugoslav Army and the police would remain in Kosovo as long as there was any risk. They also decided to create a special working group to monitor any future risk (AJ 803/101). The Joint Session of the Presidency of the SRS LoC CC and the Presidency of the Federal SRS held on April 23, 1981 came up with the following conclusions: Albanian nationalism exists in Kosovo; ideas of a Greater Albania exist; and the main motivation for Albanian nationalism is anti-Serb and anti-Montenegrin, because these groups are not allowing Albanians to realize their idea of a Greater Albania (AS Đ-2/327/1981). The Presidency of the PC of the Kosovo LoC took very active security and political measures to – as they said – "stabilize the situation" in the province. Even the most senior members of the LoC were mobilized and very actively engaged in the field. In their reports¹²⁷ presented at the 112th session of the Presidency of the Kosovo PC, chaired by Deva (Fadil Hoxha also participated), one notes very detailed information from discussions with the citizens of different towns and villages around Kosovo (AK LoCPC/1981/112). By June 10, 506 persons were reported as having been arrested by the police: 287 for participating in demonstrations, 38 for being in lines where demonstrations were being held, 31 for organizing demonstrations, 46 for writing slogans and distributing brochures, 104 for publicly appearing at "enemy" events, and 15 for organizing criminal acts against the state. In addition, the regime identified 137 people engaged in "illegal acts": 60 high school pupils, 29 students, 12 teachers, 16 professors, 4 lawyers, 2 technicians, 2 workers, 1 farmer, 1 politician, 1 policeman, 1 instructor, 1 dactylography officer and 1 journalist (AK LoCPC/1981/105). The SFRY Presidency concluded that 1,500 individuals had been arrested under suspicion of organizing enemy activities, including 37 Serbs, 1 Montenegrin and 1 Muslim (referring to Bosnians or Gorans), whereas the rest were Albanians (AS Đ-2/30/1981). The Supreme Court of Kosovo sentenced 21 students to jail terms¹²⁸ for a combined sentence of 223 years (Demonstrations Judgment of Supreme Court, AP-KZH, nr.437/81).

¹²⁷ In the 112th session of the Presidency of the Kosova Provincial Committee chaired by Veli Deva and held on September 5, 1981, Sveto Vuković reported for Lipjan and Glogovc, Jovan Bogičević for Podujeva, Predrag Cuckić for Mitrovica, Iljaz Kurteshi for Vushtrri and Leposavić, Sinan Hasani for Gjakova, Kaqanik and Deçan, Azem Vllasi for Peja and Istog, Xhevdet Hamza for Suhareke, Prizren and Rahovec, Mustafa Pljakić in Ferizaj/Uroševac and Gjilan, Petar Kostić for Kamenica and Vitia.

¹²⁸ Ramadan Dobra (6), Murat Musliu (13), Selim Geci (6), Gani Vllahna (6), Merxhan Avdyli (15), Gani Koci (15), Januz Januzi (10), Kadri Kryeziu (10), Bedri Deliu (6), Ali Lajci (15), Hamdi Hajdini (13), Riza Demaju

4.4.3. After the demonstrations: crime and punishment

Arguably, the Kosovo leadership lost control of the situation and never regained it. During the 13th session of the LoC of Serbia, held on April 10, 1981, Serbian politician Tihomir Vlaškaljić confirms that the SRS ministry of internal affairs took charge of the security situation in Kosovo after the outbreak of the demonstrations. Even though, according to Vlaškaljić, the main intention was restoring normalcy in Kosovo, other hostile actions such as sabotage, diversion, strikes, etc., could be expected. Serbian leaders bragged about the measures that they were taking to prevent "counterrevolutionary actions," confirming that these actions were supported and embraced by the working people and citizens of the SRS. They also claimed to be offering "full support to the views of the leadership of the SFRY, SRS, and SAP Kosovo" (AS, Đ-2/304/1981).

As far as the Yugoslav Army troops were concerned, they were mainly engaged in the protection of facilities and institutions. Bakalli reported that the military troops managed to establish good relationships with the citizens in whichever institution or municipality they were located. Indeed, no conflicts were reported between citizens and the Yugoslav Army troops. The demonstrators were faced in the streets and dormitory with the police forces. Bakalli claims that the biggest casualty of these demonstrations was inter-ethnic tensions and damage to relations between Kosovo and the SRS. As if they had not existed for over a century! In a document handed over to the Presidency of the SFRY (April 24, 1981), Vidoje Žarković, a communist politician from Montenegro, stated that the Kosovo leadership had failed to accurately assess the situation in a timely manner. The Provincial Presidency was also accused of playing with numbers, as they had reported that only 3,000 people had participated, whereas the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs understood from its sources that 10-12,000 people had demonstrated, whereas Tanjug – a state news agency based in Belgrade – reported the participation of 15,000 people. Based on these numbers, the SRS considered it realistic to expect that the enemy would not back down but would be back for more. Communist leaders from other republics as well – among them, Franjo Herljević/Bosnia, and Cvijetin Mijatović – blamed the Kosovo leadership for a lack of coordination, for not sharing important reports and documents related to the events with the secretariats of internal affairs of other republics, etc. Serbian diplomat Dobrivoje Vidić

(13), Syle Mujaj (10), Rame Demaja (6), Bajram Kosumi (15), Musli Kosumi (10), Gani Maxhuni (8), Gani Vllahiu (8), Fahri Ymeri (6), Halil Osmani (10), Xun Ceta (13).

noted that everyone was already convinced that the center of what was happening in Kosovo was in Tirana. He also blamed the SFRY, Serbia, Tito, and Kardelj for making it easier for Tirana to conduct propaganda against the SFRY. While Kosovo communists Xhavit Nimani and Fadil Hoxha tried to justify their failure, Serbian politicians called on the SFRY to find out whether this was only a matter of coordination or whether something more sinister was afoot. Vidić volunteered to prepare his analysis and share it with those interested. The blame for these events lay with the Kosovo leadership, because it did not foresee potential crises but instead considered the situation as "nothing serious" (AJ, 837/364-II-2).

These were the immediate signals that the Kosovo communist leadership was also suspected of involvement in the organization of the demonstrations and of being "traitors to the SFRY." The explanation that the party had been caught by surprise by these actions was not accepted as a justification. After the 1968 demonstrations, the first signals of another mobilization appeared in 1973 from an illegal group named "Revolutionary Movement of United Albanians," affiliated with Adem Demaçi. In 1974, this organization distributed pamphlets with nationalist content. SRS authorities had not noticed any enemy actions during the period 1974-1978, but there were some moves from "Albanian irredentists" in foreign countries. As a result, some nationalist pamphlets showed up again. In 1978, the centenary of the League of Prizren was used as an excuse to distribute nationalist propaganda. In 1978 alone, 600 people who participated in "irredentist groups/events" were identified; their political ideology matched Enver Hoxha's views. During 1979 three illegal groups in Prishtina, Gjilan and Suhareke, respectively, were apprehended, and 650 pamphlets and graffiti were confiscated in public spaces.

During 1980, the Secretariat of Internal Affairs discovered that an emigré organization, "Fronti i Kuq (Red Front)," had printed around 60,000 pamphlets in Stuttgart. Communist elites of the SFRY angrily asked the provincial leadership if these signs were not sufficient justification for them to prepare for a political threat coming from illegal groups. The SFRY Presidency urged the political leadership to wage an intense fight against the irredentist groups. The only chance to prevent further demonstrations was considered to be the use of "vigorous violence." It was also decided that the SFRY police and military units would remain in Kosovo "as long as there is a potential risk of demonstrations." All ties with Albania were cut, and everything that might "harm the SFRY" needed to be eliminated. Professors from Albania were forbidden from visiting or engaging with the UP,

while the SFRY and other republics were urged to send a greater number of cadres "to support" internal affairs units in the province (AJ, 837/364-II-2).

The SFRY authorities were recognized for the extremely violent methods that they employed against the arrested "enemies." Participants in or organizers of demonstrations whom I interviewed for this study were asked about the nature of the torture they endured while in jail. They all declared that they were treated inhumanely when being questioned by the police or investigative officers as well as in the prisons where they were incarcerated. Koci, for example, states that:

"The system did not choose ways of getting information and used torture as their main tool. Because of physical torture, I started accepting all accusations, even though I didn't do it. Once, I was taken in the middle of the night by three inspectors, Lutfi Ajazi, "Ramqi" from Prizren and Asllan Sllamniku, who pushed me into their Lada car and started driving. We passed Suhareka and Prizren and then headed up towards the mountains. They kept on threatening me 'We will kill you' throughout this time. At one point, they said 'Here is the border with Albania. Get out there. If you survive the army troops securing the border, wolves and bears will eat you.' But, even though they tried hard, I didn't want to get out and leave the car. When they started hitting me with the gunstocks, I fainted. In the morning, I discovered they had brought me back to prison, where they arranged for me to be examined by a psychiatrist, Dr. Skender Boshnjaku. He examined me in the presence of inspector Faik Nura (all men mentioned in this passage are of Albanian origin). Whenever Dr. Boshnjaku asked a question, I told him exactly what happened. Instead of diagnosing me medically, he said to Faik Nura 'He is simulating and can handle even more' (Koci: December 2015)".

However, each of the organizers interviewed emphasized that "others were treated even more brutally." I was not able to judge whether this claim was made due to their modesty or whether in fact each torture was worse than the other. The reported torture – especially during the investigation phase – included beatings until the loss of sensation or

fainting, pulling out fingernails, blows to the genitals, bastinado, etc. Hydajet Hyseni's case was the most sensitive one. Due to brutal torture and long periods of being kept in "darkness and loneliness," while being transported to a normal prison room, he stopped in front of a mirror and mistakenly greeted himself, because he did not recognize his own face or body! The most shocking part was hearing him say that "there were others that were treated even worse than me" (Hyseni: December 2015).

Vllasi highlighted that even though all these measures were being taken, "still, Serbs did not allow us" to stabilize the situation properly. The SRS constantly insisted that nationalism and irredentism still presented a threat that could destroy the SFRY. However, non-Serbian SFRY representatives were also shocked to see what had happened. There was an impression all over the SFRY that Albanians were against the SFRY. Albanian "progressivists" tried to clear the "embarrassment" by asserting that Albanians were afraid of the the SRS, Tito was a guarantee of Kosovo's autonomy, and now that he had died, Albanians were afraid of the SRS's return. Thus, the students hoped to get rid of the SRS. The non-Serbian SFRY representatives responded with "Okay, but why call on Albania, why call on Enver Hoxha, then?" (Vllasi: October 2015). Political elites in the SFRY agreed that someone had a finger in stirring the pot, but even though the most suspicious "enemy" was Albania, they had no way of proving it. While politicians were arguing about these details, in Kosovo authorities reported that the Secretariat for Internal Affairs had "taken measures" against 1,500 persons. Misdemeanor procedures had been initiated, and 460 persons were punished with prison sentences of just two months each. Criminal proceedings were initiated on various bases, including direct participation in demonstrations, affiliation with the organization of the demonstrations, writing graffiti, offensive public behavior in the demonstrations, etc. However, officers declared that they were still working on the matter and that their main aim was to find the key organizers of these hostile demonstrations. The provincial Secretariat of Internal Affairs also confirmed that these numbers did not include those against which "measures were taken" outside of "state security premises." Otherwise, at the student dormitories alone, there were around 20,000 students. In each room there was at least one badly injured student (AK LoC/1981/99). By warning that there was a serious risk of new actions, the authorities legitimized any further repressive measures taken against Albanian society in Kosovo.

4.4.4. Who stood behind the demonstrations of 1981 then?

After Kosovo's liberation (1999), certain individuals or interest groups claimed to be "the organizers of the 1981 demonstrations." Most of the students who were involved in some way in the organization of the student movements of 1981 became active in politics during and after the 1990s. Thus, their claims of being "the organizers of a patriotic movement" helped them to reap political benefits. Meyer and Lupo would have analyzed these intentions from the perspective of "how collective actions might be shaped by political opportunities" (Meyer and Lupo 2010; 139). Findings indicate that when it comes to the organization of the 1981 demonstrations in Kosovo, students were not alone. Here various "power-hungry" actors, authorities and interests were involved. Soon after the April demonstrations, Stane Dolanc,¹²⁹ the head of the Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order, reported about the events. Inter alia, he also confirmed that as per the reports of the SFRY intelligence services, "someone had a hand in inciting these events, but we still do not know who." The most suspicious "enemy" was Albania, even though Dolanc declared that he had no information to prove that the leadership of the Republic of Albania had taken part in the organization of these demonstrations. Vllasi also confirms that "our analysis never proved the engagement of Albania" (Vllasi: October 2015).

In an interview for a TV Klan documentary entitled "Çerek shekulli" (Quarter of a Century),¹³⁰ Ramiz Alia¹³¹ stated that the Republic of Albania had received information about some problems in Kosovo, however, they had no idea what was going on. When Enver Hoxha, who was in Gjirokaster that day of April 1981, was informed, he ordered that the borders be blocked. This shows that Hoxha might have been afraid that, fleeing violence, Kosovars might try to enter Albania. In this interview, Alia also confirmed that the Republic of Albania had had contacts with illegal groups but was unaware of plans to organize demonstrations.

Archival documents of the Republic of Albania also show that when representatives of the Sector on Kosovo and Yugoslavia (operating within Albania's Ministry of Internal

¹²⁹ Stane Dolanc was an SFRY communist politician from Slovenia, one of President Tito's closest collaborators and one of the most influential people in SFRY politics in the 1970s and 1980s.

¹³⁰ Baton Haxhiu & Andi Bushati, in the documentary "Çerek shekulli (Quarter of a Century," treat the fall of communism, the birth of the LDK and the KLA, and the NATO intervention of 1999. Interpreted mainly by protagonists of the time. Available at: <https://vimeo.com/25878406> [Last accessed on 15/02/2019]

¹³¹ Ramiz Alia was the second and last communist leader of Albania, and the country's head of state from 1982 to 1992. He had been designated as successor by Enver Hoxha and took power after Hoxha died.

Affairs) met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, they accepted their "guilt" by reporting that "recent events in Kosovo happened unexpectedly, we did not foresee them, and we were unable to inform our leadership in advance!" (AMFA 1141/1981). Albania's regime requested further analysis: "Why did our sectors fail to evaluate this situation properly, and why are we not able even today to identify who the organizers are, and who is hidden behind them" (ibid.). Albania's Minister of Foreign Affairs urged the embassies to understand more about who the organizers were while warning that "with Kosovans, we should keep a well-measured position" (AMFA 1141/1981). Another argument that might be used as evidence that these events really were not organized by the Republic of Albania is the fact that that government was basing its knowledge about the event on reports filed by truck drivers (transporters) coming from the SFRY (CAA 1681/1981/28). If the Albanian state had been involved in organizing these events, the declarations of the truck drivers would not have been used as one of the only sources of information concerning what was happening during the student demonstrations in Kosovo. Be that as it may, during the joint meeting between the headquarters of the LoC of Kosovo and the SAP of Kosovo, held April 15, 1981, numerous decisions were made. Kosovo communists were urged to develop ideological-political and propagandistic work which took the offensive in dealings with the Republic of Albania's leadership and "their intentions in Kosovo," characterizing them as threatening the SFRY's territorial integrity. SFRY communists were urged to speak and write energetically and critically about these issues. Promoting the SFRY's ideology and increasing Yugoslav patriotism were also considered "musts," together with being critical of nationalist and irredentist systems and ideologies, such as those of the Workers Party of Albania. Enver Hoxha – concluded SFRY communists – did not consider himself merely the President of Albania, but he also glorified himself as a leader of all Albanians in the SFRY. The SFRY communists decreed a ban on every medium or transmission originating from the Republic of Albania. Measures against historiography were also to be taken, meaning that every nationalist and irredentist statement should be removed, and such discussions should be forbidden between students and professors or teachers. The Presidency of Kosovo was urged to ban all protocols or programs of cooperation (except trade relations) with the Republic of Albania.

The links with the educational and cultural institutions which made it possible for the Republic of Albania to channel their "nationalist and irredentist ideologies" were cut.

Serbian representatives in these meetings highlighted that while “we” have been telling the Republic of Albania that this is a cooperation between states (SFRY and Albania), they had only been helping their "Albanian brothers in the SFRY." Meanwhile, Serbian communist politicians considered the Albanian leadership in Kosovo to be responsible for allowing the Republic of Albania to promulgate nationalist ideologies at the UP. According to Serbian politicians, the SAP of Kosovo tried to offer the Republic of Albania "warm acceptance and relations," and it had abused that offer by spreading ideologies that harmed the SFRY and its Albanians citizens. Furthermore, security institutions were urged to – as efficiently as possible – uncover all units or illegal groups that had promoted or organized hostile actions in Kosovo and destroy their activities and investigate their linkages with Albania and with the security services of great powers (AK LoCPC/1981/87). Now one thing was clear, after decades of struggle with one another, during the 1981 student demonstrations the ruling Kosovo political elites had to choose between "joining" the student demands for further advancement toward the status of a republic – including the demands of members of illegal groups – or sticking to the SFRY political platform, which treated the Albanian movements as counterrevolutionary and irredentist. The "progressivists" decided to follow the SFRY platform, which led them to engage in severe repressions against their own compatriots. At that time rumors persisted that the Russian KGB¹³² had their hand in this, but there was no official information to prove their engagement either. Živan Berisavljević (SFRY ambassador in London from 1976 to 1988) mentioned that he heard from NATO sources that the student demonstrations in Prishtina were prepared (Berisavljević, 2015). NATO General Sir John Winthrop Hackett, in his book "The Third World War," explicitly stated that the war would start in Kosovo and that the Russians would come in at the invitation of SRS units (Hackett, 1979). The book was almost certainly the result of NATO analysts' projections at that time.

The Rand Corporation published a report on the situation in SFRY in 1982, indicating that "Moscow had somehow been involved in stirring up disturbances in Kosovo," while Albanian "complicity was generally assumed" (Biserko 2012: 209). During my interview with Sonja Biserko, she also claimed Russian involvement and that these demonstrations were used to open the Serbian question in Kosovo as a way of mobilizing

¹³² KGB is the acronym for “Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti,” known in English as the Committee for State Security, which was the name of the Soviet Union’s security agency from 1954 to 1991.

Serbs throughout the SFRY because of the Serbs' strong emotional attachment to Kosovo (Biserko: November 2015). Janjić also insisted strongly on the involvement of the KGB in the organization of the student demonstrations in Prishtina. He made this claim and referred to documents that were shared with the SRS leadership and members of the party which were dealing with Kosovo (such as himself). However, during our interview, he told me "...but you will never find such information in the archives."

Janjić's further argument is equally interesting. The Albanian 'illegal groups' that organized the demonstrations were Marxist-Leninist. They were connected to the Russians as a legacy of the Stalinist idea for a Balkan federation. For example, Janjić insists that Demaçi was a Stalinist who proclaimed the idea of a Balkan federation idea even during the 1990s. According to Janjić, the dispute between Hoxha and Tito over a Balkan federation concerned the issue of who would be president and who would be prime minister. Yugoslavia was a South Slavic union, but Russia wanted to put all Albanians into one "union" so that they could control both the Albanians and the South Slavs more easily. The SFRY ended up as "unaligned" and therefore with some ties to the West (Wilson doctrine), which, according to Janjić, insisted on a federation that was more democratic than ethnic. Finally, Janjić concluded that both the Albanian and Russian embassies used the 'illegal groups' for the same reason, to destabilize the SFRY (Janjić, February 2016).

Professor Skënder Rizaj, an Albanian scholar and historian who specialized in the Ottoman period of Balkan history, in his papers given to the Archives of Kosovo offers interesting insights about the organization of these movements. He believes that the moral, political and penal responsibility for the destabilization of Tito's Yugoslavia and Enverist Albania belongs exclusively to pan-Slavism¹³³ as a philosophy, policy, and platform. These movements, according to Rizaj, were planned by the Academy of Sciences in Serbia in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences in Russia and were organized to achieve the goals of Pan-Slavism. The decision for the demonstrations of 1981 was taken in Istanbul, in a hidden meeting at the house of Tevfik Saraçoğlu¹³⁴ (known as, Straja). Saraçoğlu informed him personally – in October 1980 – of the coming demonstrations, with the

¹³³ Dating from the 19th century, Pan-Slavism is a political ideology concerned with the advancement of integrity and unity for the Slavic-speaking peoples.

¹³⁴ Tevfik Saraçoğlu was an immigrant from Prishtina who owned a shop in which he sold handbags and whose political orientation was that of "ademdemaqian" and "enverist." Professor Rizaj wrote that Adem Demaqis' friends always slept in his house in Istanbul. He had good relations with ambassadors from Albania. Rizaj described him "as sincere but naive - he spends lots of money for patriotic/Albanian issue."

slogans "Kosovo Republic," "Down with the SFRY," "Long live Enver Hoxha," etc. Professor Rizaj advised this person to bear in mind that Tito had died but that his reputation in the world lived on, whereas Enver Hoxha was not liked by either the Warsaw Pact or the NATO states. As an atheist, continued Professor Rizaj, Hoxha was also not liked in the Arab world, and, as it is known, important issues such as the Republic of Kosovo could not be settled without the involvement of friends and allies. However, the decision to go forward with organizing these demonstrations was voted on by the representatives of the Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism party from Kosovo (followers of Adem Demaçi) and representatives of the Albanian foreign service (followers of Mehmet Shehu¹³⁵). Jusuf Gërvalla,¹³⁶ who participated in this meeting, did not support the idea of starting the demonstrations, justifying this view with the fact that there were no conditions for it, because Albanians were divided among different groups and ideologies. In the end, Gërvalla was killed by agents of Serbian state security. Rizaj insists that the actors in these demonstrations were some professors of the UP and the UT who were coordinated by the state security institutions of Serbia (UDBA) and Albania ("Sigurimi" under instructions from Mehmet Shehu), following instructions from Russia's secret services. As a statist, Rizaj considered the university and high school students to be a naive element of society, albeit with a revolutionary spirit. They were manipulated by their teachers and leaders, who, according to him, were intoxicated by the opium of Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, Pan-Slavism, and Atheism. Demonstrations took place in almost every town in Kosovo and some of the towns in Macedonia. They were synchronized perfectly because they were organized by foreign services: UDBA, KGB, and Sigurimi (of Mehmet Shehu). Rizaj adds that Albanians enthusiastically joined these demonstrations, thinking that, like the demonstrations of 1968, which brought to the Albanians a university, autonomy, etc., these would bring them republic status. He also argues that Enver Hoxha did not know about the meeting which took place in Istanbul, even though the decision was made in his name (AK SR/1945-1999). Archival documents also show that during the 10th plenary meeting of the

¹³⁵ Mehmet Shehu was an Albanian communist politician who served as Albania's prime minister from 1954 to 1981.

¹³⁶ Jusuf Gërvalla was a Kosovo Albanian activist, writer, musician, and the founder of several Marxist-Leninist and nationalist political groups proclaiming the liberation of Kosovo. Gërvalla was assassinated in Stuttgart in January 1982, allegedly by the Yugoslav secret service. Professor Skënder Rizaj claims that Albanian collaborators of UDBA and of Sigurimi killed Jusuf Gërvalla, because he was against the Kosovo demonstrations of 1981. In the Istanbul meeting, he convinced some Marxists, Leninists, and Stalinists to stop working against their national interests, and he had huge authority among Albanian youth in the diaspora.

Albanian Workers Party held June 15-16, 1981, Enver Hoxha blamed "Yugoslav revisionists, who, in cooperation with Soviet social-imperialism and with other enemies of our country, tried to damage us" (CAA 14/1981/109). However, the main purpose of the Pan-Slavists, continues Rizaj, was to use these demonstrations as a pretext for eliminating Albanian elites in Kosovo by accusing them of being Enverists. However, if they had headed to the border with Albania, Mehmet Shehu would have punished them as "Titoists".

Mehmet Shehu – who according to Rizaj was a Pan-Slavist spy – wanted to kill Enver Hoxha as a "destabilizer" of Yugoslavia. To finalize this plan, he proposed that Enver Hoxha declare war against Yugoslavia with the justification that it was Albania's duty to defend Kosovo. In this way, Yugoslavia, would have attacked Albania, whereas internally Mehmet Shehu – using the army and Sigurimi – would take advantage of the opportunity to have Enver Hoxha and all of his close supporters in Albania killed. However, according to Rizaj, US President George Bush thwarted the realization of this plan because of American interests in Albania and Kosovo. The USA and Turkey informed Enver Hoxha about this plan, resulting in Mehmet Shehu's ruination in December 1981. It is worth noting that in all of the comments of the American press it was "an accepted fact that Albania does not have a finger in the demonstrations of Kosovo" (CAA 2782/1981/28). While the circumstances of Mehmet Shehu's death (December 1981) are still a mystery, some think that he was killed by Enver Hoxha, whereas official sources said that he killed himself. After his death, his family was imprisoned and his wife was poisoned. Only in 2001, in the newspaper *Koha Ditore* (22 July 2001), was information published that Mehmet Shehu's bones had been located in a village (Ndroq) near Tirana (see also the July 24, 2001, issue of the newspaper *Zëri*). On the one hand, Enver Hoxha executed the entire family of one of the longest-serving prime ministers in Albania (1954-1981); on the other, he took Gërvalla's family under his care in Tirana.

A few months after the demonstrations, Professor Rizaj visited Istanbul and went to see the "handbag seller" (Tevfik Saraçoğlu). "I was terrified," said Rizaj, "when I saw that his business had been burned to the ground." Turkish police beat him up and burned their family business, arrested Tevfik Saraçoğlu and his brother. Bujar Hoxha, who was a first secretary of the Albanian embassy in Ankara and had organized the meeting in Istanbul, disappeared from the political scene in Albania, and there were rumors that he also had been assassinated in Tirana (AK SR/1945-1999). Aside from the fact that Professor Rizaj's

conclusions on this issue can also be categorized as a sort of "conspiracy theory," the reason I decided to include them in my dissertation is that – coincidentally or not – a few enigmas that he explicated, in one way or another, correspond to numerous equations related to the complex situation of that period and can also be supported by archival materials. For example, during the second plenum of the 8th Congress of the Albanian Workers Party held December 19, 1981, Mehmet Shehu's "suicide" was discussed as was Shehu's being "a dangerous enemy of the Workers Party due to his great political and ideological guilt." Enver Hoxha's speech during this congress stated that "Mehmet fought for power...he became a friend of our enemies...every action he took was following a plan that he had in his head to take the party and the state and turn it in the way that he wanted" (CAA 14/1981/112).

Shkelzen Maliqi, a Kosovar intellectual interviewed in Tirana for this dissertation, said that these demonstrations were prepared by a group of Albanian emigrés, but with the financial support of the Serbian state security administration and the Russian KGB. Maliqi based this information on two sources. He had heard this interpretation from Mahmut Bakalli and from his father (Mehmet Maliqi), who was Secretary of Internal Affairs after these demonstrations...they even had operational notes for this" (Maliqi: May 2016). Additionally, Fadil Hoxha had mentioned the existence of an office in Tirana which had dealt with issues of the SFRY since 1948 and was a department of the Republic of Albania's ministry of internal affairs, and he suspected that there was another such office in Istanbul. The SFRY Presidency was informed that they were dealing with well-organized agents whose "center is not in Kosovo, but they are organizing the irredentist actions in Kosovo from abroad." In addition, Fadil Hoxha admitted that people that were put in jail had "sung," but only as much as they knew. "They could not go farther, they do not know more, otherwise they cannot be that strong not to talk" (AJ, 837/364-II-2). This shows that even the people who were directly engaged in the organization of these events might not have been properly informed about whom they were working for. Yet during interviews conducted with former members of illegal groups or organizers of the 1981 student demonstrations (Gani Koci, Hidajet Hyseni, Ethem Çeku, Jakup Krasniqi), I heard strong opposition expressed to any possibility of having been manipulated by the Russian intelligence services, declaring that this was misinformation coming from the "progressivists," because they needed to justify their crimes.

The members of the illegal groups and the student organizers insisted that the demonstrations were events aimed at preventing Kosovo from ending up in the same position as Vojvodina today. They also accused Kosovo's communist elites of trying to find a justification for their crimes and their mistreatment of the students and society in general. However, as to the question of why Russia would try to dismantle an SFRY whose military was mainly dominated by Serbs (Çeku; December 2015), SFRY politicians answered by arguing that "a weak Yugoslavia suited the Russians...and Yugoslavia could be weakened if threatened with Kosovo and with Macedonia, given that the Bulgarians wanted parts of it" (AJ, 837/364-II-2). SFRY communists also argued that Russia would even be ready for "Great Albania and Great Bulgaria, but under their control, providing an exit to the Adriatic Sea" (ibid.).

It is also worth mentioning that Albania did not break a bilateral agreement with Bulgaria on friendship and mutual assistance. One of the articles of this treaty also obliged parties to provide "mutual military assistance in case of foreign aggression or emergency" (AJ, 837/364-II-2). Suspicious was also the silence of the East; the Soviet Union did not categorize these events as counterrevolutionary, though they wanted the Yugoslavs to condemn, for example, the existence of a counterrevolution in Poland. The overall situation became every day more and more unclear and unpredictable for all parties involved.

4.5. Conclusions

The connections between politics and higher education are obvious in every phase of the development of the higher education sector in Kosovo. Each ethnicity within Kosovo, and later, each political ideology in the region (SFRY and Republic of Albania), tightly interlinked higher education in Kosovo with the objectives of their political domination. That is why, depending on the period, "education" for Albanians was either associated with a fear of assimilation or seen as a tool for political and national mobilization. Certainly, Kosovo and the UP are not exceptions, given that historically education has been used to achieve political agendas.

The UP was (mis)used by different actors, but especially by politicians. Therefore, it was not academic values but the intent of promoting political ideologies that seemed to have been the primary interest of the multiple parties involved in the struggle for the "establishment and development" of the UP. The SFRY leadership proclaimed the political

emancipation of Albanians in Kosovo in order to reinforce the "brotherhood and unity" platform or "Titoism." The Republic of Albania asserted national "emancipation" amongst Albanians in the SFRY while promoting nationalist ideas about a "perfect" Albania and "Enverism." Thus, even though functioning to some extent as an academic institution, the UP became an arena where different political forces struggled for control. While political interference in the educational system in communist and socialist federations/countries was "normal," the battle between "Enverist national-communism" ideologies and "brotherhood and unity" platforms installed at the UP challenged political borders and raised the ambitions of students and, later on, society in general to mobilize on behalf of and strengthen Albanian identity in the SFRY.

In this chapter, I have argued that professors, the dissemination of literature, and study visits by Albanians from the SFRY to the Republic of Albania had tremendous effects on the political orientation of the students and the wider public in Kosovo. The students absorbed and prioritized the ideas absorbed through literature and lectures by professors from the Republic of Albania, rather than those by the SFRY, who continued to espouse brotherhood and unity. This chapter has also documented that the UP played a crucial role in the political and national mobilization of Albanians in Kosovo and the SFRY. However, this mobilization did not necessarily produce generations of intellectuals capable of the sort of critical thinking that would lead and influence society toward local and regional interests. This is because those who established and supported the development of the UP, such as the SFRY, Kosovo and the Republic of Albania, did not invest in academic values but in the type of "emancipation" (i.e., mobilization) which best suited them. The interaction of political and academic actors from the SFRY, the Republic of Albania and Kosovo, including students and other actors, made the UP a critical forum for imagining and articulating national ideals rather than academic values, which, as Anderson maintains, and as already noted above, "once imagined, they are modeled, adapted and transformed" (Anderson 1991: 157). When it comes to the question of who the "real" organizers of the demonstrations were, the answer remains quite unclear, but the findings indicate that the students were not alone on this journey. Different "power-driven" actors, authorities, and interests were also involved. It is a common situation that whenever such politically important events happen, each interest group tries to take control of what is happening and orient it towards its goals, or, if it cannot, at least try to minimize the

damages of those particular actions. It is likely that the "real" organizers of these movements will only be found after the opening of top-secret materials in the archives of the SFRY, the SRS, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Albania. It may take up to 50 years after events for such materials to be released, and those may be able to provide credible answers to the various possible scenarios. The state security services of the countries affected by these demonstrations can be expected to have been and probably were active, but the findings currently available are insufficient to determine whether they were decisive or leading this process. However, involvement and interactions between various actors are shown at every stage of the development of student movements. There is evidence that the Republic of Albania, or at least Enver Hoxha's clique per se, was not directly involved, maybe not even informed, regarding the organization of the 1981 student movements in Kosovo. Nevertheless, as a result of economic and political inequalities as well as discrimination against Albanians in the SFRY, and, also equally important, the politicization of the academic and cultural sectors in Kosovo, the country was faced with a student rebellion in early 1981. The demonstrations of March and April 1981 in Prishtina started as a student action for better living conditions and ended up as a movement of the general population in support of the Republic of Kosovo. Both the nationalist, or, as the organizers refer to them, patriotic natures of these demonstrations and the direct involvement of illegal groups in the organization of demonstrations (except the one that took place on March 11) can be traced, as I attempted to document in this chapter.

The findings also suggest that while modernists were motivated by SFRY/Titoist ideology and illegal groups by Marxist-Leninist-Enverist ideology, the highest price was paid by ordinary citizens, particularly the youth. As stated in §4.4.2.2, five people killed were high school students, one was a university student, two were factory workers and one was a retiree, all from different towns and regions of Kosovo. In contrast, the "progressivists" and illegal group activists survived the troubles they caused and continued further with their "contribution" to the already complicated situation. One group continued to struggle for Kosovo's integration into the SFRY, whereas another called for a Kosovo Republic. It could be argued that the SRS was the actor that derived the greatest political benefit from these events: they managed to plant their military boot back in Kosovo, whereas the demonstrations brought Kosovo's political elites to the point where they had to choose between joining the students' and illegal groups' demand for a Republic of

Kosovo or sticking to the SFRY political platform, which treated demands for "Republic" status for Kosovo as counterrevolutionary and irredentist. The "progressivists" decided to follow the SFRY platform, which led them to engage in severe repressions against their own nation.

Chapter 5: Propaganda: different responses to the 1981 demonstrations

5.1. Propaganda machines and their influence

During the April 1981 demonstrations in Kosovo, a propaganda war was in full swing, and propaganda was ubiquitous. The SFRY authorities warned about the necessity of being careful with propaganda about the situation in Kosovo on an international level, as well as about revelations concerning the economic crisis in the SFRY. At the same time, the Republic of Albania was conducting propaganda against the SFRY concerning issues related to Kosovo by using their embassies and media resources (which were broadcasted broadly in Kosovo), etc. Articles in "Zëri i Popullit" published on April 8 and 23 opened debates about territorial issues against the SFRY and harmed Yugoslav-Albanian relations. An archival report entitled "Information on reactions regarding the events in Kosovo (April/May 1981)" highlights how the Republic of Albania's propaganda spread throughout the world, damaging the SFRY's image internationally. The report, however, shows that the West did not use these actions to attack the SFRY; on the contrary, they supported the independence of the SFRY as a factor for stability in Europe. The Yugoslav political elites considered that allowing Albanian emigrés to engage in anti-Yugoslav and anti-communist activities was also in the interest of the West as a means to measure the pulse of Yugoslavia. The Albanian diaspora organized demonstrations mainly in the USA, Canada, France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. Around 30 Ustaša (members of the Croatian Fascist revolutionary movement) also participated in one organized on March 25, 1981 in New York, right in front of the UN building, and there were also calls for "the liberation of Croatia." On April 11, 1981 demonstrations in support of Kosovo were also organized in Frankfurt, and on April 12, 1981 in Brussels. In this particular demonstration, Willy Kuijpers, who at that time served at the Cultural Council for Dutch Cultural Community (1971-1980) and the Flemish Council (1980-1984), also participated. Kuijpers' speech invited the democratic powers to address further the "problem of Albanians" in the SFRY (AJ, 837/364-II-2). On April 13, 1981 demonstrations were organized in Washington, DC, New York, Chicago, and Detroit. Here, besides Albanians, a group of Croatian *Ustaša* also participated, and Hrvoje Lun, a secretary of the Hrvatska Nacionalna Zajednica (Croatian National Community), gave a speech. Demonstrations continued during April 1981 in Toronto, Zürich, and Munich. A majority of Croatian organizations in exile (especially the

HNV) – who were also calling for the dissolution of the SFRY – "showed solidarity" with the Albanians and participated in these events. Demonstrations assured high publicity; TV interviews were given by the exiled organizers of these demonstrations. In Washington, Albanian emigrés Luan Gashi, Jusuf Azemi, and Vehbi Ismajli were received at the White House by Republican congressman Richard Blumenthal and by R. Mils, who served as an expert on the SFRY in the State Department. The emigrés asked for the support of Congress in protecting the rights of the Kosovo Albanians. The State Department informed them that these were internal SFRY affairs, and that they did not want to interfere. The SFRY Presidency warned against paying special attention to the Albanian proclivity to "internationalize the Albanian issue in the SFRY," afraid that internationalization would "legalize" Albanian rights to create a republic which would include Albanian-inhabited territories in the SFRY, ultimately leading to the dissolution of the federation (AJ, 837/364-II-2).

During its 73rd session, held May 8 1981, the Presidency of the SFRY discussed the need to increase counterpropaganda against Albania. The Presidency also pointed out the need to be on the alert for news coming from the Soviet Union and the East. Yugoslav communists noted that they had no proof that the demonstrations had been orchestrated by the Republic of Albania. That is why SFRY politicians were urged to be especially vigilant vis-à-vis the East (Soviet Union), because, according to their sources, there were "more indications of the Soviet Union's possible involvement" (ibid.). Indeed, whenever any of the SFRY political elites accused the Republic of Albania of being the "organizer of the 1981 demonstrations," their only argument was that this was best shown by their continuous propaganda against the SFRY. And yet through its propaganda, the Republic of Albania consistently asserted its non-involvement in the organizing of the demonstrations and its contention that the Albanian-inhabited areas of the SFRY were intentionally the most neglected and that Albanian citizens were the most discriminated against segment of SFRY society (AK LoCPC/1981/99). The lack of coordination between the SFRY and the SRS Presidencies is shown in the archival documents as well. For example, when it came to monitoring and reporting on Albania's propagandistic activities, each of these Presidencies had different reports on the same issues. As will be revealed in this chapter, after a while the SFRY noticed and condemned the SRS's exaggerations and tendency to get involved in a propaganda war with the Republic of Albania. At the same time, communist elites made

decisions about intensifying internal propaganda actions as well. They started by declaring the UP a center for nationalistic indoctrination and separatist teachings, and they consequently introduced so-called "ideological-political differentiation." During the 72nd session of the Presidency of the SFRY held on April 28, 1981, Fadil Hoxha stated that it was necessary to make a serious "differentiation" of those people who were "affected by nationalism. We cannot allow the nationalists to teach our children," said Hoxha, while also emphasizing the need for assistance in this regard from the entire SFRY (AJ, 803/498). The goal of the policy of differentiation was to distinguish loyal from disloyal members of the Albanian community, however, loyalty was measured in terms of unquestioning acceptance of Yugoslavia's and Serbia's constitutional and territorial order (Kostovicova 2005: 77).

The "differentiation" process was promoted first by Albanian leadership and management in Kosovo (AJ, 837/364-II-2). The Kosovo PC developed an operative plan and took extreme measures to stabilize the situation at the UP. One of the activities included pushing forward ideological and political differentiation. Except for Ali Hadri and Ukshin Hoti, who were punished by the Party, almost all of the other professors and members of the intellectual and political elites openly expressed the need to punish the demonstrators and other participants in daily newspapers or other media (AK LoC/1981/105). Academic Rexhep Qosja,¹³⁷ for instance, mentioned that he was one of the intellectuals penalized for not condemning the student demonstrations of 1981, which turned out to be true (Qosja; December 2015). Yet the Rilindja newspaper published a declaration on April 8, 1981 from the Institute of Albanology in Prishtina – then headed by Professor Qosja – saying "...we condemn the demonstrations of our common foe in Prishtina and Kosovo, we also support the security measures taken to assure brotherhood and unity..." (AK Rilindja, April 8, 1981). During the SFRY Presidency session held May 15, 1981, while reporting on the situation as "still unstable," it was decided to dismiss Mustafa Sefedini, Kosovo's Secretary for Internal Affairs, from his duty. He was also threatened with political responsibility for not finding out in advance about the organization of demonstrations. During the SFRY presidency meetings, the tendency of Serbian politicians to take as active a role as possible was very much on display, highlighting how, besides Kosovo, the political organs of Serbia were also considered responsible for allowing the demonstrations, because they were the

¹³⁷ Academic Rexhep Qosja (born 1936) is a prominent Albanian politician and literary critic, the author of various anthologies and scholarly monographs.

republic in which the autonomous province was located (AJ 803/498). A significant number of Kosovo Albanians working in state administration were dismissed, sentenced or suspended in the name of the "differentiation" measures (AK LoCPC/1981/99).

Due to these "differentiation" measures, the lists of candidates accepted for admission to the UP for the 1981-1982 academic year were first disseminated to the respective municipalities so that they could confirm which candidates were ideologically/politically suited to be enrolled at the university. The same was done with Albanian candidates coming from the neighboring republics of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. Azem Vllasi was very specific about this issue, ordering that none who had participated in the demonstrations could be enrolled at the university. As for those who were already enrolled and had participated in the demonstrations, the regime urged the faculties to compile a list of their names, after which the Party was supposed to make the final decision. Vllasi also urged authorities and Party structures to put "our" people in the university's administration, dormitories, and dining hall. These were the locations where the largest number of students had gathered during the demonstrations. Concomitantly, the rectorate took measures, calling a halt to all departures abroad for specializations as well as limiting travel for symposiums, seminars and academic congresses of an international character (AK LoCPC/1981/105, 112). In attempting to justify these actions, Ali Shukriu¹³⁸ stressed that the regime was fighting with "counterrevolutionary forces," and only in their dreams could they break up these forces within a mere few months. In addition, Shukriu urged intelligence units to be very "strong, adventurous, and innovative." Both Veli Deva and Ali Shukriu insisted that from then on all information about the meetings and sessions of the PC be sent to the LoC in Serbia and the LoC in Yugoslavia (AK LoCPC/1981/112). The barrage of propaganda coming from seemingly every direction heightened tensions among the different interest groups at local levels. During the 112th session of PC LoC held September 5, 1981, Mehmet Maliqi, the newly appointed Secretary of Internal Affairs, reported that the security situation in the country was still characterized by intensely hostile activities conducted by groups espousing nationalist and irredentist positions. Their actions included writing graffiti with nationalistic content, disseminating leaflets, as well as some of the activities in which Albanian emigrés abroad were engaged. He also pointed to an

¹³⁸ Ali Shukriu a Kosovo politician during its period as an autonomous province of Yugoslavia. He served as Prime Minister (1963–1967), and later (1981–1982) as a President of Kosovo.

increase in activities of a nationalistic nature by Serbs and Montenegrins; these mainly took place as comments and reactions. The increasing levels of nationalism from both sides, said Maliqi, could not be assuaged without order, and the Kosovo LoC was incapable of dealing with the situation that had been created. He also warned that the activities of illegal groups were inspiring hostile elements and further actions, which "we are afraid might take place at the beginning of the next academic year" (AK LoCPC/1981/112). Whenever the state security institutions warned of possible repetitions of the demonstrations, they were granted a green light from the Party for further brutal interventions vis-à-vis whoever was suspected. As a result, innocent people were also ending up in jails and were mistreated by the police. The Secretariat for Internal Affairs reported that over 580,000 persons had passed through the police and courts as part of the campaign against "Albanian nationalism and irredentism." Thousands of them were convicted, their sentences ranging from thirty days to fourteen years of imprisonment (Kullashi 1996; 65, 66).

5.5.1. Kosovo actions

Propaganda against Kosovo's political elites was constantly being intensified, especially by the SRS but also by other SFRY politicians. The Albanian political elites in Kosovo were blamed for "being part of" or at least for "allowing" the organization of the student demonstrations. As a result, the tendency of Albanian political elites to try to look "more Catholic than the Pope" or more pro-Yugoslav than the Serbs was on full display in every session after the March and April demonstrations. Archival documents show that the strongest accusations against the illegal groups or the Republic of Albania, which were categorized as "the enemies," came especially from the Albanian political elites in the SFRY. Ali Shukriu, for example, stated that the biggest mistake was that the "SFRY's cooperation with Albania was allowed to be implemented exclusively through Kosovo" (May 5, 1981, Tanjug). He also stated that the damages to public or social properties were to be considered as an attack on the system and "those students who were violent will have to pay for it" (AK LoCPC/1981/81). Mahmut Bakalli, in a press conference with international journalists held April 18, 1981, said "we are aware" that cooperation between Kosovo and Albania serves the interests of good neighborly relations between the SFRY and Albania, but we will not allow "anyone to manipulate us and provoke hatred among Serbs and Albanians in the SFRY" (AK Rilindja, April 19, 1981). Xhavit Nimani also

expressed interest in cooperating as long as the cultural exchanges and cooperation between Albanians in Kosovo and those in Albania did not lead to bigger inter-ethnic troubles in the SFRY (AK Rilindja, April 22, 1981). Fadil Hoxha, while saying that Yugoslavia had learned lessons from the behavior of Tirana, added, however, that "we don't want to stop cooperation" (April 1981, Radio Prishtina). He also added that Albania, as the poorest country in Europe, had more political prisoners than the SFRY, even though the SFRY was ten times larger than Albania (AK Rilindja, April 28, 1981). However, their Serbian colleagues from the Kosovo LoC, such as Miloš Minić, were also critical, saying that Albania had openly defended the Kosovans' demand for a "Republic." Thus, according to Minić, they had committed the unpardonable offense of interfering in the SFRY's internal affairs. This was considered as a serious attack on SFRY-Albania relations. Minić accused Albania, in its relations with the SFRY, of following a two-faced policy: the first was a tendency to cooperate in economic and cultural developments when this was in their interest, while the second was developing hostile, irredentist and nationalist policies against the SFRY (Tanjug 8th of May 1981).

Sinan Hasani's interview in RTV Prishtina was published by Tanjug as well as in Rilindja. Yugoslavia was ready for cooperation with Albania, but first, according to Hasani, they should: "stop interfering in the SFRY's internal affairs, put aside territorial aspirations, stop abusing the SFRY's openness vis-à-vis neighbors, halt the propaganda campaign against the SFRY, start to respect the rights of Macedonian minorities in Albania, and share responsibility for the current state of the relations between Albania and the SFRY" (Tanjug, November 17-18, 1981, and Rilindja, November 18-19, 1981). Accusations by political and academic elites of the SFRY against the Republic of Albania were numerous. During April and May 1981 alone, on the pages of Rilindja, the Republic of Albania was explicitly accused of the following: "interfering in the SFRY's internal affairs" on 55 different pages of Rilindja, "Albania's territorial intentions toward the SFRY" on 19 different pages, "indoctrination, irredentist, nationalist, and subversive-propagandistic actions" on 32 different pages, "engagement, support and defending the demonstrations and demonstrators" on 9 different pages, "Albania's socio-economic system and foreign policy vis-à-vis Yugoslavia" on 25 different pages, "promoting national hate" on 12 different pages, and "misusing bilateral relations and lack of reciprocity" on 17 different pages. The politicians who spoke out against Albania included the main political figures of the SFRY

as well as the main Albanian political figures in the SFRY, including S. Dolance, L. Moïsov, L. Koliševski, P. Stambolić, M. Minić, D. Vidić, D. Ristić, A. Shukria, Xh. Nimani, A. Vllasi, F. Hoxha, M. Maliqi, M. Bakalli, M. Sefedini and others (AMFA 1141/1981).

On the other hand, despite all of their efforts and measures taken, the Kosovo "progressivists" were constantly accused by the SRS and other SFRY republics of tolerating the development of illegal groups and fostering nationalist and irredentist feelings. In addition to these criticisms, their inability to manage the situation was also widely denounced. Rumors persisted that even the members of the families of communist leaders were involved in the demonstrations. Public debates allegedly revealed that separatism and nationalism were not just in the streets. Instead, they were coming from the streets straight to Fadil Hoxha, Mahmut Bakalli, Azem Vllasi, et al. As a result, Mahmut Bakalli resigned, saying that "it is one thing to be accused of being irresponsible and an entirely different thing to be accused of being part of a problem" (AK LoCPC/1981/90), whereas in the SFRY meeting, Fadil Hoxha informed the officials that he had spoken to his son (Sharr) about the ongoing accusations regarding his participation in the demonstrations. While trying to portray him as a good communist and member of the Party, Hoxha explained that he worked in Obiliq and when going home from work, he was very scared, given that he hadn't been able to find any policeman to take him home. Hoxha pointed out that his son described the situation "as very scary" and that the majority of people were being manipulated (AJ 803/498). While the accusation of "Albanians in general" was ongoing, the process of "differentiation," according to Sinan Hasani, was integrated into "every pore of life in the province." In Kosovo alone, the Party excluded 1,639 people from the LoC, dismissed 278 teachers from their teaching activities, expelled 890 students from the university, and fired 457 workers from the factories, while another 902 were arrested (AK, Rilindja, September 18, 1981). Brutal actions were also being undertaken in the name of "differentiation" vis-à-vis the families of those who had been "differentiated." Faton Abazi, whose brother was first arrested and then, according to the police station report, had killed himself by jumping from the fourth floor, explained how after this event his family had faced carefully prepared state sanctions. People who visited or spoke with him or his family were stopped in the streets and asked, "Why are you talking to them...they are traitors and anti-revolutionaries," etc. "The life of our parents was over after that," states Abazi (Abazi; March 2017). Life for the entire family took a different direction. Even though the regime had committed a crime

by killing (or at least causing the death of) Faton's brother, they did not allow his family to live in peace afterward. Faton was a good student but was never allowed to complete his university degree or have any other profession (Abazi; March 2017). Despite all of the measures taken against Kosovo's population, Albanian communist leaders were still blamed by Serbs for inadequate implementation of the differentiation process. Archival material and my interviews reveal that after a while the Albanian communist elites were somehow convinced that the intentions of their "brothers in unity" did not jibe with what was written in the communist books. Various meeting minutes show Fadil Hoxha's frustration with his SFRY colleagues, asking them not to allow the differentiation of "our professors because it will cause a lot of damage...we do have good professors and academics who are with us, who are for this SFRY and its principles, etc." (AJ 803/498). Even though a few months earlier Fadil Hoxha had been insisting on implementing the "differentiation" process, when the positions of "progressivists" were threatened by this process, he began to realize that it was "very important to clarify things related to this differentiation" (ibid.). Later on, Fadil Hoxha complained in numerous meetings at the federation level about the pressure and propaganda coming from the SRS and the Serbian side in general. While confirming his willingness to contribute to the country (SFRY), he said that "now we have come to another point." With regard to Kosovo, Hoxha complained that everyone was writing whatever they wanted and no one was intervening. Everyone talked about helping Kosovo, but contrary to that, certain people (referring to the Serbs) were posing unpleasant questions about the failure of Kosovo leadership. Hoxha pointed out to his colleagues that Kosovo could also pose questions such as how many Albanians from the SFRY had emigrated to Albania or Turkey or what happened during the Ranković era, but where would these questions lead? Thus, instead of "opening all doors," Hoxha called for all parties to cease engaging in rancorous debate and take steps to ease the tense atmosphere. During the 92nd session of the Presidency of the SFRY, which was held September 23, 1981, Fadil Hoxha also took a stand that people should not be sentenced so harshly, getting eight years simply for participating in demonstrations. He notified his colleagues that he too was a revolutionary activist and when some of his friends got 3-4 years in prison that was terrible..."imagine now what they think about the system." (AJ 803/498). Despite Fadil Hoxha's frustrations, Serbian politicians and some influential Serbian citizens used every opportunity to react and did their utmost to convince the Serbian political elites in the SRS and the SFRY that Serbs

in Kosovo were being treated unfairly and that the Kosovo leadership was to be blamed for allowing this. The Serbian leadership, after conducting its own "analysis," came to the conclusion that the "irredentists are among the Kosovo leadership" (AJ 803/498).

Family members of the Kosovo leadership were regularly accused of having participated in the demonstrations. Given that these reports were also sent to the Presidency of the SFRY, at one point Fadil Hoxha said that if they believed this, "I have no place here anymore." In the middle of this chaos, the Republic of Montenegro was pressuring the SFRY Presidency to change the law concerning the display of the Albanian flag, and Macedonian representatives, led by Lazar Koliševski, added that the issue of the anthem had not yet been resolved either. Fadil Hoxha provided historical explanations for why the flag of the Albanian "narodnost" was affiliated with Albania, and why he was also against taking the initiative to change symbols, arguing that to do so might provoke even more tensions in Kosovo. Montenegrins and Macedonians did not agree with Hoxha's explanations; their response was that "we know Tito made these decisions, but now things have changed" and that this issue must end as well (AJ 803/498). Heated debates were taking place even at the Party level. In his 1981 speech during the political activity in Kosovo, among other things Fadil Hoxha noted that Kosovo had the same equal rights in the SFRY organs and institutions as one of the SFRY constituents. Dragoslav Draža Marković, a communist leader of the SRS, and at that time president of the Federal Assembly of the SFRY, immediately retorted that the current position of Kosovo as one of the SFRY constituents was no longer sustainable for the SRS. Finally, in November 1981, F. Hoxha, during an SFRY Presidency meeting, asked his colleagues: What do you want from Kosovo? Why is the SRS not letting the Kosovo political elites stabilize the situation? When Albanian security agents were asked why things were moving slowly and what was going on, they would constantly respond that "we can't get anything done; things are tied up in cooperation with the SFRY and Serbian people that are 'helping' us here!" Hoxha reacted by stating that the help of the other SFRY bodies was appreciated but that the Kosovo leaders did not want to permit misinformation that accused Albanian society as a whole of nationalism. He also asked, "Who will defend us if this presidency does not?" (AJ 803/498). However, Albanian communist elites started expressing their concerns only when they were being blamed and suspected. Throughout 1982 as well, Fadil Hoxha continuously reported at the federal level about the extremely volatile political situation in Kosovo, as

well as the decrease of production levels in the factories and the lack of enthusiasm about the future. Albanian communist elites called for empowerment while complaining that the Serbian officers of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs were pushing for "differentiation" of cadres which, these elites said, were considered as "ours" and had "fought for us" at the university and other public institutions.

The anxiety of the Albanian communist leaders in Kosovo was palpable. They were being accused of being "traitors" by the Republic of Albania and of being supporters of illegal groups by their SFRY communist colleagues. Hoxha also mentioned his fears of assassination, saying that "so far no one was assassinated, but every moment we are waiting in fear to see which one of us will be liquidated" (AJ 803/498). Attacks against the Albanian communist elites in the SFRY continued for a long period as did the accusations against illegal groups and the Republic of Albania. During the first six months of 1982, for example, 92 articles were published in the Yugoslav press. The largest number of them were published in Rilindja (28 articles), followed by Politika (25), Borba (19), Flaka e Vëllazërimit (9), Oslobodjenje (7), Novosti (2) and NIN (2). The content of all these articles was dominated by aggressive speeches against "counter-revolutionaries" and the Republic of Albania. These articles were written by SFRY politicians, especially from the SRS but also by Kosovo Serbs (AMFA 1012/1982). The SFRY politicians concluded that except for cooperation concerning economic relations, which were federal matters, all other protocols of cooperation between cultural and educational institutions of Kosovo with Albania should cease (Tanjug, May 12, 1981).

5.5.2. Serbia's actions

During the 72nd joint session of the Presidencies of SKS and SRS held April 23, 1981, Albanian communist elites were considered to be responsible for allowing the "spread of irredentism and nationalism among high school students and workers" (AS Đ-2/327/1981). Afterward, at the SRS level, intermunicipal conferences were organized, such as those in Šabac, Niš, and Kragujevac. At these meetings it was reported that the institutions in Kosovo had not been careful enough, otherwise it was not understandable how hostile groups could organize so well and organize demonstrations at such a level. In Niš, a re-examination of many cadres and students at the UP and at other high school institutions was requested. The assessments of the committee of the University of Niš regarding the "help"

that institutions from Serbia gave to Kosova were highly exaggerated. Genuinely harsh remarks were also directed at the leadership and security organs in Kosovo due to their inability to manage the situation in their areas. The Serbian political and academic elites claimed to the masses that Albanian communists had "delayed the information about these demonstrations on purpose" (ibid.). Some of the conclusions and questions that were raised at the meetings of the Serbs with the general public or students were: We are giving a lot to Kosovo, but the communists are not dealing appropriately with the hostile groups. Why hadn't the leadership of Kosovo reacted earlier? Is it true that the sons of some leaders participated in the demonstrations in Kosovo? Kosovo leadership allowed the fostering of nationalism among Albanians, which is the reason the emigration of ethnic Serbs from Kosovo was taking place. Serbian students could not join in the political-social organs of the UP because the meetings were being held in the Albanian language. Living and studying conditions at the University of Prishtina were better than in Belgrade...the food in dining hall was very good, so this was not the reason that the demonstrations had happened. Some of the papers circulating included statements such as "Dear brothers, our government is not informing you about developments in Kosovo. The Serbian nation is suffering, Albanians are raping our children, beating and cursing our Serbian mothers. Serbian blood is flowing...Serbs, we should not allow our nation to suffer, our children to be raped, and our mothers to be beaten and cursed by the Albanians" (AS Đ-2/304/1981). The issue of Serbs and Montenegrins who were leaving Kosovo during the late seventies and eighties was brought up by Serbian intellectuals and politicians at almost every meeting at the federal, SRS and provincial levels. Serbian songs which praised Ranković were being sung, and graffiti showed up in different regions of Serbia. In contrast, Serbian press headlines promoted the necessity of fighting against "the enemy and the destabilization of the SFRY" (Borba, April 6, 1981). This sort of propagandistic journalism served to heighten Serbian nationalism. Newspapers published the minutes of the meetings of Local (Municipal) Committees in Suhareka (Rilindja, October 26, 1981), Vushtri/Vučitrn (Rilindja, October 28, 1981), Gjakova/Đakovica (Rilindja, October 31, 1981) and Ferizaj/Uroševac (Rilindja, October 6, 1981), where the reasons for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo were discussed. Here Albanian participants argued that "it's the socio-economic reasons that are making them leave," whereas the Serbian participants cited the political character and "pressure of Albanians" as the main reason for emigration. In one of the

comments published in Rilindja, it was stressed that "while Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists are trying to dramatize this issue by blaming Albanians, some individuals are benefiting from the situation and realizing their career aspirations to get jobs and credits for buying houses and apartments in other republics" (Rilindja, October 28, 1981). Ilmi Hetemi also pointed out that Serbian authorities further exacerbated the already tense situation by insisting that the emigration of Serbs from Kosovo was due to "insecurity and pressure from Albanians." Hetemi, having served as chief of a police station in Ferizaj/Uroševac for two decades, knew the situation in detail and informed his colleagues from Serbia that there was no pressure, and – according to I. Hetemi – Serbs had left for their own reasons. They sold their lands – which during Kosovo's colonization¹³⁹ had been given to Serbs for free – at a very high price to Albanians. With that money, according to I. Hetemi, Kosovo Serbs were guaranteed a livelihood for at least one or two generations and had also managed to buy land in Serbia. Hetemi reminded his colleagues that his claims could be easily verified, simply by checking the bank accounts of the Serbs that emigrated from Kosovo. Given that his colleagues from the SRS intelligence services kept on insisting on "pressure and insecurity," Hetemi formed a special commission composed of both Serbian and Albanian investigators to analyze this issue. The commission went to the towns and villages and talked to people. All of the Serbian neighbors of those that had emigrated said that no one had left due to pressures but for personal reasons. From all those interviewed by the commission, only one "džeparoš" (pickpocket) said that he was forced to leave due to pressure. Indeed, as Hetemi points out, this guy had fought with an Albanian in the bus, who had caught him trying to pick his pocket. The day after I. Hetemi sent this report to the Secretariat of Internal Affairs in Prishtina, a newspaper in Belgrade wrote that "the chief of the police in Ferizaj/Uroševac supported the demonstrators." Hetemi thinks that for similar reasons, they also accused Fadil Hoxha, saying that his son Sharr Hoxha had organized the demonstrations in Ferizaj (Hetemi; April 2017). Similarly, from the perspective of Malcolm, for example (2001: 301), the main reasons for the movement of people during that period were connected with the mismanagement of the Kosovan economy and the level of unemployment, which was the highest in Yugoslavia. There are also sources defending the idea that there was national pressure involved when it came to Serb and Montenegrin

¹³⁹ For more information regarding "the colonization of Kosovo," please check out Vladan Jovanović's insights at <https://pescanik.net/the-colonization-of-kosovo/> [Last accessed on 19/02/2019]

emigration from Kosovo. From my standpoint, however, here the issue is not so much making a claim as to who is right or wrong, but pointing out that after the demonstrations of 1981, the topic of Serb and Montenegrin emigration became heavily politicized. Nevertheless, even several months after the demonstrations, Serbian authorities kept reporting the situation in Kosovo as unstable and demonstrations were likely to break out at the drop of a hat. They were pushing the local institutions for brutal measures and harsh "differentiation" toward different people. While in some meetings Serbian politicians reported that the worst situation was among high school and UP students, who were extremely likely to engage in demonstrations, but later the situation was reported to be "even worse" among the workers at factories such as Kombinati Obilić, Amortizeri, Kombinati Ramiz Sadiku, etc. (AS Đ-2/30/1981). The 72nd joint session of Presidencies of LoC of Serbia and SRS somehow started with the claim that for the SRS to be able to follow up with further analysis, two things should be noted: first, Albanian nationalism in Kosovo exists, and, second, there are ideas for the creation of a Greater Albania. Based on these assumptions, Serbian communist leaders insisted that "Albanians have anti-Serb ideas because, due to the existence of Serbs and Montenegrins, they cannot reach their objectives" (AS Đ-2/327/1981). Every argument at this meeting from that point onward was advanced on the basis of these prejudices. This shows that the SRS state apparatus – politicians, academics, security forces, etc. – was focusing all of its energy and efforts on penalizing Albanians as "counterrevolutionary demonstrators" as well as everything or anyone they considered had anything to do with those assumptions. Inter-ethnic relations worsened further, particularly because of the onslaught of propaganda coming from Serbian intellectuals and media reports. Biserko notes that analyses pointing to alleged Albanian terror in Kosovo were regularly featured in the Serbian media. Dobrica Ćosić claimed that the Kosovo counterrevolution was started by young children who "first started spitting at and insulting old Serbs, beating and abusing them." "Šiptars began raping Serb women and girls in Kosmet" (quoted after Biserko 2012: 210). Similarly, in his book "Theoria," Đorđe Vuković writes "they rape everywhere: in public spaces, at bus stops, in ambulance cars" (quoted after Biserko 2012: 211). It is worth noting that the year this statement appeared, only one case of rape was registered in the whole of Kosovo (Biserko 2012: 212¹⁴⁰). Despite

¹⁴⁰ The Committee of Serbian Lawyers and Experts for the Defence of Human Rights analyzed the data on rapes and attempted rapes during the 1980s. This analysis resulted in the conclusion that the frequency of this crime was

the fact that published research contradicts Serbian propaganda of that time, even nowadays the school curricula and history textbooks of the Republic of Serbia teach about the "pressure against Serbs in Kosovo with repression, rape, destruction of property, and even killings out of nationalist hatred."¹⁴¹ Slovenian politician Sergej Kraigher, who served as the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia from 1981 to 1982, highlighted the importance of talking about the relations between Kosovo and Serbia. The events in Kosovo provoked a rise of chauvinistic reactions in Serbia. He claimed that the Federation must respond to this issue. Thus, in July 1981 Vladimir Bakarić, one of the main figures of Tito's regime, in a discussion with leaders of the LoC of Croatia held in July 1981, criticized severely what was being written about the events in Kosovo, saying that the published (dis)information was an attack on the Albanians. Similarly, Ibro Hadžić, the President of the Information Council for Bosnia, also confirmed that he fully supported Bakarić's statements, stating that some news agencies (mainly in Serbia and Macedonia) had turned into courts. After that, Sergej Kraigher added in Ljubljana that Serbia should "fight the rebirth of all kinds of Serbian nationalism" (CAA 132-1/1981/28). What can be seen here is the conflict between the Croatian-Slovenian clique and the Serbian clique, or, reading between the lines, of pro-Western and pro-Russian paths, respectively, which was exactly what was happening at that time in Yugoslavia. During this period the same conflicts were also taking place in the province of Kosovo between the Serbian and Albanian leaderships. Mustafa Rushiti accused "Jedinstvo" of being a Serbian organ in Kosovo. He also attacked the news magazine "NIN," which on June 14, 1981 published an article according to which Albanian national hero Isa Boletini fought against the state structures back in the early 1900s (ibid.). When "progressivists" realized that Serbs were not treating them as "brothers," to use Tito's words, they also started to raise their voices and allowed articles to be published about Albanian rights and criticizing SRS politics, which threatened the equality of nationalities as well as the implementation of the SFRY constitution (CAA 14-A/1981/28). Apart from the fact that Yugoslav politicians were spending a considerable amount of time dealing with internal affairs, they also followed the "international anti-Yugoslav propaganda" led by the Republic of Albania through speeches, pamphlets, and

significantly lower in Kosovo as compared to other countries of Yugoslavia. It was also concluded that in most of the cases identified, both the attacker and the victim were of the same ethnic group (see Biserko 2012).

¹⁴¹ See Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 8*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010, page 137; Đurić, Đorđe and Momčilo Pavlović. *Istorija 3*. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010, pages 208, 235, 243, 245, 248.

publications. During this period diplomats of different countries started to view the Republic of Albania's attitudes vis-à-vis the situation in Kosovo in a positive light. As a result, Western countries started to look critically at the SFRY's implementation of human rights, etc. (AJ 803/728).

5.5.3. Albania's actions

Like the SRS and the SFRY in general, the Republic of Albania also stepped up its foreign propaganda efforts. Albanian embassies were mobilized to distribute audio and video materials and books for Kosovars. The increase in propagandistic materials, as well as the presence of groups of artists in the countries where many Kosovars were based (Germany, Switzerland, etc.), was initiated by the Albanian embassies (AMFA 1104-2/1982). The Albanian authorities developed a plan for creating and disseminating propaganda about the rights of Kosovo and of other Albanian-inhabited territories in the SFRY. These efforts were implemented by the Institute of History, the Institute of Language and Literature, the Institute of National Culture, and the Center for Archeological Research. The plan included different publications, pedagogical activities, and activities for mass propaganda distributed through the press, radio, TV, etc. (AMFA 1165/1982). During the 10th plenary meeting of the Albanian Workers Party held June 15-16, 1981, members of the Workers Party agreed on the content of the articles in "Zëri i Popullit" as well as highlighted injustices against "brothers in Kosovo who demonstrated to increase their political dignity" (CAA 14/1981/109). While the SFRY and the SRS blamed the Republic of Albania for their nationalistic indoctrination of Albanians in the SFRY, Albania claimed that the degradation of relations with Yugoslavia was a result of the "bloodthirsty and barbaric positions of the nationalistic Serbs" (ibid.).

It is worth mentioning that, when compared to the representatives of the southern part of Albania, the members of northern towns were far more critical of the SFRY and of developments in Kosovo in general. Enver Hoxha kept repeating that despite the fact that the number of Albanians was twice that of two other nations in the SFRY (Macedonians and Montenegrins), still they lived split among two republics and one province. It was also stated that while Albanians in Kosovo enjoyed a bit more in the way of rights, those living in Macedonia and Montenegro were totally disenfranchised. Indeed, though "totally" is an exaggeration, it was in certain respects the case. Macedonian communist authorities viewed

Albanians as a threat to the territorial integrity and existence of Macedonia (Koinova, 2013: 37). During the 1950s-1960s, many Albanians were pressured to declare themselves as Turks and migrate to Turkey to escape from communism (Poulton, 1995:138). Even after the changes to the SFRY constitution (1974), Albanians in Macedonia had limited ethnic rights (Peshkopia, 2015; 61). In his writings, Enver Hoxha insisted that the "Albanian question" and the territories where they lived had not yet been resolved yet. The Republic of Albania's leadership's detailed platforms regarding the demonstrations of 1981 were published in the April 8 and April 23 issues of "Zëri i Popullit." The Republic of Albania "justified" the actions of the organizers of the demonstrations and viewed the Albanian communist elites in the SFRY as "traitors and servants of Belgrade." These articles mentioned the demands of demonstrators to create a Republic of Kosovo or the creation of a Republic of Albanians living in the federation. However, they did not mention the unification of these territories with Albania, but rather the intent to form a new republic. While highlighting that the "destiny of Albanian society in the SFRY will be solved," the Republic of Albania tried to present its acts as being in accordance with international law, claiming that though it had no intention of interfering in the SFRY's internal affairs, it still had the right to support the "legal demands of Albanian people in the SFRY" (*Zëri i Popullit*, April 8 and 23, 1981). In the same articles, the Republic of Albania provided "explanations for the tragic events" of March and April 1981. The article, "Kosovo's demands for the status of a republic is a human right," published May 17, 1981, highlighted some of Yugoslavia's national issues since 1940, which, according to the Republic of Albania, proved that the student demands for a Republic of Kosovo were legitimate. The articles emphasized the promises and initial agreements that, according to the Republic of Albania, the SFRY was supposed to respect after the Second World War. The article stated that Moša Pijade, during the Communist Party's fifth conference held in Zagreb in October 1940, proposed that "the solution of the national movements in Kosovo can be reached only through forming the free national Republic in Kosovo" (cited after Archive of SFRY. Fond CC of CPY. No. 12-14).

Furthermore, in December 1942 "Proleter" had published a written piece entitled "The national issues in Yugoslavia in the light of League of National Liberators," which was considered to be a programmatic document of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) for national issues. After this article was published, in December 1942 Tito himself

published another one where he declared that Yugoslavia would respect the basic principle that every nation has the right to self-determination. When Yugoslavia was liberated, Albanians were waiting for their right to self-determination, but instead Kosovo became the base for a military administration (1945). Hoxha mentioned that while the majority of Kosovo Albanian brigades were fighting in Slovenia and Croatia for the liberation of Yugoslavia, in Kosovo, Serbian and Montenegrin divisions 52, 46, and division 50 of Macedonia killed Albanians on the pretext of various different accusations (*Zëri i Popullit*, May 17, 1981). The Republic of Albania accused the SFRY, and particularly Serbian authorities, of systematically ignoring the rights of Albanians, starting from the second ANVOJ meeting held on November 29, 1943, when Albanians in the SFRY were considered as a national minority which should live under the umbrella of republics such as Montenegro, Macedonia, and Serbia (*ibid.*). Thus, the Republic of Albania considered the 1981 demonstrations as peaceful actions which were turned into bloody events by Serbian authorities from Belgrade. These articles, which were published by the Republic of Albania, added to the already tense situation. However, they also encouraged and proved that the illegal groups were “right” when they continuously spread propaganda that the Republic of Albania was militarily "strong" and would protect Albanians of the SFRY, whereas the SFRY, and especially the SRS intelligence services, increased both their levels of aggression against Albanians in the SFRY as well as their accusations of the Republic of Albania’s interference in the SFRY's internal affairs. The Republic of Albania could not or did not do anything else to support the Kosovo Albanians. They kept rejecting SFRY and SRS accusations, saying that their actions could not be considered to be interference: They were only saying that the people of Kosovo wanted a republic and that this was their legitimate right. During this period, and in the name of the further intensification of propaganda, Enver Hoxha urged responsible institutions to launch historical programs, patriotic music, a celebration of historical anniversaries, etc., aimed at the SFRY/Albanian emigrés. He also ordered the translation of articles from "*Zëri i Populli*" into various languages and their distribution in various countries. The distribution of the articles and brochures in the SFRY was also considered an important part of the propaganda effort. Given that even diplomatic posts to the SFRY were checked and opened, the articles and other propagandistic materials for the SFRY were sent first to other embassies and then somehow transported from other countries to the SFRY (CAA 14/1981/117).

5.5.4. The international spread of propagandistic actions

Even though the Republic of Albania translated and circulated the "Zëri i Popullit" articles in different countries, they did not do it in order to internationalize the Kosovo issue. The involvement of the great powers did not suit them. Instead, the Republic of Albania wanted to be seen as the protector of Kosovans, so that both the Kosovans and the SFRY would feel dependent on Albania. The SFRY also did not have an interest in the internationalization of the "Albanian issue." The Kosovo demonstrations of 1981 nonetheless attracted international attention and were described in the press of other countries as well. For example, by June 19, 1981, forty-six newspapers in the US had written articles on this issue. Whereas altogether these newspapers published 123 articles – thirteen of them were published in the New York Times – only four of these articles relied on the information from Serbian Tanjug. However, the Republic of Albania's reporters viewed Americans as being circumspect as far as the events in Kosovo were concerned. Somehow the Americans wanted to show the Yugoslavs that they were against the state's violence while at the same time they did not want the case of Kosovo to get that much publicity. It is worth noting that in all of the American press's comments, it was "accepted as fact that Albania does not have a finger in the demonstrations of Kosovo" (CAA 2782/1981/28). It is also worth noting that these articles were not front-page news. Professor Friedman recalls that although the articles appeared, they were not by any means featured stories. He remembers finding them on the fourth page or some such, and "being shocked that US news sources paid almost no attention to the events in Kosovo at the time" (Friedman: December 2015).

Archival documents collected from the Republic of Albania noted that the Italian press published headlines reporting on the presence of the military and tanks in the streets of Kosovo to suppress the revolt as well as on the economic situation in Kosovo and its backwardness compared to that of the other republics of the SFRY. The newspapers "Il Populo" and "Republika" considered Tirana's behavior to be balanced when it came to their reactions regarding the events in the SFRY (CAA 17/1981/29). Like the American press, the press in other Western countries, such as British and West German newspapers, argued that the main reason for the student demonstrations in Kosovo was economic, due to the significant inequality of development between Kosovo and the other parts of the SFRY. Historical contradictions between the Albanian and Serbian ethnicities, along with the

general discriminatory policies against the Albanian population in Kosovo on the part of the SFRY leadership were also noted by the US, British and German press. According to Albanian archival sources, most Westerners did not support the idea that the demonstrations were organized by "Russians and Bulgarians to destabilize the SFRY" (CAA 17/1981/29). In discussions with representatives of the Republic of Albania, Western diplomats evaluated these assumptions as propaganda, through which "Yugoslavia seeks to solicit the West's support as well as to calm down the Western press" (ibid.). The representatives of the Republic of Albania noticed that their positions in the articles of *Zëri i Popullit* had been read and analyzed. The Greek newspaper "Akropolis" published an entire article from *Zëri i Popullit*. While generally in Western press the idea that "Albania did not have a finger in this issue" predominated, a significant exception was the French newspaper *Le Monde*, which in an article published April 5, 1981 stated that Albania was behind the demonstrations in Kosovo (ibid.).

As for the Chinese press, they mainly referenced information released by the SFRY authorities and expressed their position against Albania as well. The Soviet Union was very circumspect regarding events in Kosovo. They only reacted April 6 and 8, through their TASS agency, using sources that mainly came from Belgrade. Their statement also cited the newspapers "Borba" and "Politika," which claimed that the events were causing instability as well as being a threat to the territorial integrity of the SFRY (CAA 1284/1981/28). The Soviets' attitude could be taken as intended to counter suspicions of the involvement by the Soviet Union in these events. The Czechoslovak press entered the fray for the first time on April 2, writing that new dissatisfactions had arisen in Kosovo. On April 8, while writing that Albania did not want to interfere in the SFRY's internal affairs, the Czechoslovak press reiterated that the Republic of Albania did have the right to protect its people. The Hungarian press wrote seven articles dedicated to the events in Kosovo, all of which reflected the SFRY's point of view. Reactions from the Polish press were more rapid and stronger. They reacted immediately on March 28, and also on April 4, reporting about the extraordinary situation in Kosovo, about the number of police officers killed, etc. All references were taken from the SFRY's Tanjug news service, and the declarations of the President of the SFRY were published. The case of Bulgaria is also interesting. They informed their population mainly based on SFRY press sources, indicating the numbers of people killed as well as the fact that the protestors were shooting. Archival sources show

that Bulgarian authorities carefully followed the demonstrations in Kosovo. First of all, the student demonstrations in Kosovo were seen by the Bulgarian authorities as an opportunity to deepen the crisis in the SFRY and simultaneously increase Bulgaria's claims for Macedonia. Second, in the case of a further crisis, Bulgaria stood ready to take concrete steps first toward Macedonia and later toward Kosovo/Albania. Third, Bulgaria was also worried about these events due to the presence of Albanians in Macedonia and Albanian notions of creating a Republic of Kosovo that would include all Albanian-inhabited territories in the SFRY. Fourth, the Bulgarian leadership was ambivalent about these demonstrations in Kosovo. They favored them due to their desire for Macedonia and opposed them because they were being carried out by Albanians. However, in a meeting that Albania's ambassador in Sofia had with the director of the press working for the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was stated that Bulgaria supported the demands of the protestors, but that they were supposed to refer to the SFRY press, because they could be accused of abetting the organizing of events in Kosovo (CAA 1284/1981/28).

Albania's archival documents also emphasize that the 1981 movements in Kosovo shook the SFRY's relations with the great powers. On the one hand, the USA tried to support the "Titoist group" which was in power during 1981, but on the other hand it encouraged and supported the propaganda of anti-Yugoslav groups in exile. The Soviet Union similarly tried to maintain its relations with "Titoist groups," while at the same time promoting all types of political, economic and propagandistic pressures against SFRY. As for Bulgaria's territorial aspirations, the Soviet Union reminded the SFRY leadership about "proletarian internationalism" and the "general laws of revolution and building socialism" (CAA 14-A/1981/28).

Among the SFRY's biggest concerns, however, were the provocations and nationalist contradictions taking place in the Croatian- and Albanian-inhabited territories as well as sensitive situations in Bosnia and Macedonia. Jure Bilić admitted to one of the Albanian diplomats that the situation in Croatia was not good: There were 52 strikes and an opposition which was also cooperating with the Church and religious leaders in Croatia. However, he pointed out that the strikes took place because of the system's inability to provide appropriate solutions to the problems of workers. On the other hand, even "progressivist" Albanians in Kosovo – using one of Tito's quotes – had started to raise their

voices about their rights and to criticize policies that endangered the equality of nationalities as well as the implementation of the SFRY constitution (CAA 14-A/1981/28).

The foreign sector of the Republic of Albania warned the Workers Party about Albanian reactionary groups in exile that were also conducting propaganda attacks on both the SFRY and Albania's Workers Party. These groups emerged to express their support for the demonstrations in Kosovo while at the same time excoriating the Yugoslav regime and the Republic of Albania's dictatorship. The "reactionary organizations" were accused of implementing their "actions" in the US and Western European countries. They organized demonstrations to protest against the violence used by the Yugoslav regime and to intensify propaganda against the dictatorship in Albania. It is evident that the reactionary groups hoped to collect around them the masses of the Kosovan emigration and, in the meantime, to create a gap between Albanians living abroad and both the SFRY and the Republic of Albania. Thus, they intended to neutralize the authority of Enver Hoxha and the Workers Party among Albanians residing in the SFRY and abroad (AMFA 1141/1981).

Established reactionary organizations of Albanian emigrés included:

1. Prizren League (Lidhja e Prizrenit) was founded in 1962 at the initiative of Rexhep Krasniqi and Xhafer Deva. This was an assemblage of anti-communist organizations, and the second article of their statute states that the organization was always ready to help liberate Albania from the communists. Leka Zogu, the son of King Zog I of the Albanians, had a leading role in this organization. This organization had branches in Europe and was also against the Slavs (BRSS and SFRY).
2. Kosovar League (Lidhja Kosovare), founded in 1957 in the USA, was an organization of Kosovar "ballists"¹⁴² who accused Albania of betraying Kosovo.
3. The National Committee "Kosova e Lire" (Free Kosova) was founded in 1965 in Canada by the brothers Mithat and Isa Vrenezi as a faction of "Lidhja e Prizrenit/Prizren League."
4. Other organizations include: "Beslidhja Kombetare Demokratike Shqiptare" in Germany, "Besa Shqiptare," "Shqipria Etnike," "Lidhja e Vardarit" in Belgium,

¹⁴² The Balli Kombëtar, known as Balli, was an Albanian nationalist anti-communist resistance movement and a political organization established in November 1942

etc. Their platforms were also against the communist regime in Albania (AMFA 1161/1980)

Thus, following the student demonstrations in Kosovo, the Republic of Albania found itself being attacked for its authoritarianism by both the SFRY authorities and anti-communist Albanian organizations in Western Europe and the USA. It is worth mentioning that the SFRY could have used these Albanian organizations in the West against Enver Hoxha. Hence, in November 1981, at the SFRY Presidency meeting, it was Fadil Hoxha who raised the need to "seek and cooperate with Enver Hoxha's internal enemies." "The opposition within Albania is now eliminated," he said, "but there are some of his opposition abroad" (AJ 803/498). The SFRY organs were urged to look for ways to use the anti-Enverist groups in the West or within Albania (ibid.). Yet when discussing with Shkelzen Maliqi the matter of the Albanian organizations which had been created or had found refuge earlier in Western countries (Balli Kombëtar, etc.), Maliqi mentioned that the SFRY intelligence services' people had infiltrated the structures of these organizations. Thus, immediately after the meetings, this information was sent to the SFRY security services. In an interview with me, Maliqi said, "My father used to tell me that a day after the meetings took place in New York, or anywhere else, he had the pictures as well as transcripts of the speeches held there" (Maliqi: May 2016).

As a result of these propaganda developments directed at an international level against the Workers Party and Enver Hoxha, the embassies of the Republic of Albania were told to focus on developing a deeper understanding of the "enemy's" work and actions (press, the way they live, etc). To control the actions of Albanians abroad and within the SFRY, embassies were also urged to establish "clubs" and to try to neutralize reactionary groups' "war" against the Republic of Albania. The Kosovans in the diaspora were invited to attend events held at the embassies, where propagandistic materials such as newspapers and books were delivered. In a similar fashion, the embassies were urged to write articles with patriotic content about Kosovo; this was typically supposed to take place at national holidays and anniversaries (AMFA 1161/1980). Only at a critical moment like this did the Albanian regime decide to increase the number of visas for Kosovo citizens to visit Albania, as well as to allow families in Albania to send more telegrams to their families in Kosovo inviting them (under the regime's control) to attend such family events as funerals, births or marriages (AMFA 1155/1981). Numerous "decodings" coming from different embassies

sent as reports to Albania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted the problems that activists in the illegal group organizations in exile were having with expenses and their need for monetary support (AMFA 1194/1982). This shows that the Albanian government was financially supporting the establishment and maintenance of some "illegal groups." By means of these organizations, the Republic of Albania also wanted to create the impression in Serbian circles and the entire SFRY that they would eternally face pressure from Albanian movements in the SFRY and that they would never be able to control these movements or be able to predict how or when they might erupt.

Albania's hope was that the SFRY would come to believe that the situation in Kosovo could never be resolved without Albania's assistance (AMFA 1155/1981). Indeed, there were some "patriotic elements" within these organizations, but they were also created – or allowed to exist – for the purpose of manipulating the masses and assuring political benefits to certain interest groups. However, after the demonstrations of 1981 in Kosovo, a few organizations (both for and against the communist regime of Albania) united and initiated demonstrations in several cities in the United States, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium. They also managed to mobilize Croatian fascists and ex-Nazi collaborators known as "Ustaša" who had found refuge after World War II in non-communist countries and who were dedicated to achieving independence from the SFRY. Around 15-20% of those who participated in the demonstrations abroad were Ustaša (AK LoCPC/1981/91). "Fronti i Kuq Popullor" (National Red Front) was supported by other organizations in exile and by the general Albanian diaspora, which organized these demonstrations against the SFRY and Kosovo political elites. Kosovo police identified around 200 participants in these demonstrations abroad and took measures against their families in Kosovo. In a similar vein, measures were constantly being taken against the families of those imprisoned and sentenced in connection with the events of 1981 (AK LoC/1981/99).

Another organization actively supporting the demonstrations in Kosovo was the National Democratic Committee "Free Albania," which also had a branch in the city of Izmir. This organization was represented by the brothers Hajredin and Fadil Bytyçi. They supported the unification of all organizations and groups, saying that Albania was doing nothing for the case of Kosovo, even though they professed to be its defenders. The Bytyçi brothers also insisted on making Kosovo a UN issue, calling on US and European politicians

to protect Albanians in the SFRY and writing letters and sending telegrams to the US president and other Western countries.

Indeed, numerous "reactionary organizations" considered Tirana's communist leadership to be the worst "evil" of the Albanian nation. They decried Albania's army, which had the oldest technology, tanks, and weapons that could not be used to help the Kosovans. Through verbal and written channels, the reactionary organizations in exile also called for armed resistance. The Republic of Albania considered these organizations a threat, because they wanted to unify and work against the Workers Party. Moreover, many Albanian diplomats reported on these organizations' activities against the interests of the Workers Party of Albania, and especially that they were targeting Enver Hoxha personally. "Free Albania" kept circulating slogans to the effect that Tirana always ignored Kosovo. Albania was also accused of being satisfied with only publishing two or three articles but doing nothing concrete to bring the problem of Kosovo before the Security Council of the United Nations. Indeed, Albania did not raise its voice in the UN concerning the rights of the Albanians in the SFRY, whereas Albanian diplomats continuously spoke about the rights of China and the rights of African people, etc. The ongoing attacks by the revolutionary organizations in exile frightened the Republic of Albania. Demonstrations organized by these organizations in exile were accompanied by pro-Western, anti-communist and anti-Yugoslav slogans (CAA 5076/1981/28). Although during this period (1980s) in western countries the right to demonstrate was equally granted to all manner of political types, the fact that the reactionary organizations were granted permission to organize these events could be construed as evidence of their supposed Western orientation. On the other hand, the fascist origins of some of these organizations makes it problematic to characterize all of them as "pro-Western" rather than simply opportunistic.

5.2. Conclusions

The demonstrations of 1981 triggered a variety of different reactions from the parties affected by these events. In addition to exacerbating deep divisions among Albanians in the region, these events also contributed to destabilization and great changes both at the level of the SFRY and in Kosovo, unleashing "the devil within" and inspiring nationalistic responses from both Kosovo Albanians and the general Serbian population. This nationalism had existed before. Even though the SFRY, the SRS, and the Republic of

Albania were involved in propagandistic actions, neither the internationalization of the "Kosovo issue" nor the involvement of the permanent members of the UN Security Council suited any of them. It is documented in this chapter that the 1981 movements in Kosovo, and the propagandistic reactions thereafter, damaged the SFRY's relations with the great powers. Also, the demonstrations brought back to the political scene reactionary groups whose goal was to neutralize the authority of Enver Hoxha among the Albanians of the SFRY and abroad (CAA 14-A/1981/28).

The mobilization of the SRS and Serbian politicians for propagandistic actions against the Kosovo student demonstrations of 1981 led to the "rebirth of all kinds of Serbian nationalism" (CAA 132-1/1981/28). Despite all of their efforts, Kosovo Albanian communist leaders were blamed on the one hand by Serbian authorities for inadequate implementation of the "differentiation process," and on the other hand they were branded as "traitors" by the Republic of Albania (AJ 803/498). The communist leadership of the Republic of Albania was also engaged in propagandistic actions against the communist elites of the SFRY, SRS nationalists, as well as against the anti-communist movements that were active in exile. The Republic of Albania's attempts to (mis)use Albanian emigrants from Kosovo by means of nationalist pamphlets and cultural activities were insufficient to halt the impact of the Albanian reactionary groups in exile, which led propaganda campaigns against both the SFRY and Albania's Workers Party (AMFA 1141/1981). Nevertheless, as has been documented in this chapter, despite various interest groups' attempts at domination, the Albanian students in Kosovo and the members of reactionary or illegal groups in exile managed to internationalize the demands for a Republic of Kosovo. They also managed to mobilize the Croatian "Ustaša," former Nazi allies dedicated to achieving independence from the SFRY (AK LoCPC/1981/91).

Finally, the 1981 demonstrations in Kosovo revealed the fragility of the SFRY after Tito's death. In a way, the 1981 demonstrations support the argument that the SFRY could survive only under the authority of Tito or a similar authoritarian figure. Even though these demonstrations manifested tensions that had been simmering for quite some time, in retrospect, it can be seen that they also signaled the beginning of the end of the SFRY — something that some people at the time sensed was the case. In global terms, the involvement of the East and West, as well as NATO's blaming of Russia for having a hand in the organization of these movements, confirms that one should not forget the fact that

these events could also be interpreted as a "proxy war" between two concepts/ideologies manifested at a strictly local level for future dominance in this part of the world. Such an oversimplified view, however, runs the risk of missing the genuine complexities and nuances of the situation.

Additionally, these movements can also be seen as events that marked the beginning of the resistance of Albanian intellectuals, who ultimately developed into self-organized parallel institutions and structures used against or in spite of the SRS's so-called re-occupation of Kosovo.

Chapter 6: The unfolding of Kosovar activism (the 1990s)

6.1. Introduction

The student demonstrations in 1981 began as a local campus disturbance and escalated into bloodstained movements demanding republic status for Kosovo. After these demonstrations, the SFRY and the SRS regime declared the entire UP "a center for nationalistic indoctrination and separatist teachings" (AJ, 803/498, AS Đ-2/327) that promoted "enemy and nationalistic demands" (*AK LoC/1981/83*). Indeed, the presence of nationalist elements in the Albanian educational institutions was admitted by Albanian political elites and intellectuals. However, as Muhamedin Kullashi states, in all national cultures in the SFRY one could encounter the glorification of figures and events from national histories, national romanticism, etc. (Kullashi, 1996). Ever since the publication of the so-called "Blue Book" in 1977, but especially as a consequence of the student movements of 1981, the SRS openly insisted on the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy (AJ 803/101). As a result of the continuing political and economic crisis, the entire decade of the 1980s was marked by vigorous demonstrations. Kosovo Serbs also started to demonstrate and seek "Serbia's protection from Albanians" by having it impose its will on Kosovo to remain within the SRS. Vladislavjević argues that the Kosovo Serbs' political expectations also rose during the eighties, though it was also a time when they experienced the effects of the post-1966 constitutional and political changes and their own demographic decline. Kosovo Serbs' reactions triggered further mobilization of Albanians over the defense of Kosovo's autonomous status within the SFRY (Vladislavjević, 2002). These developments paved the way for the rise in 1986 of Slobodan Milošević, who was regarded by Serbian nationalists as the savior of Serbia. Milošević's "political solution" included rescinding Kosovo's autonomy and strongly suppressing any separatism in Kosovo. These efforts were wholeheartedly joined by the leaders of the Serbian Orthodox Church, members of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, and leaders of the Yugoslav People's Army and the SRS LoC. Thus, the already acknowledged discordance – in the name of "equality" – between Albanians and Serbs in the SFRY further intensified during the eighties. Albanians demanded equal status in the SFRY, and so too did the Serbs, who thought of themselves as being discriminated against due to the existence of the autonomous provinces.

However, resistance in support of Kosovo's autonomous status by means of popular protests – which were supported by workers' strikes and marches – provoked even harsher reprisals from the Serbian regime against Kosovo Albanians in general. At the Kosovo Assembly in 1988, it is reported that almost one-third of Kosovo's entire population was forced through the police and court system, while thousands were sentenced for political activities punishable according to Articles 114 and 133 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code (Kullashi 1996; 65, 66). The reactions of the SFRY and the SRS state apparatus discredited Albanian communist elites and also encouraged the dissatisfaction of the wider public within the SRS and the SFRY. Janjić explained that since the Albanian communist leaders at that time were discredited and bureaucratized, "we in Serbia were looking for new leaders" (Janjić: February 2016). As a result, Azem Vllasi was initially promoted, mainly due to his rigorous stance against "Albanian nationalism and irredentism." However, Vllasi and another leading Kosovo politician, Kaqusha Jashari, were unwilling to accept changes to the constitutional amendments, which were intended to diminish Kosovo's autonomy. As a result of pressure from Serbs in Kosovo, as well as the SRS LoC, both Vllasi and Jashari became suspect and were thus regarded by the SRS as being unsuited for their political roles.

Vllasi accused Slobodan Milošević of "sending army and police to arrest and isolate us." Afterward, the SRS regime appointed Rrahman Morina as the leader of the Communist League of Kosovo. Morina did not enjoy the sympathy of Albanians, because he was a former agent and secretary of the interior affairs, and he was also considered to be Milošević's puppet. The arrests and changes in the Albanian communist leadership triggered serious reactions from Kosovo Albanians throughout Kosovo. The most important included the marches and strikes of the Trepça/Trepča miners, regarded as a symbol of the working class. A series of similar actions, protests, marches, hunger strikes, and civil disobedience were also manifested among other workers and Albanian citizens in general (Magaš, 1993).¹⁴³ Albanians, who at the beginning of the eighties had protested against the "red bourgeoisie" and for republic status for Kosovo, were, at the end of the eighties, mobilized in support of Vllasi and the protection of the autonomous status of Kosovo. However, the SRS used the "politicized educational system" during the eighties as a

¹⁴³ A detailed treatment of the Trepça/Trepča workers' strikes in English may be found in Magaš (1993, 179-186), but see also in Malcolm (1998, 343-344).

justification for nullifying Kosovo's autonomy. In 1989, Serbian nationalists with their new leader undemocratically declared the revocation of autonomy.

According to Krasniqi, the nullification of Kosovo's autonomy had two major opposing but interconnected effects. First, it called into question whether Yugoslavia of the late eighties was capable of resolving its political disputes peacefully and weakened its internal and external legitimacy. Second, by discrediting the ineffective communist officials in Kosovo in the eyes of the local population, the way was opened for the emergence of new elites, associations, and parties that aimed to represent the interests of the Kosovo Albanians (G. Krasniqi 2012: 83).

6.2. Roots of unity: LDK, Rugova and the parallel state

During the 1980s as well – albeit from opposing vantage points – the "progressivists" and the "illegal groups" continued to influence Kosovo's political dynamics. However, after the revocation of autonomy (March 1989), Kosovo Albanians almost unanimously considered the Albanian communist elites (such as Rrahman Morina and his allies) as illegitimate, labeling them "Milošević's puppets." Regarding themselves as unrepresented, in December 1989 Albanian intellectuals saw the need to institute new political elites. As a result, Kosovo's (mainly academic) intelligencia united in establishing organizations which came to be of crucial importance during the nineties. The Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedom [Këshilli për Mbrojtjen e Lirive dhe të Drejtave të Njeriut (KMLDNJ)] was established December 14, 1989 (Shala: January 2016), and soon afterward (December 23) the first democratic political party in Yugoslavia named The Democratic League of Kosovo [Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës (LDK)]¹⁴⁴ was established when Ibrahim Rugova (1944-2006) was elected its president (Buxhovi: January 2016). Other unions as well as political organizations were also established in the nineties.¹⁴⁵ However, the LDK remained

¹⁴⁴ More details related to the establishment of LDK's are available in Mehmet Kraja's book *Vitet e humbura* (Tirana: [no publisher], 1995). Tim Judah also provides some insights in his book *Kosovo: War and Revenge* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), see pages 66-67.

¹⁴⁵ The Union of Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo [Bashkimi i Sindikatave të Pavarura të Kosovës (BSPK)], the Independent Student Union of the University of Pristina [Unioni i Pavarur i Studentëve të Universitetit të Prishtinës (UPSUP)], the Women's Illiteracy Programme "Motrat Qiriazi" (The Qiriazi Sisters) and other political parties such as the Social Democratic Party of Kosovo [Partia Social Demokrate e Kosovës (PSDK)], the Parliamentary Party [Partia Parlamentare e Kosovës (PPK)], the Albanian Christian Democratic Party, the Peasant's Party of Kosovo, the Green Party of Kosovo, etc. While all these parties characterized themselves as "Kosovar," another group of prominent Kosovar Albanian intellectuals, including Veton Surroi, Shkëlzen Maliqi, Muhamedin Kullashi, et al., was engaged in forming the Kosovo branch of the pro-democracy and reform-minded

Kosovo's biggest political organization. Rugova himself, as well as the other new political elites, came mainly from the ranks of intellectuals who had been educated during Yugoslavia's "liberal" period. Even nowadays, Rugova's figure continues to be among the most debated ones within academic and political circles dealing with Kosovo's contemporary history of politics. Some authors and politicians glorify him (often referring to him as "Kosovo's Mahatma Gandhi"), while others accuse him of being too weak or underestimate Rugova's political role and profile in general. However, what remains unanalyzed – at least from a sociological perspective – is Rugova's personal tragedy and his affiliations with the LCY afterward.

Both Ibrahim Rugova's father (Ukë) and grandfather (Rrustë) were executed by the Yugoslav communists in 1945. Nevertheless, at the end of the sixties, he formally joined the LCY. Even though his membership in the LCY was required in order to secure career advancement, Rugova's political opponents accuse him of never publicly distancing himself from or apologizing for his stirring articles, i.e., "Tito in the Albanian literature of Yugoslavia" (*Zëri i Rinisë*; May 16 and 23, 1981). By the way, most of the intellectuals who during the nineties took the lead and stood up for the defense of Albanian rights in Kosovo were ex-members of the LCY, UP professors, members of the Academy of Science and the Institutes. Due to the Serbian state's censorship and control of the press and media in general, Albanian intellectuals published their disagreements in linguistic journals in Kosovo or Croatian and Slovenian media (Kullashi, 1996: 67).

Nevertheless, as noted above, Kosovo's autonomy was rescinded in March 1989. This particular meeting held at Kosovo Assembly attracted the highest attendance ever from the ranks of both federative and SRS level politicians. Around 180 local and international journalists also attended the event. After just a little discussion, the members of the Assembly, with a majority of the votes (only 10 votes against and 2 abstentions), approved changes to the proposed amendments; this act was accompanied by acclamation (Rlindja: March 23, 1989). Soon afterward, Serbian authorities initiated the adoption of a set of laws and regulations entitled "Program for the Realization of Peace and Prosperity in Kosovo." Albanians in Kosovo were targeted and excluded from Kosovo's institutions. Around 80,000 people were forced out of their jobs in state institutions and publicly owned

Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [Udruženje za jugoslovensku demokratsku inicijativu (UJDI)] in December 1989. Because they initially functioned outside the monist institutional establishment in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, these groups came to be known as the Kosovar Alternative (see: Krasniqi 2012).

companies, and Albanian media were also suppressed (Malcolm, 1998: 345–6). As a response to these acts, despite Serbia's having suspended the Kosovo Assembly and government (July 1990) and arrested some of its members, the remaining Albanian members of the Assembly of the previously autonomous province of Kosovo managed to draw up a declaration of independence in July and September 1990 and adopted the constitution of Kosovo. Aiming to delegitimize Serbia's rule, in December 1990 Albanian leaders called for a boycott of the Serbian elections. Shortly thereafter, in June 1991, both Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence from the SFRY. In October 1991, after organizing a referendum (September 26-30, 1991), Kosovo also officially declared its independence (October 19, 1991) and Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of LDK, was elected the President of the Republic. From this moment on, attempts to resist the revocation of autonomy were transformed into demands for political independence from the SFRY. However, due to the presence of Serbian military forces, Albanians in Kosovo were not able to realize their "declared" statehood. As a result, they proclaimed a shadow "Republic" whose government was in exile.

Kosovo Albanians proceeded with the organization of a parallel system of governance, meaning that they boycotted all state-run institutions. This meant the creation of a parallel system, which was organized in private houses, garages and abandoned basements (Clark 2000; 76, 83, 85). Except for the Republic of Albania, no other state recognized Kosovo's self-declared independence. These acts nonetheless led to the establishment of a so-called "parallel state." Shkelzen Maliqi recalls that Rugova's or LDK's peaceful resistance strategy, which people also referred to as "Gandhism," surprised both the Serbian regime as well as Kosovo Albanians. Without much in the way of debate or nonviolence campaigns, says Maliqi, peaceful resistance became a somehow "trendy" and effective response to Serbia's aggressive plans (Maliqi: May 2016).

Taking into consideration that the propaganda machine of the SFRY spread negative stereotypes about Kosovo Albanians, characterizing them as "uncivilized," "rapists," etc., the LDK's decision to respond peacefully to the daily brutalities and provocations of Serbian authorities surprised other countries both within and outside the SFRY as well. By the early 1990s, the LDK had managed to establish an effective system of control, in both urban and rural areas, that enabled it for several years to maintain the fragile peace and the mantle of nonviolent resistance (Pula 2004: 13).

Party branches were also established in the United States and numerous Western European countries. From Prishtina, the LDK controlled the provisional government of Kosovo that was operated by Bujar Bukoshi in exile. Starting from March 1992, every Kosovo Albanian living in the diaspora was obliged to donate three percent of their income for the "Fund for the Republic of Kosovo," and the parallel system relied primarily on donations to this fund or from Albanian emigrés. However, for much of the 1990s, teachers and doctors working in the parallel institutions served without or with merely symbolic compensation. While some doctors and medical personnel also established – mainly in their own houses or basements – small offices offering private paid medical services, teachers and education personnel relied simply on symbolic compensation which was – not regularly – paid by Kosovo's government in exile. By showing solidarity, Kosovo Albanians sacrificed their personal and family well-being to serve the cause of the republic.

In the early 1990s, the LDK managed to incorporate under their umbrella a large part of the Popular Movement of Kosovo [Lidhja Popullore e Kosovës – (LPK)¹⁴⁶], ex-political prisoners and members of illegal groups (Buxhovi: Jan 2016). This can be considered as a period when Albanian political activists and organizations from both camps – "progressivists," meaning university professors or ex-Yugoslav intellectuals, and the members of "illegal groups," meaning LPK, ex-political prisoners, and ex-members of the illegal groups – were merged and unified under the LDK umbrella for the cause of the republic.

Hamiti gives credit to Rugova and the LDK for being the fulcrum of the parallel state. The self-declared Republic of Kosovo of the 1990s ran an educational system at all levels as well as a welfare and healthcare system, alongside a financial system underpinning them and the institutions of state. These institutions were at the core of the peaceful, political resistance to Serbian occupation. LDK dominance grew in the media and information sector as well. Throughout the 1990s, they controlled the existing press, namely Bujku, which was a daily newspaper published in Kosovo and Rilindja and which could be published only in the diaspora.

¹⁴⁶ The LPK emerged after the 1981 demonstrations in Kosovo and was constituted of several illegal groups and organizations. Like other "illegal groups," the LPK also played a significant role in the nineties and promoted rather radical forms of a political solution for Kosovo. LPK members are considered to be the founders of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) in the mid-1990s.

During 1990, the LDK also established its own news agency, the Kosovo Information Centre (KIC) [Qendra për Informim e Kosovës (QIK)]. The KIC was a news agency which, although close to Rugova and the LDK, covered all developments in Kosovo, including political and non-political entities critical of them (Hamiti: March 2019). The LDK also assured space for two hours of daily broadcast from Tirana through Albania's satellite channel (Judah, 2000: 92). Kosovan political and human rights activists realized that it was Serbia's violent repression that was attracting Western attention. Thus, both the LDK and particularly the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms began assiduously documenting cases of police brutality and harsh treatment of Albanians, as well as other ethnically driven maltreatment and violence perpetrated by the authorities (Pula, 2004).

As a dominant political force in Kosovo, LDK managed to continuously develop and deploy their structure throughout the province. Their aim was to prevent the local population from responding with violence to Serb provocations. Through regular press conferences, which usually took place every Friday, Kosovo Albanians were urged to refrain from provoking the Serbian regime and to avoid any type of violence. Buxhovi, who was also one of the founders, refers to LDK as a model and the biggest movement which "kept education and the state alive" (Buxhovi: Jan 2016). However, this political and social mobilization of the Kosovo Albanians was also later called a "phantom state" (Judah, 2000: 61).

According to Clark, the Albanians' goals were multiple: first and foremost was the survival of their nation; concomitant goals were disputing the authority of Serbian state institutions while utilizing and at the same time legitimizing the authority of Kosovo institutions. However, this commitment and civil resistance also aimed at the mobilization of international support (Clark, 2006: 86) for an alternative political strategy to change the status quo with respect to the relations between the Serbian government and Kosovar Albanians. This strategy was effective: during 1989 and 1990 the European Parliament adopted two resolutions condemning Serbia's policies in Kosovo. The United States Congress did the same by also adopting a series of resolutions. The House of Representatives and the Senate blocked US economic aid to Yugoslavia (1990), unless the country took measures to respect human rights in Kosovo. Similarly, Western media started reporting on developments in Kosovo. Horrific stories of police brutality were reaching the

ears of Western policymakers and the general public through organizations such as Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch (later Human Rights Watch). However, even though Western policymakers liked the LDK's nonviolent approach, they were not in favor of independence for Kosovo. The Kosovar government-in-exile applied to the European Council on December 1991 for recognition, but its request was refused (Pula, 2004). Another problem which became bigger and had larger and long-term consequences for the future was the segregation of Kosovo Albanians and Serbs into separate schools, hospitals, and administrative and political structures. The negative effects were especially to be seen in the coming years. This situation further restricted inter-group interaction and increased intra-group homogeneity, which in turn led to strong pressure for clear-cut identities (G. Krasniqi, 2010). Additionally, homogenization did not necessarily affect just Albanians or Serbs; it also challenged those groups which were seen as "religious and ethnic anomalies," such as Roma and Turkish people, Gorans (Slavic Muslims), Turkophone Albanians in Prizren or Slavophone Albanians in Rahovec (Duijzings, 2000: 24).

Homogenization also meant political unity, which in the case of the LDK was well managed and coordinated, but only between 1989 and 1992. The LDK's strong victory in the elections – held separately from the Serbian regime – of May 1992, increased the dissatisfaction among some political figures (such as Qosja and Demaçi), which later intensified their criticism of Rugova and the LDK (G. Krasniqi, 2012). However, Rugova's figure started to be questioned, especially after signing an agreement on education with Milošević on September 1, 1996, according to which Albanians were supposed to return to the regular schools from which they had been forced out.

Hamiti recalls that this educational agreement was the result of long negotiations between Kosovar and Serbian delegations. Senior members of the LDK (Fehmi Agani, Abdyl Ramaj), but also members of the League of Albanian Teachers (Lidhja e Arsimtarëve Shqiptarë - LASH), such as Rexhep Osmani, a senior associate of the Ministry of Education, were involved in the negotiations. This specific educational agreement was largely a result of pressure from the US government, says Hamiti. Rugova and his associates reluctantly subscribed to it. There was not much enthusiasm about it amongst the LDK at the time. Milošević got much more from it than Rugova did in effect (Hamiti: March 2019). The international community's insistence on lobbying to convince Belgrade to respect the agreement on education was also confirmed by the Republic of Albania's Minister of

Foreign Affairs. He recalls that on October 1, 1997, after some sessions at the United Nations Assembly in New York, for the first time Paskal Milo had a meeting with the FRY's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Milan Milutinović. What they discussed was "the necessity to respect the education agreement" (Milo, June 2016). Judging it now, after all these years, and also knowing the situation Kosovo was in during the nineties, it can be said that the agreement did not represent anything significant; it was a very minimal request. This appears to be especially true if one takes into consideration the student demonstrations that took place in Prishtina, which I will discuss below. However, with reference to this specific meeting, the Serbian press highlighted that Milutinović proposed a "senior-level" meeting between the two countries. However, Milo responded that for that to happen, Serbia must first withdraw its police regime and change its attitude vis-à-vis Albanians in Kosovo (NIN, October 23, 1997). In any case, the signing of the educational agreement was presented by Kosovo intellectuals (such as Statovci and Rugova's other political rivals, Demaçi and Qosja) as "LDK's secret negotiations with Serbian officials" (Clark 2000, 132, 133), even though indeed these negotiations were mediated by an Italian Catholic body, the Comunità di Sant' Egidio (ibid.). On the opposing side was Predrag Simić, political advisor to the President of Yugoslavia and later a member of the Serbian delegation to the failed negotiations in Rambouillet¹⁴⁷ as well as Serbian ambassador to France. He also confirmed that discussions between some Serbian and Albanian intellectuals had taken place from the beginning of September 1996, but that this began in Germany at an event entitled "Strategies and Options for Kosovo" that was organized by the German Foundation Bertelsman (Intervju: 28 February 1997). Albanian sources do not provide information about these ongoing meetings of intellectuals during September 1996 that took place in Germany. Additionally, the term: *autonomy plus* was already the formulation used by the so-called international community, as a way of trying to negotiate a relationship between Serbia and Kosovo that would leave Kosovo part of what was by then the FRY but without being subjected to Serbian abuse. Professor Friedman was a member of a delegation from the Center for Preventive Action of the Council on Foreign Relations in December 1995 where this option was discussed with leading members of the LDK. On the same trip, while the

¹⁴⁷ The Rambouillet Agreement was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) proposed peace agreement between the FRY and Kosovo (1999). Given that the Serbs (Yugoslavia) refused to sign it, NATO initiated military intervention in the Kosovo War. According to knowledgeable sources, the purpose of the agreement, which neither side actually wanted to sign, was to provide a pretext for the NATO bombing. The Albanian delegation had to be (secretly) instructed to express willingness to accept it so that the public relations effect could be achieved.

UP students told him they were preparing to take up arms, Serbian intellectuals in Belgrade said: "We've lost Kosovo, haven't we." To which the answer was already "Yes" (Friedman: December 2015).

On the other hand, although Rugova and Milošević signed the agreement, the regime did not provide support for all schools or university premises for Albanian students. This also served as the pretext for dissidents (some within the LDK) to launch the idea of "active resistance." However, due to the situation in the region, the recent Yugoslav wars, as well as Albania's "civil war" (1997), Albanians tended to hesitate regarding taking concrete actions. Yet the Republic of Albania's diplomats at the embassy in Belgrade, despite being under constant surveillance and the borders being closed, managed to travel to Prishtina and report back home regarding the situation in Kosovo. The reports included information regarding Albania's diplomats' meetings with political leaders, anti-LDK dissidents as well as activists from the UP student union. However, even though it was aware of the situation in Kosovo, at the end of the nineties the Republic of Albania was unable to lobby effectively enough for the cause of the Kosovo Albanians. According to the Republic of Albania's foreign minister, this was because the international community did not allow them to request or lobby for republic status for Kosovo. Westerners, explained Milo, instead wanted for Albanians in Kosovo to have a bit more in the way of rights; basically, they supported Kosovo's right to return to its former autonomous status, but nothing beyond what it had had in 1974 (Milo, June 2016). The European countries' hesitation regarding the Kosovans' demands for the status of a republic could also be seen in Wolfgang Ischinger's statement that "Germany does not support the idea of Kosovo's independence, but also does not agree with the current situation" (Flaka e Vëllazërimit: August 25, 1997).

However, it is also worth mentioning that Ibrahim Rugova, even though he congratulated Fatos Nano on his results in the elections of June 29, 1996 (Flaka e Vëllazërimit: July 1, 1997), still held a political position opposing the "leftists"¹⁴⁸ of the Republic of Albania. Additionally, Milo stated that the Republic of Albania's government had invited Rugova to visit Tirana. However, when Rugova was in Tirana, both Prime Minister Fatos Nano and the Minister of Foreign Affairs were abroad. Thus, "Rugova could have been offended, because we did not expect him in Tirana," but afterward, says Milo,

¹⁴⁸ The ex-communist or Party of Labour of Albania (which had been the only ruling party since the end of World War II) managed to win the first free elections (March 1991) in Albania. On June 1991, in its efforts to survive in the new system, the same party changed its name to the Socialist Party of Albania.

Albania's government continuously invited him to come, but Rugova did not (Milo, June 2016)! Relations between Kosovo and Albania were especially damaged after Fatos Nano's meeting with Slobodan Milošević on Crete, Greece (1997) (Flaka e Vëllazërimit: December 4, 1997). Milošević declared that, according to Fatos Nano, Kosovo was Serbia's internal problem. In one of his regular press conferences in Prishtina, Rugova called for Prime Minister Nano "to be more careful with his declarations" (Flaka e Vëllazërimit: October 8-9, 1997). Albania's then Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that "Fatos Nano did this meeting on his own, even though it was supposed to be a meeting between delegations" (Milo, June 2016). Nevertheless, even though Rugova – who remained Kosovo's main political figure until his death (2006) – did not go to Albania, Milo confirms that the Republic of Albania's government welcomed and supported other Kosovo delegations, including LDK's political opponents, student union activists, and later Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) leaders, etc. (Milo, June 2016).

Afrim Krasniqi considered the official relations between Tirana and Pristina (parallel institutions run by I. Rugova) tense, mainly because Tirana supported Rugova's critics by even encouraging them to react with protests (A. Krasniqi, May 2016). Among these political struggles during the nineties, the atmosphere in Kosovo remained politically fraught and the Serbian police uniform remained a symbol of fear. However, besides increased dissatisfaction, criticism from dissident groups, and shaky relations with the Republic of Albania, until the end of the nineties Kosovo was politically dominated by the LDK. This is because, according to Clark, Rugova and the LDK came to a national consensus on Kosovo that no one outside its leadership could "influence when to bend and when to be firm" (Clark, 2000: 168).

6.3. The University of Prishtina – a symbol of resistance yet again

The most challenging period for the survival of the UP was the time between 1990 and 1999. The oppression of the eighties culminated with the expulsion of professors and students from the UP premises. The Serbian–Albanian confrontation over the constitutional status of Kosovo directly concerned jurisdiction over the educational system in the province. Control over Kosovo's schools and the university was, for Serbs and Albanians alike, paramount to the protection of their own national identity. In the context of national confrontation in Kosovo, this implied Serbs would try to gain control over Kosovo's

educational system while attempting to bring about the educational unification of Serbia, and Albanians would try to retain educational autonomy (Kostovicova 2005, 93). In the period between the 1981-1982 and 1990-1991 academic years, the number of Albanian students decreased by 36% (UP 2005¹⁴⁹). The changing political conditions after the student demonstrations of 1981 had a significant effect on the UP. Finally, in 1990, Belgrade usurped authority over education and initiated a Serbian re-nationalization of Kosovo. This began when the Serbian Assembly passed a law that resulted in their first closure at the UP, which was the Medical Faculty. A year after closing the Medical Faculty, Serbia introduced a series of measures to eliminate the university's 13 faculties. All Albanian teaching staff were removed, while Serbian lecturers were promoted or installed in their place. This turned the university into an exclusively Serbian institution (Clark, 2000: 96, 97, 101).

The regime also initiated the segregation of Albanians from Serbs and Montenegrins in different school buildings and introduced new curricula, which increased the teaching of Serbian history and culture, while decreasing the hours for Albanian literature and history. A physical division of pupils and students along national lines was imposed in Kosovo's schools and student dormitories during the spring of 1990 (Kostovicova, May 2016). This was arguably a precursor to total segregation along national lines, not only in schools and the university but in all spheres of life in Kosovo. After a decade of political pressures, in June 1991 Serbia imposed violent measures against the UP and its faculties. On June 27, 1991, the Assembly of the SRS approved the following decision: "For the protection of self-management rights and social property, provisional measures are implemented against the UP and the faculties in its structure" (Sluzbeni glasnik (Official Gazette) of the SRS, No. 38, Belgrade, 27/06/1991). This was the official end of the joint (Albanian and Serb) journey on building and developing an institution of higher learning or a university in Kosovo.¹⁵⁰

This decision led to further separation and segregation. At the beginning of the 1991-1992 academic year, the Albanian professors of the UP did not sign the agreement with the

¹⁴⁹ In 2005, the University of Prishtina published a special edition aimed at providing information about the overall developments of this institution covering the period 1970–2005. The editorial board consisted of Acad. Jashar Rexhepagiq, Prof. Dr. Hajrullah Koliqi, Shyqri Nimani, MA, Associate Profesor Prof. Ass. Demë Hoti, Bajram Shatri and Destan Halimi. Hereafter this document is cited as "UP 2005."

¹⁵⁰ Even nowadays (2019) the UP remains separated along these two ethnic lines. Since 1999, the main UP (Universiteti i Prishtinës), located in Prishtina, has functioned in the Albanian language. The Serbian community established its own "Univerzitet u Prištini," an institution of higher education which is located in Mitrovica and functions in the Serbian language with its own administration.

Serbian Community of Higher Education and the Community of Faculties. On September 2, 1991, the Serbian police and army were deployed in front of the school headquarters to prevent instruction in the Albanian language. By the end of the day, the majority of Albanian language educational institutions were outlawed; this also included the UP. Armored vehicles of the Serbian police and army were parked in front of the faculty doors (Kosovo Education Center-KEC 2000, 71). On November 26, 1991, a session of the UP Assembly was held, where it was decided to continue the teaching process in Albanian outside the legal premises (which were occupied by the Serbian administration and police). Prof. Ejup Statovci was elected the new rector of the UP, and on December 5, 1991, the Deans Collegial Body held its first meeting, at which it was decided how to proceed further in the organization of pedagogical and research activity in extraordinary conditions on private premises (Kostovicova 2005, 126). The basic legal activity of the UP was based on the Law on Higher Education of the SAP of Kosovo (1989) and the Decree Law on the Amendments and Supplements to the Higher Education of Kosovo, adopted by the government of the Republic of Kosovo in exile on January 10, 1992. This influenced further consolidation of the legal basis, the activity, and the reforming of this institution. UP activities in extraordinary circumstances were legitimated, and the new specific regime of studies was followed under these conditions (UP 2005, 51). The rector of the UP, Prof. Statovci, ran the university largely based on a statute adopted by Kosovo's government in exile. The UP was also financed from Kosovo's government in exile as well as from tuition fees paid by students. Statovci ran the university largely independently, with no undue pressure from Kosovo's parallel state (Hamiti: March 2019). However, professors and students attended classes without basic facilities, such as teaching devices or heating, in small and narrow private premises, though the most stressful thing remained the ongoing violence carried out by Serbian police forces. On August 21, 1991, the Helsinki group in Vienna issued a statement asserting that Albanian education in Kosovo no longer existed and that it had been destroyed by Serbia. Professors organized demonstrations in October 1992 to return to their facilities. Serbian police forces intervened violently and scattered demonstrators in front of the square where they had gathered to demonstrate. Yet no concrete measures for releasing the UP premises were taken. Consequently, the parallel educational system in Kosovo continued throughout the nineties. The UP played an important political role by representing the Albanian non-violent strategy as a legitimate

form of national struggle against Serbian repression: "It was both a symbolic and a political expression of Kosovo Albanian nationhood" (Kostovicova, May 2016). However, as was the case among other dissident groups, during the mid-nineties students and professors lost confidence in the LDK's or Rugova's platform of "peaceful resistance." The Dayton Agreement (1995), which left the Kosovo issue unresolved, signaled the end of the fragile equilibrium between the Belgrade authorities and the "Republic of Kosovo's" parallel institutions. Given that nothing had changed and the political elites were not about to take any concrete action, students started talking about returning to the streets. During this period education was more or less the only fully functioning parallel institution run by the Kosovo Albanian parallel state.

Controlling education, therefore, became an expression of political power and governance. Albin Kurti, one of the student leaders of the late nineties, says that the credit for preserving the autonomy of the UP from Serbia, as well as from daily politics in Kosovo, goes to Rector Ejup Statovci and to the leadership of the student union, "which were ready for those that they found ready" (Kurti, November 2015). Kurti also admits that without the UP's autonomy, students would not have been able to mobilize their peers and think about organizing the demonstrations. Ejup Statovci maintained the unity of the students, whereas the students strengthened the idea of active resistance for the liberation of the UP premises.

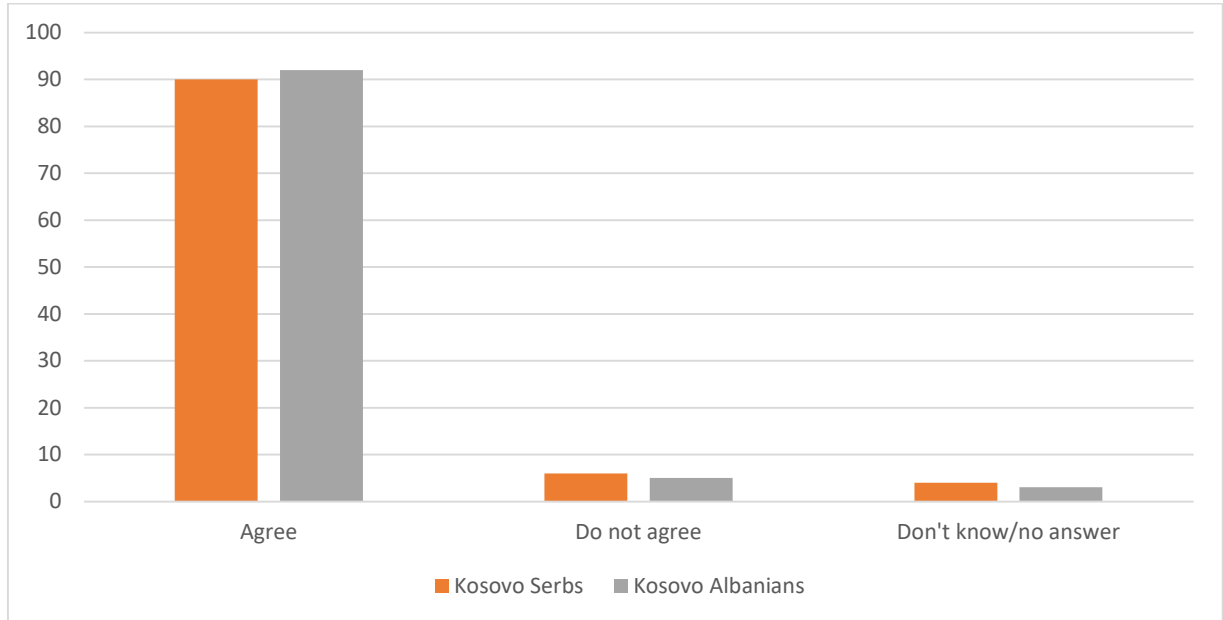
6.4. Boys from the village (Katunar¹⁵¹)

By the late nineties, the volatility of the socio-political situation in Kosovo reached its zenith. The regime's repression, as well as the segregation of the Albanians and Serbs in all spheres of life during the nineties, significantly impacted the rise of nationalism and reduced each ethnicity's empathy for "the other." The newspaper Vreme (August 23, 1997) published the results of a public survey conducted in June 1997 by the Forum for Inter-ethnic Relations in Belgrade in cooperation with the Institute for Philosophy and Sociology

¹⁵¹ Katunar (peasant, villager) is a derogatory term chiefly but not exclusively applied to those closely associated with rural areas and perceived to be crass or unsophisticated. Its usage is especially offensive when applied by those living in the towns, who tend to present themselves as more 'civilized' by putting down others as 'katunars.' Note that *katunar* is a colloquial (Geg) form. Standard Albanian would be *katundar*. Moreover, Tosk (and also Standard) would be *fshatar*.

in Prishtina. The findings of this research revealed that over 90% of both Kosovo Albanians and Kosovo Serbs claimed the need to be careful of and avoid other ethnicities (figure 5).

Figure 5. Vis-à-vis other ethnicities, one should be careful



Source: Forum for Inter-ethnic Relations in Belgrade (June 1997)

Meanwhile, like some of the LDK's opponents, UP students, too, started to question Rugova's political philosophy of "peaceful resistance." Yet the existence of parallel government structures during the nineties somehow persuaded Kosovo Albanian society that this was the most that could be done under the circumstances. Slobodan Milošević turned everything to the advantage of his regime, because he wanted to neutralize the situation, and thus he kept reiterating to the international community that Serbia was working (for example, by signing the educational agreement) with Kosovo Albanians toward integration into the existing political structures of Yugoslavia, over which he had presided since the late 1980s. The lack of freedom and of prospects for the future, as well as the lack of personal and family well-being dismayed the UP students. Leaders of the student union who were interviewed declared that the daily violence of the Serbian regime and the classical occupation of the country denied basic human rights for normal education and life. Especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall, notions such as liberalism, democracy, and human rights circulated continuously, especially among UP students.

Kurti recalls how they used to refer to and be influenced by Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi as activists on behalf of political rights and anti-colonialist movements.

However, as during previous student demonstrations in Kosovo, during 1997 the most significant role was also played by the dissemination of knowledge and readings about Albanian history. This, according to Kurti, was a good source and served as an "engine for the mobilization of the students...because whoever reads the history of the Albanian nation can see how Albanians were separated unjustly, oppressed politically, misused economically, and discriminated against culturally" (Kurti, November 2015). On top of all that, Kosovo society for many years had had no access to schools, universities, stadiums, squares, factories, etc. And yet the LDK cultivated the idea that by creating parallel institutions, the highest patriotic act had already been achieved. However, people's desire to even approach public objects, which at that time were labeled as "not ours," had died (Lajçi, January 2016). Under these circumstances, it was difficult to convince people that there were any choices other than active forms of resistance. Kosovar Albanian students declared that "we simply couldn't live like that anymore," and they decided to organize demonstrations. Nevertheless, although students challenged Rugova and the LDK platform, they were also guided by principles of nonviolence in the organization of student demonstrations (Krasniqi, 2012). Still, the students' decision to start preparing for a demonstration was seen as "active resistance" and attracted a great deal of attention from Western diplomats and media, which had been actively monitoring the Kosovo issue.

In early 1997 the leadership of the Unionit të Pavarur të Studentëve të Universitetit të Prishtinës (or Independent Student Union of the University of Prishtina, hereafter UPSUP) changed. Bujar Dugolli, who had previously represented the Faculty of Philosophy (1995) at the student union, on February 4, 1997 gained the students' trust to become the President of the UPSUP, a position which automatically assured him a place as a member of the UP Senate. New leadership promised to invigorate the UPSUP, not just for the sake of leading it, but in order to change things. After the elections, the university rectorate raised some issues, because, according to the students, the rectorate was misinformed about the goals of the new leadership and supported another candidate. Dugolli's opponents described the new leadership as boys from the village (*katunar*), who were radical and uncompromising and also made other claims such as "Demaçi¹⁵² is behind them," etc. It is worth mentioning, however, that the LDK was a large umbrella organization, composed of

¹⁵² Adem Demaçi was a chairman of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms of the People of Kosovo. He was also a founder and activist of "illegal political groups" in Kosovo and a longtime political prisoner who spent a total of 29 years in prison for speaking out against the treatment of ethnic Albanians in the SFRY.

people of diverse backgrounds, including those from the countryside. Thus, labels such as "katunar" could have been used by student opponents but not by LDK officials towards the UPSUP leaders. During the late nineties, Dugolli described himself as a student of history with only two more exams until graduation, coming from a persecuted family and region (Drenica), as well as influenced by historical literature and examples of previous student leaders who had organized the demonstrations of 1968 and 1981 (Dugolli; November 2015). Given that the organizers of the previous student demonstrations were taken as role models, this might serve as an indicator that the students were also influenced by Demaçi. The LDK indeed noticed that the UPSUP was gradually "dominated by a leftist-leaning (Marxist-Leninist) contingent of people" (Hamiti: March 2019) who were opposed to the LDK's national democratic program. Later on, the LDK also considered UPSUP leaders to be proxies of Rugova's political rivals and accused them of spreading false propaganda (ibid.).

As a consequence of the ongoing propaganda, during the very first meeting with Rector Ejup Statovci, the UPSUP leaders invited the rector to re-check whether the election process for the UPSUP had been free and fair. The students wanted to convince the rector that their victory was clean and honest. From this moment on, the rectorate was one of the biggest supporters of UPSUP. The leadership of the UPSUP consisted of Bujar Dugolli as president, Driton Lajçi as vice president, Albin Kurti as the member of the leadership responsible for international relations, and Muhamet Mavraj as chairman of the UPSUP Assembly and editor-in-chief of the student newspaper "Bota e Re (New World)," which was more a political than a student medium. For several months, the four main members of the leadership worked together surprisingly well – like a veritable well-oiled machine – despite the fact that none of them had known each other for long before beginning their cooperation in the UPSUP, given that they were all studying in different departments and came from different regions. The UPSUP also had branch offices in Mitrovica (led by students Ali Ahmeti, Naxhije Mripa, Mrika Begu, etc.), Ferizaj/Uroševac (chaired by Vjollca Hyseni), Prizren (chaired by Suzana Selmanaj), Pejë/Peć (Luan Elshani), etc. Together with Rector Statovci, the students honored their commitment to preparing for a demonstration.

Before the elections for this position, Dugolli promised the students that if he were elected, the UPSUP would organize a peaceful demonstration in support of liberating the UP premises; "we had had enough of studying in private houses" (Dugolli; November

2015). The students' enthusiasm was high, but the idea of a demonstration was not supported by political leaders, especially Ibrahim Rugova and the LDK. A few international diplomats also put pressure on Kosovo's political scene as well as the students not to organize demonstrations.

One example is Polish diplomat Sllavomir Dobrava, who said to the students, "You are just small kids" and Europe is urging you to postpone the demonstration. The UPSUP's leadership's relationship with Adem Demaçi was also confirmed when Dugolli and Kurti went to inform Demaçi that despite all pressures, the students planned to organize protests for October 1, 1997. Surprisingly enough, even Demaçi urged the students to "leave these things to the 'big guys'...don't you see that everyone is saying you shouldn't organize them" (Dugolli 2013). The students' response to both Demaçi and Dobrova was heroic: "We are 'small,' but our rights are big," and the demonstrations will be organized. The UPSUP leadership reported encountering many obstacles, threats, traps, blackmail, pressures, and endless propaganda, but still the students continued to insist on achieving their aim.

6.4.1. Before the demonstrations

On March 11, 1997, the UPSUP students organized a symbolic commemoration of the student demonstrations of 1981. At this particular event, they also announced their initiative to organize student demonstrations for October 1, 1997. The main purpose of these nonviolent demonstrations was intended to be "the liberation of the university spaces" (Dugolli 2013). For six years students had sat in private houses, garages, and basements. During the period of passive resistance in Kosovo, the educational sector, as represented by the home schools, functioned as the symbolic front line in the battle for the restoration of Kosovo's autonomy. Students – highlighted Kurti – attended these home schools, hoping that it would be for some months or maybe a year, but it became six years, and "we simply couldn't stand it anymore" (Kurti, November 2015).

The demonstrations of 1997 took place five years after the last protests by Kosovo Albanians against Serbian forces. The marches of October 1992 had also been organized precisely because of the Serbian regime's blockage of the school premises and instruction in the Albanian language. That is why, after such a long hiatus, it was very difficult to convince students to undertake concrete actions. There were various ideas on how to engage in active resistance and huge moral support from other UP students as well, but no real

willingness or readiness to act. The leaders of the UPSUP, however, established an Organizing Council (OC) comprised of five students and four professors to coordinate the student demonstrations of October 1, 1997 (see photo 1). While Dugolli, as president of the USPUP, was the chair of the OC, Professor Ejup Statovci, as the UP's rector, took on the role of the deputy chair of the OC. It is important to note that because the students had been able to bring the rector over to their side, they had the weight of his office behind them, which ultimately enabled them to be successful. The OC drafted a protest platform and decided that the protests should be led by the students, but that the university would support them. The OC made sure that the student platform was in line with international conventions on Higher Education (Dugolli; November 2015).

Photo 1. Here are seven out of nine members of the Organization Council (the picture was supplied by the organizers of the demonstrations)¹⁵³



The platform was translated and distributed to all foreign embassies based in Belgrade at that time. The OC established the following committees: media, foreign

¹⁵³ Most of the pictures that survived from the archives of UPSUP are published in Bujar Dugolli's book; Dugolli, B. (2013) *1 TETORI I KTHESËS - Lëvizja studentore 1997 – 1999*, Publisher University of Prishtina. This book also provides details identifying the individuals in the pictures and other details about the place(s) and date(s) when the pictures were taken.

relations, technical issues, health and order. Even though very few people in Kosovo were aware of the internet at that time, the students set up UPSUP's website, where the goals of and information about the coming protests were presented (Newspaper Epoka e Re, 3rd October 2005).

Gradually important international diplomats began visiting Kosovo, expressing serious interest in the students' purposes. Kosovo was considered the Western Balkans' "ticking bomb," with a huge potential for spreading disturbances to neighboring states as well. Dugolli talked about his meetings with renowned political individuals, including Robert Gelbard (President Clinton's special envoy in Belgrade), Huber Vedrine (French representative), Klaus Kinkel (German representative), Robin Cook (British representative), Florian Nova (Albanian Ambassador in Belgrade), etc. He confirmed that the biggest support came from the US Embassy, e.g., Richard Miles, Chief of Mission in Belgrade, Nicolas Hill, American diplomat, etc.

Dugolli also mentioned the opening of the United State Information Agency (USIA) office in Kosovo. Michael MacLellan was the first head of the USIA office, and Dugolli considered him as "a bit more reserved because he mainly supported the LDK." However, the next US representative in Kosovo, Richard Hakenbe, was described as "closer" to the students (Dugolli: November 2015). This was a sign that by the late 1990s, US diplomacy was supporting Kosovo Albanians, who favored more active resistance.

The most concrete steps were felt in August 1997. The newspaper Flaka e Vëllazërimit confirmed that "at the invitation of Richard Holbrooke, Kosovo leaders will visit the US Embassy in Belgrade" (Flaka e Vëllazërimit: 8th of August 1997). Student representatives were also invited as a part of a Kosovo delegation meeting at the US Embassy in Belgrade. Lajçi explained that once in Belgrade, the students realized that they had been invited by President Clinton's special envoy for the Balkans, Robert Gelbard. The members of the delegation from Kosovo who participated in that meeting were: Fehmi Agani, Head of Delegation, Adem Demaçi, Vetoni Surroi, and Driton Lajçi as a representative of the UPSUP.

Lajçi mentioned that during the meeting Gelbard called Kosovo's political leaders "lazy," telling them that "you did not manage to raise the issue of Kosovo at the level of human rights" (Lajçi, January 2016). The students then proposed their platform for peaceful protests. After hearing it, Gelbard – who had been a student leader himself – expressed his

sympathy for the students, saying that "it is worth sacrificing for peace." The students were also promised that if they implemented the platform on October 1, the US government would support them by sending their diplomats.

That turned out to be true: on the day of protest, American diplomats Richard Hakebi and Nikolas Hill were present in order to monitor the situation (Lajçi, January 2016). This can be considered as a major concrete breakthrough in US foreign policy toward Kosovo. The students I interviewed also shared their views with France and Germany, which back then were respectively represented by Foreign Ministers Huber Vedrine and Klaus Kinkel. Both of these European countries opposed the student demonstrations and urged the students to withdraw their demands for independence and accept autonomy. These reactions surprised the students, given that the LDK's political leaders used to feed the public entirely different stories about the opinions of the so-called Quint countries (the US, UK, France, Germany, and Italy) regarding Kosovo's future status.

The Serbian press continued to claim that the idea of a Republic of Kosovo did not have the support of the world powers (Jedinstvo, September 30, 1997). During the preparatory phase of the protests, students met with all the existing political parties in Kosovo, the representatives of religious communities, the Association of Political Prisoners, well-known intellectuals, etc. In all of these meetings, the students presented the OC platform, expressed their determination to protest, and sought other actors' support for it. In their meetings with LDK delegations, which were usually led by Fehmi Agani, the "education agreement" was defended. At one moment Mavraj had had enough and criticized them by saying: "What is this hypocrisy? You are responsible for my seven lost years" (Mavraj, November 2015).

The students were of the opinion that the failure of LDK policies and of the political elites in general obliged them to leave their studies and participate in the protests. Given that the LKD was not supporting the students' aims for demonstrations, they were asked at least not to obstruct the students. Mavraj also complained about one of the LDK's factions, which, according to him, tried to divide the students. Several weeks before the demonstrations of 1997, to test the students' mood, the UPSUP organized so-called "protest walks in korzo." The youth simply went out in the evenings, at around 19:00, in groups of 3-4 people and walked in the areas of the city center which they perceived as "theirs." This was not common because, during the nineties, Albanian youth mainly walked or gathered

in cafes, which were located in the suburbs of the city. However, within a few weeks, the korzo began to be frequented in the evenings by hundreds of young people. Dugolli explains, how before the organized “protest walks in korzo,” if, for example, a couple happened to be passing by, very often police would stop them and usually humiliate the guy in front of his girlfriend (Dugolli, December 2015). In concert with these activities, the UPSUP leadership continued to meet with representatives of the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo (BSPK) and the leadership of the Islamic and Catholic communities in Kosovo. Hajrulla Gorani from the BSPK supported the demonstrations. Impressive – according to Lajçi – was the reaction of Naim Tërrnava, then director of Medrese Alaudin. He placed the premises of the Medrese School and the Faculty of Islamic Studies at the students’ disposal and also offered food and beds to hundreds of students. Pulling out the keys to his office, Tërrnava assured Lajçi that, "From today, this office belongs to you – the students" (Lajçi January 2016). Don Shan Zefi of the Catholic Church said that the protests should first obtain the "blessings" of President Rugova. Another interesting individual – according to Lajçi - was Monsinor Pale, who represented the Italian Catholic body, the Comunità di Sant' Egidio and mediated the Rugova-Milošević educational agreement. Accompanied by a man who purported to be an Albanian from Calabria, Mosinor Pale tried to convince the students to respect the Education Agreement and asked the students to give up the idea of organizing the demonstrations. They tried to bribe us – says Lajçi – by offering "attractive visits to Rome," etc. (ibid.).

The last meeting between the students and Ibrahim Rugova prior to the demonstrations took place on September 29, 1997. According to the students, Rugova first tried to threaten them, stressing the consequences if the demonstrations took place, but when he realized that the students were not afraid, Rugova – similar to Mosinor Pale – also tried to seduce them by asking if any of them "wanted to go for studies in Paris?" Rugova justified the LDK's insistence on postponing the demonstrations, arguing that they had received suggestions "from above," referring to international diplomats. According to Hamiti, Rugova wanted the students to postpone the demonstrations until after his meeting with senior US diplomats, including US Envoy for the Balkans Robert Gelbard.

Hamiti personally participated in this meeting and confirmed that Gelbard pressed Rugova to "show leadership" and not allow things to get out of hand. If Serbia were to crack down on the demonstrators, "We are not going to step in," Gelbard told Rugova. Thus,

according to Hamiti, President Rugova was not personally against the student demonstrations (Hamiti, March 2019). It can be seen that here as well that the international community played a double game. For example, in Prishtina Gelbard had pressed Rugova to show leadership, whereas during his meeting with Kosovo's delegation in Belgrade, Gelbard called Kosovo's political leaders "lazy" and expressed his sympathy for the students, assuring them of the US government's support. Students argued that before the demonstrations, the UPSUP leadership met with all of the international actors, and their request to postpone the demonstrations, according to the student leaders, was not "so serious."

Like Rugova, a few deans and members of the Senate, who were also members of the LDK, were also against the demonstrations, reminding the students that Kosovo had a president, a government, and a parliament – and the students could not take such actions. The students openly questioned these institutions and whether anyone recognized them. Indeed, there were parliamentary elections in Kosovo during the nineties, but the parliament never met. As for the Kosovo government, the only thing that students knew about it was that there was a government somewhere in exile, but it was not in touch with them.

To avoid further arguments, the student leaders declared that they accepted the Kosovo "institutions," however, the demonstrations were against Serbia, which was not allowing the students access to university buildings. The politicians' lack of confidence in the younger generations was obvious, but the LDK's own agenda was to remain in control of the continually evolving situation. It was a matter of political culture, mentality, and vision. The most important thing, however, was Rector Statovci's insistence that the protests belonged to the students and that the UP was obliged to support them. During a press conference after the meetings with the LDK leadership, Dugolli also managed to "let it be understood" that Rugova had said "no" due to diplomatic pressure, but that the students had "received his blessings" to proceed with the demonstrations (Dugolli November 2015). In addition to this press conference, on the same day Television Albania (TVSH) launched a recently produced documentary about the anticipated student demonstrations. That TV documentary played a significant role: in addition to showing the declarations of numerous intellectuals and political figures who supported the UPSUP, it also broadcast interviews with students maturely explaining that "we know what we are doing." Aside from meetings with different international, political, and religious actors, etc., thousands of meetings were

held with students in basements, houses and private student apartments (Mavraj, November 2015).

The UPSUP managed to mobilize around 5,000 students to work on the organization of the demonstrations of 1997. The Faculty of Medicine, for example, prepared squads to offer medical first aid if needed. A security unit was also established for the purpose of preventing unknown people from infiltrating the demonstrations. The platform demanded that citizens remain on the sidelines, and only those with student IDs and white shirts had the right to walk between the cordons.

While students were proposing slogans, professors were making sure that they were following the International Human Rights Convention. Some of the main slogans included, for example, "Everyone has the right to education," "Discrimination in education," "Europe, where are you," "UNESCO, where are you," "No violence," etc. The UP's architecture department prepared the slogans, and they also painted other artistic slogans: for example, images showing feet stepping on international conventions, etc. (Dugolli; November 2015). There were around 33 slogans, including the one that Kurti liked the most: "Merrni frymë si ne" (Take a breath like us), which was a critique also of the Albanian political structures (Kurti, November 2015).

The Embassy of the Republic of Albania in Belgrade understood the cause of the UPSUP students and while unable to apply political pressure in Belgrade, they lobbied among international diplomats for support for the UPSUP demonstration. Florian Nova, one of the Republic of Albania's diplomats, visited and stayed with students often. He also offered an embassy car with diplomatic plates to assist in distributing students' newspapers or other materials for the demonstrations. Thus, the UPSUP benefited from logistical support provided by the Albanian embassy in Belgrade as well. The main support – according to the students – came from the American embassy in Belgrade, and Dugolli confirms that Nicholas Hill, the first US Embassy Secretary in dealing with Kosovo visited the UPSUP often. Together with the UK and Swedish diplomats, Americans were interested in finding out the ideas and other general details about the demonstrations. The diplomats of these three countries were also accused by Serbia of encouraging the students, but – according to the students – they were just showing solidarity, because they saw the students' sincerity and the fact that the students had no other option.

The fear of being arrested before the demonstrations was ever present among the UPSUP leadership. Due to regular meetings with political leaders and international diplomats, student leaders became known to the regime. Trying to avoid potential clashes with the police, UPSUP leaders slept every night in a different place. The anxiety that someone might get killed was also constantly present during this period. If this were to happen, the UPSUP leaders wanted it at least to happen to one of the organizers. Before the demonstrations, LDK propaganda threatened the UPSUP that if something did happen, the organizers would be responsible, because they had ramped up tensions.

6.4.2. During the demonstrations

On the morning of October 1, the OC met at the rectorate. The organizers emphasized that among the protesters were also American diplomats Nicholas Hill and Richard Hakebi, umbrellas in hand. The student protestors, who were seeing slogans for the very first time in their lives, were nudging each other about the slogans. The main slogans were: "Lirim paqësor i lokaleve të hapësirës Universitaire" (Peaceful liberation of the university premises), "Merrni frymë si ne" (Breathe like us), "We want our schools back," "Europe, where are you," "UNESCO, where are you," "No violence."

Thousands of students and citizens gathered in Prishtina. The UPSUP subcouncils of Mitrovica, Prizren, Gjakova/Đakovica, Gjilan/Gnjilane, Ferizaj/Uroševac, and Peja/Peć also organized demonstrations in their towns. The OC's and the students' hard work, as well as the support from local and international media, had made these demonstrations possible. As was planned, the demonstration in Prishtina was led by the four student leaders of the UPSUP with Rector Ejup Statovci right in the middle of them (*see photo 2*). Mavraj explains how the moment he saw himself in the first line of the demonstrations, he realized even more that his country was in a very bad situation. Otherwise, "Who am I (a kid) to be in the first line of the demonstration?" (Mavraj, November 2015). However, given that politicians did not engage in active resistance, someone had to.

Photo 2. Student demonstration march in Prishtina on October 1, 1997. First-line from the left: Muhamet Mavraj, Bujar Dugolli, Ejup Statovci, Driton Lajçi and Albin Kurti (the picture was supplied by the organizers of the demonstrations)



The distance between the starting point of the demonstrators and the barricades of the Serbian police and military forces was several hundred meters. In front of the column of the protestors, journalists were taking pictures and recording the event. The students stopped around 1-2 meters from the police cordons. As can be seen from the pictures taken by ex-UPSUP leaders, the police forces were heavily armed, with helmets and anti-tear gas masks, tending to provoke fear among the demonstrators. Students remained in position for about one and a half hours. The UPSUP leaders described the scenes at these first-line demonstrations as similar to those moments in "boxing matches," when the opponents are face to face, challenging each other and waiting for the fight to start.

In this particular case, the students' opponents were armed and sitting on tanks, while the students, dressed in white shirts, looked at them. Lajçi mentioned that a few minutes before the police intervened, a journalist asked Rector Statovci: what will be your next steps? Statovci responded that they were going to act according to the protest platform. The journalist followed up by asking whether there was anything "you're worried about in these moments"? Professor Statovci's response was, yes – some raindrops are starting to fall.

Photo 3. Demonstrators stand in front of the barricades (the picture was supplied by the organizers of the demonstrations)



The police were prepared for an attack, implying that the situation was controlled by the MUP center and Serbian politicians in Prishtina and Belgrade. The helicopters which were flying low overhead were used to try to scare the protestors. Vice chief of the Kosovo district Veljko Odalović assured American and European diplomats that if the protests were peaceful, the Serbian police would not use violence. According to the participants I interviewed, this was not true. Students were peaceful, but police still used violence. Just before the regime reacted, foreign journalists sitting close to the demonstrators were removed, then orders "krenemo" (let's go) and "udri" (hit) were heard. According to the protest platform, if police started to engage in violence, the organizers would sit down on the ground. However, within a few minutes the UPSUP leadership, Rector Ejup Statovci, and some other students were arrested and mistreated at the police station (see photo 4).

Photo 4. Moments during the arrests of Professor Statovci and members of the UPSUP leadership (the picture was supplied by the organizers of the demonstrations)



Numerous people were hurt, but no one was killed. That same night Television Albania (TVSH) released video material showing terrified boys and girls escaping police violence and police firing tear gas at the masses (Documentary, Student Protest 1997). International diplomats witnessed the regime's brutal intervention against the peaceful demonstrators and immediately increased pressure for the release of the organizers and other students who had been arrested. The rector refused to agree to leave the police station without the release of every single arrested student. According to the organizers, the arrested protestors were treated brutally at the police station. As soon as they were released, the students of the Faculty of Medicine provided medical care. There was widespread propaganda that this would be a big bloody demonstration. The Serbian press accused Albanians of planning to kill the students and then blaming the innocent Serbian people for doing it. Even though the opponents of the students, from both the Albanian political party (LDK) and Serbian regime's side, had all the necessary propaganda tools at hand – money, networks, media and strength – the students were still successful in organizing the demonstrations. Two hours after Dugolli's release from prison, diplomats from the embassies of the USA, UK, and Sweden went to visit him. Dugolli remembers that they thanked the UPSUP for the high level of organization. Western diplomats admitted that "we didn't know that we were dealing with such responsible youth" (Dugolli; November 2015).

The diplomats also informed the UPSUP leaders that their reports were already being distributed in their countries.

6.4.3. After the demonstrations

Ibrahim Rugova thanked the UP students and professors for the peaceful demonstrations and condemned the Serbian regime's aggression against the peaceful protestors (Bujku, November 1, 1997). Thus, the political elites in Prishtina supported the protest afterward and were envious, because in the end the things that they as well wanted had happened, but the politicians had not accomplished these things themselves (Mavraj, November 2015). The Republic of Albania condemned the Serbian regime's use of force against the student demonstrators in Prishtina and other cities of Kosovo (Zëri i Popullit, October 2, 1997), whereas the President of the Republic of Albania, Rexhep Meidani (1997–2002), also warned Yugoslavia that "Kosovo will not become Bosnia" (NIN, October 27, 1997). Besnik Konçi, Charge d'Affairs at the embassy of the Republic of Albania in Belgrade, in his interview for NIN magazine, stated that relations between Albania and Serbia were also dependent on the way the Republic of Serbia treated Albanians in Kosovo. Serbian propaganda continuously insisted that Albanians in Kosovo lived better than those in Albania. However, during this interview, Konçi stated that if that were the case, why did Albanians in Kosovo want to establish their own republic and leave the FRY (NIN, October 2, 1997). Serbian politicians and press kept saying that the situation in Kosovo should be resolved through negotiations, but they took no steps in this regard. Students who had been pushed by circumstances at least to organize peaceful demonstrations were blamed for playing "dangerous games." Radivoje Popović, the rector of the University of Prishtina led by the Serbian regime, stated that that "university is open for all those that want to learn" (Jedinstvo, October 1, 1997). However, this meant that only those who were willing to be educated in the Serbian language and curriculum could enter the university premises. Popović also emphasized that the university could not belong to national minorities and that he was leading one of the most open universities, but that the "separatist Albanians" wanted things which were against the Serbian constitution (Jedinstvo, October 8, 1997).

Similarly, Mirko Marjanović, Prime Minister of Serbia (1994–2000), also emphasized that Serbia would never allow the existence of a Kosovo state with special schools or a university (Politika, October 2, 1997). Even though the students had protested

peacefully, the demonstrations were still constantly labeled by Serbian political and intellectual elites as those of separatist Albanians who wanted to send their message to the world that their human and educational rights were being abused (Jedinstvo, October 2, 1997). Despite the fact that journalist S. Živković and cameramen V. Jovanović and D. Todić participated in the event and witnessed the exercise of force by the regime, they reported an entirely different story to the readers of Jedinstvo. They claimed that even though students organized a protest against "our university" and with their "dirty game" tried to provoke the police, "thanks to the regional commander," violence against the demonstrators has not been used (Jedinstvo, October 2, 1997).

This newspaper also reserved limited space for reporting on the student demonstrations in other towns of Kosovo. In these articles as well, one can read the misreporting by the Serbian journalists, who, among other things, claimed that "children and woman were misused and forced to participate in the demonstration" (Jedinstvo, October 2, 1997). This was not the case in this particular demonstration, given that only bona fide students wearing white shirts were allowed to join the protest lines. Serbian articles condemning "Šiptar demonstrations" followed, especially during the first weeks of October 1997. In the reports of the Serbian press, one can observe two types of approaches to the student demonstrations in Kosovo. Some media tried to present the Serbian police officers as the ones who "did not respond to the students' provocations," while other media showed pictures of Serbian police officers looking like commandos, dragging away female students, accompanied by nationalist headlines such as "Kosovo is Serbia" (Novosti, October 2, 1997). Some Serbian newspapers also used open threats against Albanians and particularly students, saying that the students are "playing with fire" (NIN, October 2, 1997). The findings document that the Serbian or sometimes the Yugoslav public was severely misinformed about the real situation in Kosovo. The Serbian political and intellectual elites, through their articles, displayed their strategy of playing the victim, as if the Albanian students wanted to take their university from them rather than, as was already known, Albanian pupils and students had been excluded from school or university premises since the early 1990s. Predrag Simić warned that Serbia would not benefit from the internationalization of the issue of Kosovo (NIN, November 13, 1997), but CNN, Euronews, Reuters, etc., broadcast videos showing the Serbian regime's brutality toward the student demonstrations (Zëri i Popullit, October 2, 1997). The police brutality directed

toward peaceful students surprised international diplomats and media but did not surprise the Albanians, who had been living under such circumstances for more than a decade. The student demonstrations attracted the attention of international diplomats. German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said that "Reflectors have turned to Kosovo!", meaning that the eyes of the world were on Kosovo. He also added that what was happening in Kosovo did not have to do only with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and that it was also a European issue (Zëri i Popullit, October 3, 1997). However, of extraordinary importance were the reactions of the presidency of the European Union, the US State Department, Congressman Eliot Engel and 25 other congressmen who sent a letter to Secretary of State Madeline Albright not only to keep sanctions on the FRY, but to intensify them even further after the violent intervention against the peaceful and civilized protest of students. American and UK embassy representatives encouraged and thanked the students for their high level of organization, saying that "we did not know that Kosovo has such an advanced youth." Here as well, Dugolli heard the words of the US representatives that the students had the "full support of the government of the USA" (Dugolli; November 2015). Only two weeks after the demonstrations, UPSUP leaders were invited to visit the USA. They met with the senior officers of the State Department, the EU Commission/Parliament, and officers of foreign affairs from different countries, etc. This made the student leaders a political factor in Kosovo. By 1997, it was already clear that the KLA or Kosovo Liberation Army [Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (UÇK)] was operating among the students at the UP (Mavraj, November 2015). Dugolli states that although active, until October 1, 1997 the KLA did not have more than 100 members. He also thinks that the KLA would not have been able to grow in size without the initial discrediting of the Serbian regime and the people's victory over their fear. Students did overcome their fear - thinks Dugolli – because they confronted a heavily armed regime with only empty hands. The UPSUP leadership was asked by US and European diplomats about the KLA. To these questions, Dugolli responded, "Do not consider them as terrorists; they are ordinary people who were forced to take up arms." When Gelbard asked if "there are students in this guerrilla group," Dugolli responded that "half of them are students" (Dugolli; November 2015). Indeed, some students were affiliated with the KLA, which, according to the Serbian regime, was considered a terrorist

organization. This was also how they were first characterized in the Western media.¹⁵⁴ However, it was a much more complex situation, and it was the unjustified violence of the Serbian regime that drove students to join the KLA. Despite the fact that especially after 1997, numerous students, including the UPSUP leaders, joined the KLA forces, this dissertation does not treat the developments after the student demonstrations of October 1997.¹⁵⁵ Here it should be emphasized, as already indicated above, that during the demonstrations of October 1, 1997, none of the students' slogans called for a "Republic of Kosovo." However, during later demonstrations, which continued on a smaller scale on October 29, 1997, December 30, 1997, and March 2, 9, 13, and 19, 1998, students and citizens also started chanting "Kosova Republik (Republic of Kosovo), "UÇK (KLA)" (Kurti, November 2015).

6.5. Conclusions

During the nineties, Kosovo Albanians were affected by the overall bizarre situation of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Actually, besides the effects of the demonstrations of 1984 highlighted in the fourth and fifteen chapters, SRS policies forced Albanians into even worse conditions. The trajectory of Albanian activism in Kosovo during the nineties was a response to Serbian policy as such. Even though the LDK's "parallel state" and student movements grew into a national movement, this cannot necessarily be considered to be a "nationalistic" mobilization. Both camps of Kosovo's national movement – the LDK and the first Republic of Kosovo, on the one hand, and the LDK's opponents, students, and the KLA, on the other – converged much more than it seemed at the time. The parallel state was a success in the sense that Serbia was removed from the very psyche of Kosovan people

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, Fabian Schmidt's OMRI report (No. 35, Part II, February 19, 1996) entitled "Kosovo Terrorist Group Claims Responsibility for Refugee Camp Bombing." Here it was claimed that a previously unknown terrorist group had claimed responsibility for the bombing of Serbian refugee camps in Kosovo on February 11 (see OMRI Daily Digest, 13 February). The Kosovo Liberation Army sent a letter to Rilindja saying the attacks were only a "first warning" to the Serbs, whom it accused of wanting to "colonize" the province, AFP reported on February 17. The group called on the international community to recognize the self-declared independence of the province. Meanwhile, an unidentified leader of the National Movement for the Liberation of Kosovo told Gazeta Shqiptare on February 18 that the group was preparing for a guerrilla war. Neither of these groups was supported by the main political formations in the province (see, Fabian Schmidt OMRI DAILY DIGEST).

¹⁵⁵ Those interested in learning more about this issue should see James Pettifer's recent book, which offers – mainly descriptive – information about the origins, development, and transformation of the KLA, including its spillover effects in Serbia and Macedonia in 2001. This source particularly focuses on the emergence of the KLA as a major military and political factor in the Kosovo crisis at the end of the 1990s (Pettifer, 2014).

who boycotted Serbia in every way possible and engendered their own republic. Without the long peaceful struggle and institutional resistance, Kosovo's people could not have achieved massive student mobilization and support for an armed struggle afterward. Education cuts across society, and, understandably, most of the people had been affected by years of an educational system under strain. Kosovo's young generation made up the majority of the people of Kosovo. It was students, along with some intellectuals and professors (some of whom had been LDK supporters at a certain point during the nineties), who realized that a more activist approach was needed to fight for the inalienable rights of people. Student leaders felt that the failure of the political elites obliged them to proceed with organizing active resistance and demonstrations. Although students aspired to hold peaceful demonstrations, which was also the policy promoted by Rugova, it can be successfully argued that their reactions were influenced by repression as well as by relations between Albanians and Serbs. Intellectually influenced by the ideas of active resistance as opposed to passive resistance, UPSUP leaders and UP students learned to challenge the regime's policies. Filled with the desire and energy to change the status quo, students established an OC, developed a platform, and managed to obtain the sympathy and trust of their professors, some local and international political actors, and, what is most important, the trust of their peers. By carefully selecting their slogans and focusing on demands for human rights, the students responded to the Serbian regime as well as to the LDK policies which had created a parallel state that – according to the students – was not leading anywhere. Student demands touched upon basic, fundamental human rights, namely asking for the right to education and normal living and study conditions. It was the first time since the earliest 1981 demonstrations that UP students did not demonstrate for high level political demands such as a republic. This may also be the reason that the UPSUP leaders managed to obtain international community support. Defeating fear and gaining the courage to act were two elements which united the students to protest. Before these movements, the social and political atmosphere in Kosovo was one of pessimism. The organizers of the demonstrations whom I interviewed declared that society and the students in particular were enraged that the political elites and their parallel system were not ready to risk their positions and that the international community did not pay appropriate attention to Kosovo. According to the organizers, the student movements created a new spirit and restored hope that youth could bring about change and that the Serbian regime could be defeated through

a massive mobilization of citizens. The students also sent the message to international media and diplomats that the people had gathered to demonstrate due to the difficulties that they were facing and not simply because they did not like Serbia or the LKD. The 1997 student movement in Kosovo, even though it was organized only by Kosovo Albanian citizens, had a democratic rather than a narrowly nationalist character. The organizers of the demonstrations declared that the university premises were theirs as well, which in turn also implied that Kosovo was theirs. The 1997 demonstrations did not ask for an ethnic Kosovo or for unification with Albania but rather demanded a democratic environment and that citizens should be the ultimate decision makers of their fates, however, they also believed that this was something that would only be feasible as long as the eyes and the protection of the West remained on Kosovo. These outspoken demands of the students unified national identity with democracy. Thus, the demonstrations had a positive impact on Kosovo for both the short term and the long term. Political elites in Kosovo were forced to reflect, and this increased intra-Albanian competition.

The events revealed the brutal nature of the Milošević's regime and also revealed to the region and the international community the predominantly peaceful culture of the Kosovo Albanian citizens at that point in time. At the same time, the rhetoric about dialogue and agreements by Belgrade and the LDK were exposed as empty. Due to its well-crafted approach, the student movement of 1997 can be considered in Kosovo's contemporary history as a phase between the passive politics of the LDK and emerging KLA militancy. Additionally, these marches were the Albanians' last effort in the FRY to gain their rights via peaceful movements. Afterward, it became clear that the only remaining way to emerge from the deadlocked situation was through active military resistance. However, because of the longstanding parallel system, the LDK still possessed the mechanisms and power to control political processes after the protests, as it happened. The LDK was a "tested partner" of the international community, and in any case, they would be their allies in the ensuing talks or consultations.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

By utilizing mainly historical approaches to exploring the Kosovo student movements (1968, 1981 and 1997), this dissertation has analyzed the politically determined conditions and contexts in which the student demonstrations occurred. Looking at these events from multiple perspectives, the impact of the Kosovo student demonstrations on the political lives of Kosovo, Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Albania has also been a focus of this dissertation. My conclusion is that the regime's repression, the political maturity of the students, and the overall political context affected the emergence of each demonstration and also framed the students' demands. Looking at the findings across the three sets of demonstrations, emerging from three different generations of students, reveals that it was not altogether clear at first whether the students wanted "unification with the Republic of Albania" or the establishment of a "Kosovo Republic" within the SFRY. Over time, however, there was a consolidation of the drive for a "Republic" and a marginalization of demands for unification with Albania.

After consulting video materials, library and archival sources from Kosovo, Albania, Serbia and Yugoslavia as well as utilizing insights from interviews conducted with activists, academics and politicians, I analyzed the students' struggles for "Republic" status for Kosovo during three different historical and political periods: the first was in 1968, when Kosovo experienced limited autonomy; the second was in the 1980s, a period of maximum autonomy; and the third was in the 1990s, a bizarre time of no autonomy, yet when Kosovo Albanians were nevertheless "free" to create their parallel state. I have disentangled the causes and consequences of each demonstration by looking at three distinct temporal phases: before, during and after each demonstration. In this manner I have analyzed the subjects related to the topic of this work and all of the many actors (students, citizens, and the regime, and, to some extent, international actors). By using micro-, meso- and macro-level paradigms, this dissertation has examined the students' emotions, experiences and identities and also presented the points of contention and convergence between various political, intellectual, and academic elites, on the one hand, and the students – especially what could be called student elites - on the other. Following the example of Greenberg's research on Serbian student movements as they transition their activism from the streets back into the halls of the university, I distinguished the role and place of students in the

wake of Kosovo's major critical events where students played a central role (Greenberg, 2014).

I have also described the influence of student movements both regionally and internationally. Furthermore, to aid in understanding the overall picture, I have outlined previous state transformations and relations between ethnicities living in the area. The roots of the tensions among Albanians and Serbs date back to an earlier period and are well documented, and they can be found in the claims of origin and other historical-political interests. Still, the Serbs' negative stereotypes of Albanians were, in the post-Tito period, fostered mainly by academic and political institutions, both of which were, either *de jure* or *de facto*, state-controlled. The continuous stigmatization of Albanians engendered hatred, distrust, and other negative consequences on both sides. After the Second World War (1945), pre-war tensions endured, given that the issue of Albanians in Yugoslavia remained inadequately defined. Although the political context was the trigger for the student demonstrations, it was within academic institutions that the protests actually erupted. Political and ethnic tensions influenced the disputes that Albanians and Serbs had about education. The issue of education in Kosovo had been closely tied to questions of political domination ever since its inception. This is why, historically, schools as well universities (in Kosovo, specifically the UP) stood for much more than just a place of learning. The challenges presented by the establishment of the UP and instruction in the Albanian language reveal Albanian and Serbian sensitivity regarding university-level education. The Kosovo Albanians' long-lasting lack of access to instruction in their native language resulted in their placing an even higher value on education. Consequently, when people from the educational sector – such as students – stood up for social or national causes, the people's support was enthusiastic.

This study confirms that Kosovo's student movements cannot be divorced from their global and regional contexts. Like other demonstrations of the sixties happening across the globe, those that took place in Kosovo fed off of one another. Thus, without the social movements of the sixties at the global and regional level, it is likely that the Kosovo social movement would not have occurred either. Moreover, the 1968 demonstrations provided a reference point for the demonstrations that later took place in 1981 and 1997.

However, in seeking to understand the emergence and development of social movements during the late 1960s, particularly those of Belgrade and Kosovo, the

comparative analysis here concludes that there were significant differences among the student movements of the sixties. The geographical, political, historical and social contexts in which the demonstrations took place determined the nature of the students' demands, whether they were for social change, justice, or geared toward nationalistic impulses. Thus, in the United States and Western Europe, depending on location, youth aspired to move away from capitalism or war, or toward civil rights. Meanwhile their SFRY counterparts sought "better implementation of Communism," and their counterparts in Kosovo, the status of a "Republic."¹⁵⁶

In the case of the demonstrations in Prishtina, I tracked the interaction between the state(s), the university and the students. After the Second World War (post-1945), the Albanians' initial demands were for the unification of Kosovo with Albania, but during the mid-sixties (1966), Prishtina started demanding the advancement of Kosovo's constitutional position within the SFRY, which was expressed by the slogan "Kosovo Republic." Even though the students were the ones who publicly demanded it, the idea for a "Republic of Kosovo" came from the political and academic elites. However, the students' spirit pushed forward an issue that was already being discussed. Yet, even though the demonstrations themselves were carried out by the students, the Kosovo Albanian communist elites and university professors can be considered to be the "real" organizers behind the demonstrations of 1968. The relationships between Kosovo and Albania and between the Albanian "progressivists" and the "illegal groups" were quite complex, but even without specific coordination, both parties, who can be characterized as "Titoists" and "Enverists" respectively, demanded the advancement of the rights of Albanians within the SFRY via the student demonstrations of 1968. The Republic of Albania, which was seen by many Kosovo Albanians as their only savior, did interact with the illegal groups or students, some of whom were also the organizers of the demonstrations. However, Enver Hoxha prioritized his own political interests and also was of the belief that a "Republic of Kosovo" would not solve the problem of Albanians in the SFRY (AMFA 360/1968). Whether it was coordinated or not, the interaction between Kosovo's political representatives, professors, and students, managed to harmonize various interests among Kosovo Albanians. This harmonious moment created the space for students to proceed with their slogans calling for

¹⁵⁶ It is worth noting that while, for example, the civil rights movement of the US involved both black and white citizens agitating for equality, the Albanian movement in Kosovo did not include Serbs.

“Kosova Republik” (Republic of Kosovo). Nevertheless, when the demand for “Republic” was refused by the leadership of the LCY, without any huge consequences for the Kosovo communist elites that stood behind it, the “progressivists” abandoned the students and their vision for a “Republic of Kosovo.” The politicians sat on their hands, leaving the students alone in their quest for a “Republic of Kosovo.” However, because of these demonstrations, some successes were achieved, including a general relaxation of relations with Albania and the agreement of cooperation with the University of Tirana. The demonstrations also sped up the opening of the UP. The biggest accomplishment was the approval of the SFRY’s constitution (1974), which defined Kosovo as a constitutional element of the SFRY.

Another of the successes following on the heels of the 1968 demonstrations was the establishment of the UP. It is important to note that the two major ethnicities within Kosovo, and, later, each political ideology in the region (the SFRY’s, the SRS’s and the Republic of Albania’s) closely equated the role of higher education with their own objectives for political domination. The promotion of their own specific political ideology seems to have been the primary interest of multiple parties involved in the struggle to establish and then dominate the UP. While the SFRY leadership proclaimed a “brotherhood and unity” platform or “Titoism,” the Republic of Albania promoted nationalist ideas about a “perfect” Albania and “Enverism.” Even though it functioned to some extent as an academic institution, given that most of the cadres working in Kosovo’s public sector were educated in this university, the UP became an arena where different political forces struggled for control. Exchanges of cadres and literature as well as the joint cultural activities of the UP and the UT had tremendous effects on the political orientation of the students and the Kosovo’s wider public. It is not surprising that Kosovo students would be more inclined to absorb and prioritize the ideas they received through the literature and lectures of professors from the Republic of Albania rather than those of the SFRY, whose messages of brotherhood and unity were belied by their actual long-standing, discriminatory treatment of Kosovo Albanians. The political circumstances in the SFRY during the 1970s, as well as the interaction of politicians, academics, and the students, made the UP a critical venue for imagining and articulating national ideals, and as Anderson maintains, “Once imagined, they are modeled, adapted and transformed” (Anderson 1991: 157).

As for the demonstrations of March and April 1981 in Prishtina, they started as an impulsive and unplanned action in the dining hall by students dissatisfied with their living

conditions but ended as a general popular movement aimed at securing a Republic of Kosovo. I have traced and documented the direct involvement of different interest groups in the organization of the demonstrations, but the question of who the “real” organizers of these events were remains to be completely answered; nevertheless, my findings indicate that the students did not act alone. It seems obvious that a great variety of different actors were involved, including, possibly, actors from beyond the borders of the SFRY. It is likely that the “real” organizers of these movements will only be able to be determined after the opening of top-secret materials from the archives of the SFRY, the SRS, the Republic of Kosovo, the Republic of Albania, and possibly the Soviet Union, etc. Top-secret documents are typically opened 50 years after being archived; if or when these materials are released, they may be able to offer credible answers to the hypothetical scenarios that have been posited in relation to the organization of student movements of 1981. The state security services of all the countries affected by these demonstrations are expected to have been and probably were active, but existing evidence is insufficient to determine whether and which of them might have played a decisive role or even been leading the process. The student demonstrations of 1981 were among the bloodiest. While the student organizers and political leaders survived this tumultuous episode and continued to make “contributions,” the highest price, as noted in §4.4.2.2 and §4.5, was paid by innocent high school students, five of whom were killed in these demonstrations, together with two factory workers, one retiree and one university student.

The 1981 demonstrations brought the Kosovo communist elites to the point where they had to choose between joining the students in their demands for a “Republic of Kosovo” or sticking with the SFRY political platform, which rejected the Albanians’ demands for a “Republic.” The Kosovo political elites – and, the vast majority of academics – opted to follow the SFRY platform. This decision led first to their involvement in severe repressive measures against their compatriots and later to their abandonment by their Yugoslav “brothers in unity.”

By reinstalling their military presence in Kosovo, the SRS managed to complete one of their main goals. After the demonstrations of 1981, Serbian chauvinism entered a new phase. My findings document the SRS’s “re-occupation” of state security institutions and, at the same time, their insistence on blocking Kosovo authorities from calming the situation

after the student demonstrations, blaming them as collaborators with the “counterrevolutionary forces.”

With respect to the communist leadership of the Republic of Albania, during 1981 they too prioritized their own political interests. The Republic of Albania wrote a few articles in their country's official newspaper in support of the demands of the students and declaring the SFRY regime's interventions to be brutal and inhumane, but afterward the Republic of Albania immediately resumed its efforts to manipulate the Kosovo Albanian diaspora; one of the main purposes seemed to be defending the Albanian Worker's Party from opposition movements, which were active in exile. It is evident that at least during 1968 and 1981, youth and political “illegal groups” in Kosovo misjudged the relationship with the ideology promoted by Tirana. They idealized the Republic of Albania and Enver Hoxha not just as political models, but as national models, in terms of their identification with the nation-state. Still, the evidence of NATO's blaming Russia for having its finger in the organization of the 1981 student movements in Kosovo is a reminder that one should not forget that these events can also be considered as a local level "war" between two concepts or ideologies for future dominance in this part of the globe. The demonstrations of 1981 destabilized and contributed to great changes both in the SFRY and in Kosovo. These events provoked further the already existing nationalism of both the Kosovo Albanian and general Serbian sides. The student movements also exposed the SFRY's weaknesses after Tito's death and served as evidence that this federation could only have survived under the authority of Tito or a similar figure. However, Albanian students and members of illegal groups, together with the demonstrations taking place in the USA and other European countries by Albanians in the diaspora, managed to internationalize demands for a Republic of Kosovo. Additionally, these movements marked the beginning of resistance by Albanian intellectuals, something that ultimately developed into self-organized parallel institutions during the nineties.

During the nineties, SRS policies placed Albanians in even more dire straits. In response and under the leadership of the LDK, Kosovo established a parallel state. This parallel state may be considered a success story, given that the Kosovar people's total boycott of Serbia led to strengthened bonds among the people and a pride in their own self-reliance, which ultimately helped them to engender their own republic. UP students eventually came to the conclusion that the political elites' “passive resistance” approach

was a failure, which is why they came to initiate active resistance through demonstrations. As compared to their colleagues of 1968 and 1981, who proclaimed themselves to be “Enverists,” this time UP students had been intellectually influenced by the ideas of Gandhi, Malcolm X, etc. In their preparations to challenge the regime's policies, the students established an Organizing Council, developed a platform, and managed to gain the sympathy and trust of their professors, some local and international political actors, and, most important, the trust of their peers. The slogans they deployed during demonstrations mainly touched upon basic, fundamental human rights, the right to education and normal living and studying conditions. Again, it was the student movements of 1997 that restored Kosovo Albanian hopes that youth could bring about change and that a massive mobilization of the citizens could defeat the Serbian regime. Through well-organized demonstrations, students channeled the message to the international media and diplomats that students were not willing to study in private houses anymore. The slogans of the demonstrations of October 1, 1997 contained no calls for a Republic of Kosovo or unification with Albania, but by referring to the universal declaration of human rights, students appealed to the West to watch over and safeguard their rights. The demonstrations of 1997 mark the moment when Kosovo moved from passive resistance to active resistance. The Serbian regime's brutal response to the students' peaceful protests exposed its true nature. These actions, followed by smaller-scale protests on October 29, and in December 1997 and March 1998, where banners were raised calling for “Kosova Republik” (Republic of Kosovo), “UÇK” (KLA), etc., marked Kosovo Albanians' final effort to achieve their liberty through peaceful action. Afterward, it became clear that the only option left to them to accomplish their goal of a “Republic of Kosovo” was active military resistance.

What my dissertation has made clear is that in each period — 1968, 1981, and 1997 — the trigger for the demonstrations was not political in and of itself, but in each case the demonstrations were quickly harnessed for — or passed on to — political purposes. That the groundwork had been laid for these political purposes is clear, but the initial cause of each demonstration was an issue specific to the students. In 1968, it was access to instruction in their mother tongue, in 1981 it was the terrible living conditions at the UP, and in 1997 it was a combination of both of these factors. In each case, the atmosphere of oppression made it easy for these demonstrations to be turned to larger political purposes. Moreover, it can be argued that in each instance the conditions against which the students

initially protested were the results of political or politically-motivated decisions. In 1968 and 1997 this is obvious, but it can easily be argued that the conditions protested against in 1981 were a result of state decisions, since the state controlled all the resources. In the 1981 case, it is clear that there were external factors at work as well, while in the first and last cases, the situation is less clear-cut. However, in each instance, the initial issue was student-specific. Student-specific grievances reflected larger social issues, and the student demonstrations could therefore be easily directed toward those issues. As for “political maturity,” this was very clearly demonstrated in the 1997 demonstrations, but it seems to me that the 1968 and 1981 demonstrations reflected a mixture of both maturity and naivete: they possessed the maturity to be aware of and demand their human and national rights, while at the same time being naïve enough that a political actor like the Republic of Albania was able to manipulate them for its own purposes reflected a mixture of both maturity and naivete.

This work confirms the essential role of the students in passing along the vision of a “Republic” from one generation to another. The students were not the originators but rather the realizers of the vision for the Republic of Kosovo. Even though all three student demonstrations grew into national movements, one cannot – at least easily – categorize them as “nationalistic” movements. One can also argue that the activism of Kosovo Albanian students primarily emerged in response to the Yugoslav and later Serbian discriminatory policies against ethnic Albanians living in the SFRY. Also, Kosovo students did not demonstrate against, express any animosity toward or – at least publicly – commit any harm against Serbian students and the Serbian population living in Kosovo at that time. Instead, they mobilized against the system(s) which, they believed, had left Kosovo as the poorest region in the federation and the Albanians in the SFRY without a republic, even though, according to the statistics, Albanians were more numerous than Macedonians and Montenegrins, both of whom enjoyed the right of having their own republics within the SFRY. It must be noted that the SRS accused the Kosovo Albanians of forcing Serbian and Montenegrin citizens to “escape” from Kosovo.

One of the charges leveled against the UP, in particular the departments of history and linguistics, was that it promoted nationalist teachings and the indoctrination of the students. It is true that after the students (and their professors) were forced out of the UP and established a parallel university, they were not only able to receive instruction in their

native language but were more at liberty to explore their own history and culture. Nevertheless, this charge ignores the fact that, historically, national movements have largely been inspired by ideas of the enlightenment, a period of history that would obviously be part of the curriculum of any good history department. They have been movements of social equity and directed discriminatory practices directed against groups considered as belonging to the lower echelons of a society. Yes, seen historically, movements of social unrest and dissent are always liable to take a national turn, especially when social divides coincide with cultural and linguistic divides.

A close examination of the dynamics of the demonstrations – their dimensions, forms, and implications – reveals the close interconnections between higher education (the UP), political influences, and the students. It also reveals the involvement of other actors with their own goals, confirming struggles for dominance by local (Kosovo), federal (SFRY), regional (Albania and Serbia) and international actors (outside the Balkans). This dissertation shows that while the state(s) and elites had power-related interests, the students were the principal actors fighting for and making sacrifices for basic freedoms and human rights: they were first line of resistance. Lacking a well-defined political identity, it appears that they chose to line up behind such “big names” as political [“progressivists” (1968), “illegal groups” (1968, 1981)] or academic elites [Professor Statovci (1997), etc.], as the easiest route to get their message across and to achieve their goals. It is certain, however, that the students played a crucial role in preserving and passing on from one generation to another the vision of a "Republic." Without this vision, Kosovo would not be a state today. The contribution of politicians or academics cannot be neglected, but students arguably did the hardest work and paid the highest price.

This study also shows that the excessive and inappropriate use of force to which the SFRY and SRS regimes resorted did not solve the problem. On the contrary, it provoked a backlash and served to mobilize students and society alike. Aside from the deaths of one student in 1968 and nine protestors in 1981, from 1981 to 1988 alone (as noted in §5.1 and §6.1) over 580,000 individuals passed through the police and courts as part of the campaign against "Albanian nationalism and irredentism," and thousands of students and Kosovo Albanian citizens received sentences ranging from thirty days to fourteen years of imprisonment (Kullashi 1996; 65, 66). As it turns out, there was a significant correlation between the regime’s repression and brutality and the Kosovo Albanians’ mobilization to

resist: the greater the violence, the greater the mobilization and resistance. State repression is an important element in the emergence of social movements. Yet, in the case of Kosovo Albanians – a historically repressed society – it can be seen that apart from repression, political awareness was also a key element in the emergence of social movements. It is thus not surprising that social movements are more likely to emerge in more highly educated societies. This is why in 1968, 1981 as well as in 1997, the readiness to initiate organized resistance originated among the students, who were the most politically aware, active, and, in some respects, mature part of Kosovo's society. Memories of prior student struggles influenced new generations by providing positive and negative experiences upon which to reflect as well as examples of heroes and villains.

Epilogue

As has already been highlighted, this dissertation opens ways for future research on the UP's role during the period 1999–2020. Furthermore, given that this is an empirical study, using mainly historical approaches, a certain type of theoretical analysis could be also developed here given that the empirical data is available to make that kind of study as well. The dissertation contains material to contribute toward further discussions on social movements, nationalism and state theories. This epilogue is meant to identify the potential of the present work in terms of theoretical engagement, which would enhance the usefulness of this study for academics and intellectuals coming from other disciplines or theoretical backgrounds.

Benedict Anderson's specific quote is repeated intentionally in this dissertation when referring to the national ideals that are being constructed or imagined in the process of struggle and mobilization: "once imagined, they are modeled, adapted and transformed" (Anderson 1991: 157). There is a potential to work out these ideas through the rich empirics assembled in this study. As highlighted by Dr. Koenraad Bogaert in his examination report for this dissertation, further elaboration of this concept could provide stronger theoretical argument linking the "imagination-work" done by the student mobilizations to the historical processes discussed in the second chapter and the conclusion at the end "it was the importation of western values that destroyed these Ottoman values". For those interested to expand further in this regard, there is a rich literature on the (cross-national) diffusion of ideas in social movements (e.g. McAdam & Rucht, 1993) or the resonance of struggles and the ideas they spread (e.g. Roos and Oikonomakis, 2014).

When it comes to the state theories, more engagement with the academic literature can be done in this area as well, including with the so-called "anthropology of the state" literature (Sharma and Gupta, 2006). This dissertation's analysis discusses how students related and reacted to the multiple levels of state presence since 1968. However, building on Althusser's (1971) theory of the state, in which state power is disseminated through ideological state apparatuses that rely on school, education, religion, and family, the formation of social movements in Kosovo under Socialist Yugoslavia and their transformations in the "post-Yugoslav (1990-1997)" could be further examined. With regard to the multiple parties involved in the struggle for RK, post-structural theories of the state could also be involved. Especially borrowing on Foucault's concept of

governmentality to describe the organized practices (mentalities, rationalities, and techniques) through which subjects are governed or made governable (Foucault 2000). A deeper and more critical engagement with this body of literature could not only theorize, but would also greatly enhance the wider relevance of the data and detailed work the dissertation has assembled. Moreover, Dr. Koenraad Bogaert also specifies that a deeper theoretical insight into the structures of the state and the political economy would also allow more profound reflections about the strategies of mobilization, the use or provocations of violence and the widely discussed relationship between agency and structure.

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Atdhe Hetemi (November 30, 2015) personal interview with Muhamet Mavraj in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (December 05, 2015) personal interview with Jakup Krasniqi in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (December 10, 2015) personal interview with Ethem Çeku in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (December 16, 2015) personal interview with Rexhep Qosja in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (December 23, 2015) personal interview with Hydajet Hyseni in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (December 24, 2015) personal interview with Gani Koci in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (January 2016) personal interview with Bexhet Shala in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (January 2016) as a part of interview, I was suggested by Driton Lajçi to use his insights about the same topic, shared with Newspaper Epoka e Re, during October 2005.

Atdhe Hetemi (January 21, 2016) personal interview with Jusuf Buxhovi in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (February 23, 2016) personal interview with Dušan Janjić in Belgrade

Atdhe Hetemi (March 4, 2016) interview with Petrit Imami in Belgrade

Atdhe Hetemi (May 15, 2016) personal interview with with Afrim Krasniqi in Tirana

Atdhe Hetemi (May 19, 2016) personal interview with with Shkelzen Maliqi in Tirana

Atdhe Hetemi (May 25, 2016) personal interview with Denisa Kostovicova in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (June, 3 2016) personal interview with Paskal Milo in Tirana

Atdhe Hetemi (March 1, 2017) personal interview with Sabile Keçmezi-Basha in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (March 16, 2017) personal interview with Rexhep Ismajli in Prishtina

Atdhe Hetemi (March 23, 2017) personal interview with Mejreme Shema in Prishtina

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Atdhe Hetemi (March 25, 2017) personal interview with Faton Abazi in Ferizaj

Atdhe Hetemi (April 11, 2017) personal interview with Ilmi Hetemi in Ferizaj

Atdhe Hetemi (February 20, 2018) personal interview with Agim Bytyqi in Ferizaj

Atdhe Hetemi (February 20, 2018) personal interview with Halil Ismajli in Ferizaj

Atdhe Hetemi (February 22, 2018) online interview with Abdulla Prapashtica

Atdhe Hetemi (March 13, 2019) personal interview with Muhamet Hamiti in Arizona, USA

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