



ALBANIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE 1981 DEMONSTRATIONS IN KOSOVO

Sabit Sylai¹

Associate Professor for Century XX
Institute of History "Ali Hadri" - Pristina
Contemporary History Department Pristina, Kosovo

Abstract:

The paper will be dealt with Albania's stance on the demonstrations held in Kosovo in 1981, largely based on archival documents state that the Albanian Government, documents from the Archives of Kosovo, etc. There are archive documents in the archives of this site as valuable sources of historical handwriting, which help to make scientific analyzes and conclusions more reliable and more durable in the face of time and true historiographical criticism. From these documents seen numerous segments of the research of the general circumstances of the study in 1981. Based on the documents of these funds, the Republic of Albania have followed with great attention, all developments in Kosovo, and had obtained confidential data from all possible sources...! Therefore, we conclude that such a work of untreated until now (on the basis of the aforementioned documents), will be contributing part of historiography.

Keywords: Albania, Yugoslavia, Kosovo, demonstrations, 1981

1. Introduction

The 1981 demonstrations constitute one of the most important events of the history of the Albanian people. After 1968 and the adoption of the 1974 federal constitution, Kosovo Albanians were oriented to consolidate and consolidate autonomous political, economic and cultural institutions. Meanwhile constitutional changes and political processes were temporary. Despite developments, Kosovo's status compared to other republics of Yugoslavia was again low, which left the gap between Kosovo and other

¹ Correspondence: email sabitsyla@hotmail.com

federal units unblocked. The concern and efforts of Kosovo Albanians for prosperity, hand-held, were focused at some point to be independent of Serbia and to achieve the status of the Republic. Albanians seeking the status of the Republic of Kosovo and working for its realization were arrested and imprisoned. According to various Albanian and Yugoslav archive sources in 1974-1981, more than 600 Albanians were arrested for nationalist activitiesⁱⁱ. Notwithstanding a year since the 1974 Constitution, the Serbian RS Presidency organized a commission to oppose the 1974 constitutional solutions to the status of the provinces and their relationship with Serbia. In the Yugoslav Federation, Kosovo remained the most backward region in all economic indicators. In 1979, producer capacity per inhabitant in Kosovo was 7.2 times below the federal level and 16 times below that of Slovenia. In 1980, the national income per capita in Kosovo accounted for 28.1% of the Yugoslav average. The economic policy of Yugoslav leadership was different with the practice followed in other federal units. It was essentially a colonialist policy. On the other hand, Kosovo's aspirations for independent life became more and more compelling. Dissatisfaction with Serbian nationalist power included all sections of Kosovo's population. Political volumes in Kosovo had emerged from time to time. The 1981 demonstrations that exploded in the spring of 1981 were the result of this process. Initially, they broke out as social protests on the evening of 11 March at the student center in Pristina. The first wave of protests ran back and dissatisfaction among students grew every day. On March 26 students from the student center were poured into the streets of Pristina. With them were joined the high school students, workers even the villagers. The slogans of March 11 were: "*We want bread, we want conditions*" and on 26 March and 1 April the slogans evolved into: "*Below the bourgeoisie*", "*Long live the working class*", "*Long live brotherhood of the Albanian people*", "*All Albanian territories*", "*We are Albanians and not Yugoslavs*", "*Enough with the use of Trepça* ", "*Trepça works, Belgrade builds*"ⁱⁱⁱ. In this variety of requests stood a foundation - the Republic of Kosovo. The number of demonstrators reached thousands, as demonstrations on April 1-2 April exploded in other centers in Kosovo. Meanwhile, students continued to demonstrate on the streets of Pristina, and firearms were used. They were killed and wounded, and many demonstrators were jailed.

The Kosovo Provincial Committee assessed the March 11 demonstrations as revolts of a social character, and later in both Kosovo and the Federation these demonstrations were called "irredentist" and "counterrevolutionary". From the federation the signal was clear had to start the process of political differentiation. The University of Pristina was labeled as a castle of Albanian nationalism. Political

ⁱⁱ Grup autorësh, *Historia e popullit shqiptar vëll. IV, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë dhe Instituti i Historisë*, Tiranë: 2008, f. 343-348.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Po aty*.

differentiation was fierce; over 300 prominent intellectuals were isolated. The demonstrations of March-April 1981 were severely drowned and cost very high. The use of firearms tanks against the demonstrators seeking the Republic of Kosovo revealed to the world that the democratic facade of Yugoslavia was false.

The 1981 demonstrations not only shocked Yugoslavia but did not leave them indifferent, neither the countries of Western European, eastern, Scandinavian, Asian, African and US states. The influence, role and size of the spring of 1981 in Kosovo, in international terms, is more than a demonstration with one country (such as Kosovo), more than with a state like Yugoslavia, more than a continent. Because the events reflected in the chain. Such were the political, economic, diplomatic, historical and geopolitical circumstances of that time in the Balkans and Europe. Not only the Western European, eastern, Scandinavian, etc., but also the two superpowers of the time - the US and the USSR - have not remained indifferent to the events of 1981.

Different European and world countries, with similar and simultaneous, sometimes different, and contradictory attitudes, emerged depending on the context, economic, political, ideological and strategic contexts and depending on different positions and interests. Attitudes were different to the "western bloc", from those of the eastern bloc. This is due to ideological, strategic, economic and other spheres of interest. They also vary because of the conceptual differences for the state, for state regulation, for political, economic, etc. concepts. Against this background contradictions Between East and West, between the US and BS emerge as quickly and so lightly on the surface for the events that took place in Kosovo. There were different views of the West, East, Scandinavian, Asian and African countries, and US attitudes to those of the BS.

In particular, demonstrations of March and April 1981 were echoed especially in the People's Republic of Albania, which not only praised the demonstrators' demands, but condemned unequivocally and decisively position the Yugoslav authorities toward them. This was received with outrage in Yugoslav circles, which accused Albania of standing behind the demonstrations in Kosovo, who lived under the occupation of Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia it was also thought that Albania would remain silent, having in mind the concrete circumstances surrounding the development of those events that were related to the country and the role of Yugoslavia in relations with Albania, its absence without a great ally after the collapse of relations with China etc. However, the events turned differently. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Government of the Republic of Albania held a very critical attitude towards Yugoslavia and in particular to Serbian politics.

2. Albania's attitude towards the 1981 demonstrations in Kosovo

Albania attended with special attention the demonstrations conducted in Kosovo in 1981, exercising its national and international role. The Kosovo issue was brought to the state's governing bodies and a series of measures were taken to track and reflect on the developments. Following the March 11 demonstration of the Students of the University of Pristina, Tirana asked its Embassy in Belgrade to inform what happened in Pristina. On March 16, diplomatic missions were announced for the demonstration and were instructed to be careful not to pronounce and not to defend any group. On March 17, the issue was discussed at the Foreign Ministry, analyzing many previous phenomena, especially during February and early March (February 8 strike of 40 employees in Obiliq, "Long live PPSH" slogans written in the corridors of dormitories girls at Pristina University), etc.^{iv}, 21 and March 23 in the newspaper "Bashkimi"^v, wrote two articles, as "armed heroic War of the army of the Albanian League of Prizren"^{vi} and "Strength of Albanian patriotism"^{vii}. On March 23, all diplomatic representations were informed of the content of these two articles. Also on March 23, the Embassy in Belgrade was instructed to analyze all the data on the events of 11-12 March at the University of Pristina and send a material with its thoughts. On March 28, the diplomatic representations of the March 25 demonstrations were briefed, ordering them carefully, according to the previous instruction and requesting them to inform them immediately and about anything related to those events. On March 31, another analysis was made based on the data so far held for the demonstrations of 25 March in Prizren and March 26 in Pristina and in many other municipalities, comparing the 1968 demonstrations and Yugoslav attitudes of that time with those of the 1981 census^{viii}.

On April 4, the Albanian ambassador to Belgrade, Sokrat Plaka, was instructed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the position he should keep regarding the developments in Kosovo. According to the instructions, the Albanian ambassador had to seek immediate meeting with the Deputy Foreign Secretary of Foreign Affairs and among other things to emphasize: *"I find that the relations between our two countries are normally conducted in the spirit of good neighborly politics ... Albania has no Interfered with and did not interfere with the internal affairs of Yugoslavia ... From different press organs I*

^{iv} Arkivi i Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme të Shqipërisë (më tej: AMPJ), viti 1981, dos. 1140/1, f. 230-231. Informacion mujor për muajin prill 1981, nga Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme.

^v Organ Qendror i Frontit Demokratikë të Shqipërisë.

^{vi} Ejup Gashi, *Bashkimi*, 21 mars 1981, Nr. 68, f. 3.

^{vii} Petrit Skënderi, *Bashkimi*, 23 mars 1981, Nr. 70 (10 962), f. 3.

^{viii} AMPJ, viti 1981, dos. 1140/1, f. 230-231. Informacion mujor për muajin prill 1981, nga Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme.

learned about the events in Kosovo, both for the demonstrations and the measures taken ... You have to make clear our position, Albania does not have There has been no interference, nor is there any relation to the events taking place in Kosovo ... We do not interfere in your affairs, but I think it would also be for the benefit of Kosovo and Federal Yugoslavia not to follow the path of strikes And of the repressive measures ... the right demands, stemming from the constitution of the FRS of Yugoslavia, which are legitimate to get to know Albanians living in Yugoslavia"^{ix}. Also, on April 4, Albanian diplomats were instructed not to shut their mouths for Kosovo, but to speak to them as they learned from the press, to point out that Albania has no clue to the events and to deny the allegations of one or the other about it They estimate that the events in Kosovo are the result of a bad situation and human rights abuses that gives the constitution, asking them to resolve the demands of Kosovars, according to the constitution and not to create difficulties, etc^x. On April 5, the meeting of the Politburo was summoned on the events of recent days in Kosovo and the measures to be taken. The Bureau on this issue all agreed to write an article in the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit", to condemn violence against Serbian and Yugoslav students and the people of Kosovo^{xi}. The article in question was published on April 8 titled: "*Why were using tanks and police violence against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo?*"^{xii}. Meanwhile, on April 23 it was written the article, "*Who incites hostility between the peoples of Yugoslavia?*"^{xiii}.

The radiographs and the circular letter "Guidelines on recent events in Kosovo and embassy tasks" of 14 April 1981 instructed the embassies on how they should work to be able to argue the positions of the Albanian state on the issue Kosovo to provide broader and more accurate information on events, to better organize work with Albanians in countries where they are, to better understand Albanian emigration from Kosovo and other areas and to put the work of representations in this regard on the basis organized, etc^{xiv}.

On May 13, 1981, the Political Bureau met. The meeting agreed to a third article follows two previous articles published in the "Zëri i Popullit", on 8 and 23

^{ix} AMPJ, viti 1981, dos. 1154, f. 214-216. Udhëzim nga ministri Nesti Nase, Ambasadës së Shqipërisë në Beograd-Sokrat Plaka, 4 prill 1981.

^x AMPJ, viti 1981, dos. 1140/1, f. 230-231. Informacion mujor për muajin prill 1981, nga Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme.

^{xi} Enver Hoxha, *Ditar për çështje ndërkombëtare...*, nr. 13, f. 370.

^{xii} *Zëri i Popullit*, 8 prill 1981, Nr. 55 (10 196), f. 4.

^{xiii} *i Popullit*, 23 prill 1981, Nr. 96 (10 209), f. 3.

^{xiv} AMPJ, viti 1981, dos. 1140/1, f. 231-232. Informacion nga Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme për masat që u morën për ndjekjen dhe pasqyrimin e ngjarjeve në Kosovë si dhe për drejtimin e punës së ambasadave.

April^{xv}. Article which was published on May 17, entitled: "The demand to recognize Kosovo status of a republic is right"^{xvi}. In the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit"^{xvii}, in addition to three aforementioned items during May and June flooded a number of other articles devoted to demonstrations and generally the Kosovo issue: "*The voice of science and the smell of chauvinism*"^{xviii}, "*The world press about events in Kosovo*"^{xix}, "*the Kosovo events and secret cooperation Soviet-Great Serbia*"^{xx}, "*An impartial witness tells demonstrations in Pristina*"^{xxi}, "*Democracy under machine guns*"^{xxii}, "*Who is against cultural cooperation between Albania and Yugoslavia*"^{xxiii}, "*Piedmont proper, "Piedmont" Yugoslav, "Piedmont big-albanian*"^{xxiv}, "*Titoist Yugoslavia, the sick man of the Balkans, urges the Albanian-Greek hostility*"^{xxv}, "*the truth about the economic and trade relations between Albania and Yugoslavia*"^{xxvi} "*unmasked the lies fabricated in Belgrade*"^{xxvii}, etc.

In the first announcement given by the Agency Albanian Telegraphic (ATA), began publicity of Albania's stance and proportions took more and more things after the publication of the "People's Voice articles", 8 and 23 April and 17 May 1981. In the aforementioned articles, the Government of Albania, in a friendly manner and in the framework of the policy of good neighborly relations, has requested from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to stop terrorism, killings, massacres, torture and mass detentions of Kosovars by Of the Serbian police. He also called on the Yugoslavs to lower the blood, to keep cool and not to alienate Albanians. In these three basic articles of "Zëri i Popullit" and in other articles, official Tirana gave a strong support to the Albanian people of Kosovo for his rights. The only right choice for the Kosovo problem was what was said in the articles of "Zëri i Popullit": Ending violence and Serbian police oppression; Remove curfew and withdraw police and military forces from Kosovo; To return their slain to their families and to release the prisoners; To review the demands of the people of Kosovo calmly and to be fairly elected; to recognize Kosovo status republic with all the attributes that recognizes the Yugoslav constitution for the

^{xv} *Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit Shqiptar* (më tej: AQSh), Fondi: 14/APOU, viti 1981, dos. 117, f. 40-50.

Procesverbal i Mbledhjes së Byrosë Politike, 13 maj 1981.

^{xvi} *Po aty*, f. 1-39; *Zëri i Popullit*, 17 maj 1981.

^{xvii} Organ i Komitetit Qendror të PPSH-së.

^{xviii} *Zëri i Popullit*, 26 maj 1981, Nr. 124 (10 237), f. 4.

^{xix} *Zëri i Popullit*, 31 maj 1981, Nr. 129 (10 242), f. 4; *Zëri i Popullit*, 13 qershor 1981, Nr. 140 (10 253), f. 4.

^{xx} *Zëri i Popullit*, 5 qershor 1981, Nr. 133 (10 246), f. 4.

^{xxi} *Po aty*.

^{xxii} *Po aty*.

^{xxiii} *Zëri i Popullit*, 7 qershor 1981, Nr. 133 (10 248), f. 4.

^{xxiv} *Zëri i Popullit*, 9 qershor 1981, Nr. 136 (10 249), f. 4.

^{xxv} *Zëri i Popullit*, 11 qershor 1981, Nr. 138 (10 251), f. 4.

^{xxvi} *Zëri i Popullit*, 12 qershor 1981, Nr. 139 (10 252), f. 4.

^{xxvii} *Zëri i Popullit*, 16 qershor 1981, Nr. 142 (10 255), f. 4.

other republics, etc. also Hoxha in his Diary on 9 May 1981 wrote: "*Autonomous Province of Kosovo should become a republic, it had to break away from the tutelage of the Socialist Republic of Serbia*"^{xxviii}. Albania's communist leadership also analyzed the main causes of the explosion of demonstrations. It emphasized: a) Kosovo's great economic backwardness and its exploitation by developed republics, especially from Serbia ... b) the continuing worsening of livelihoods of the masses, especially in recent years, of raising Rampant prices and rising inflation, and so on.

In this context, it was also noted the very difficult material position of the students of the University of Pristina compared to the students of other universities of Yugoslavia. c) Nationalization of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia as a result of Serbian-Chavinian politics, lack of democratic freedom and political rights of Albanian nationality compared to other nations and nationalities. ç) The aspirations and demands of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia for national and social liberation, which have always been on the rise as a result of increasing national-social awareness. The Albanian population has never agreed with those little "right" that has given Yugoslav constitution^{xxix}.

The Tirana leadership praised the demonstrations in Kosovo first as a failure of Yugoslav politics in Kosovo as a result of the policy pursued to the Albanian territories under Yugoslavia, treating them as parcels of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. These events, once again underlined with great force the "*success*" of the Titi politics for the "*fair resolution of the national issue*" in Yugoslavia. Secondly, the Albanian leadership praised the tradition and determination that had been created for Albanians under Yugoslavia during the last decade, which was consolidating, being the master of its fate. She was able to use all the means of political and social warfare to challenge Yugoslavia's politics and demagoguery for the fulfillment of its centuries-old aspirations. It was seen as a move that would continue in the future which would be capable of imposing Yugoslavia and at least to force it to pursue a fairer policy towards the Albanian cause. Thirdly, the mass participation of Albanians in demonstrations, which belonged to all sections of the population, was highlighted, especially by young people, school and student youth. Fourthly, it was highly valued by the demonstrators' determination to be aware of the consequences and punishment they could get from the Serbian and Yugoslav state authorities. Fifth, national awareness seemed to have

^{xxviii} E. Hoxha, *Ditar për çështje ndërkombëtare...*, nr. 13, f. 455.

^{xxix} *AMPJ*, viti 1981, dos. 1140/1, f. 130. Relacion, "Qëndrimi i PPSH dhe i RPSH ndaj Jugosllavisë, marrëdhëniet shtetërore dhe ideologjike".

reached a high degree. Albanians do not believe me Titoite demagogy and its predictions for the resolution of national and social issues in Kosovo^{xxx}.

3. Role and influence in the international aspect

The role of the Albanian state on the Kosovo issue, to reveal the truth about what actually happened in March and April 1981 in Kosovo, was overwhelming. Tirana's state political leadership was also oriented by international public opinion so that it would be in favor of the Kosovo issue. With this issue was recommended, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which had to give to ambassadors accredited in different countries of the world, how to talk to different personalities explaining them to political problems and attitudes Of the Albanian Government on general international issues or concrete foreign policy issues, with particular emphasis on Yugoslavia and Kosovo. Regarding this issue, ambassadors should have exposed the political attitudes of Albania regarding the demonstrations conducted in Kosovo and the issue of Yugoslavia in order to influence such an attitude of Albania and Kosovo from other European and world countries. Thus, accredited Albanian diplomats in different countries of the world should inform and influence their international colleagues in advancing the Kosovo issue. Even for interconnections between various diplomatic options was seen to be influenced in the United States^{xxxi}. Undertaking such a diplomatic act meant that the issue was resolved in favor of the Albanian state's attitude towards Kosovo and the realization of the demands of the demonstrators for their political status.

Official Tirana, including the press and its diplomatic channels, engaging and mobilizing the Diaspora with the aim of expelling Yugoslav, even evolutionary propaganda, made colossal work in support of their brothers, helping the half of the Albanian nation under Yugoslav slavery, going side by side in order to go step by step towards a fair solution of the Albanian national issue. In other words, officials of Albanian embassies around the world did their utmost to reveal the truth about the events in Kosovo. The press, diplomacy, associations, personalities worked strongly, convincingly, according to concrete plans to protect the demonstrators and their rights and goals. Based on the special operational plans that were made by the Albanian state, he had contacts with diplomats, local authorities, representatives of press and propaganda, friends and friends, activists and associations.

^{xxx} Sabit Syla, *Shteti shqiptar dhe çështja e Kosovës 1939-1981*, Prishtinë: "Instituti i Historisë", 2012, f. 257-258.

^{xxxi} E. Hoxha, *Ditar për çështje ndërkombëtare...*, nr. 13, f. 464.

Articles published in the Albanian newspaper "Zëri i Popullit" on April 8, and April 23 and May 17, broadcast by ATSH, which featured the official position of the Albanian state, were distributed among diplomats in various European and world countries by the Albanian diplomatic representations where were accredited. The articles had a great echo in the world had sparked interest in the diplomatic corps in Belgrade and were also welcomed by the diplomatic corps accredited in Tirana and that many diplomats had been pro-or indirectly opposed to them.

In Greece, the material was duplicated and distribution began in mass media, at Radiotelevision, at the Athens News Agency, and in Athens newspapers and magazines. Contacts with editors, editors and journalists took place. They talked about the content of the article and the material was distributed in newspapers and magazines periphery in diplomatic circles, etc^{xxxii}. In Turkey, to find the widest possible article on April 8, all the measures were taken for a comprehensive distribution and since the vast majority of early Albanian emigration from Kosovo could not read Albanian translated into Turkish. At the same time, on the basis of a draft plan, contacts were made with the Albanians by speaking to them about the position of the Albanian government and explaining to them any problems that were unclear. On the other hand, it was staged films cocktail or dinner for some families from Kosovo^{xxxiii}. The Albanian Diplomatic Mission in Austria has taken all the measures for the widest possible dissemination of materials and brochures, while at the same time using recognitions with foreign journalists and correspondents to speed up the issue of reflection on the attitudes held by Tirana and stretched material, in the widest intellectual layers of political and diplomatic^{xxxiv}.

The Albanian Embassy in Stockholm, covering Scandinavian countries since the protests broke out in Kosovo on the basis of instructions received by the Tirana Foreign Ministry, mobilized all its forces in these main directions; A) To dispatch as soon as possible the materials and articles of Tirana; B) Contact journalists and publicists to promote, write and speak about the demonstrations by helping them with material and clarifications; c) To activate diplomats friends in particular for meetings with local authorities and foreign diplomats to talk about events to learn the views of their

^{xxxii} *AQSh*, Fondi: 14/APSTR, viti 1981, dos. 28, f. 195. Informacion, Shtypi grek për artikullin e "Zërit të Popullit", 11 qershor 1981. "Jugosllavia e sëmura e Ballkanit, nxit armiqësinë shqiptaro-greke", Përgatiti Agur Begaj, Ambasadori Bashkim Dino.

^{xxxiii} *AQSh*, Fondi: 14/APSTR, viti 1981, dos. 28, f. 75-80. Relacion i përgatitur nga Konsullata shqiptare e Stambollit më 8 qershor 1981, dërguar Komitetit Qendror të PPSH-së dhe MPJ, në Tiranë. Konsulli i Përgjithshëm, Ali Ymeri.

^{xxxiv} *AMPJ*, viti 1981, dos. 1165, f. 142. Relacion i Ambasadës së Shqipërisë në Austri, dërguar Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme në Tiranë dhe Drejtorisë së Jashtme të KQ të PPSH-së, 18 korrik 1981.

thoughts, etc^{xxxv}. All of these measures will have the right effect. It should be noted that the Swedish press initially in his writings presents Yugoslav views about events in Kosovo, where the main source was TANJUG. But How the newspapers and articles of the Albanian press began to be published and disseminated, and the propaganda tools of these countries began to give more information to the public on the demonstrations by pointing out the fair demands of Kosovo Albanians, shedding light on the masses wild were taken to the suppression of demonstrations and persecution of the Albanian population in Kosovo and made known to a certain extent and position of Albania in support of the legitimate demands of the Albanians living in Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia. The mobilization of the Albanian state greatly influenced the placement of the truth about Kosovo, being a strong coup against Yugoslav propaganda in the Nordic world in presenting the events in the Nordic press more objectively for the Spring of 1981. In this press, they wrote about 70 articles generally presented in an objective manner the rights of Albanians from Kosovo and support requirements of these applications by Albania, at the same time rejected the slander of the Yugoslav propaganda fabrications to Albania interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, etc.

The Embassy of Albania in Argentina, based on the instruction received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published three articles of the "Voice of the People" newspaper for Kosovo, with about 1600 Spanish and Albanian brochures distributed to the diplomatic corps in Buenos Aires and Peru, the Foreign Ministry authorities, Marxist Leninist Movement of Latin America, the friendship associations with Albania, leftist organizations in Latin America, libraries, press organs and propaganda, etc. special guests^{xxxvi}. The articles of the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit" were sent to the Albanian diplomatic representations in Algiers and Dar Es Salam, as well as the relevant instructions with radiogram, circular and special messages, materials which were multiplied and distributed by the representatives, journalists, guests and diplomats, as in Algeria and 14 countries of the area, in: Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Benin, Togo, Chad, Guinea-Bissau and Ghana^{xxxvii}. Even the representation in Mexico translated the materials into Spanish, reproduced in 500 and 600 pieces each. Both these articles and the summary brochure on this issue had immediately handed down and mailed to the country's authorities, officials of various departments, press organs, radios, television, associations and

^{xxxv} *Po aty*, f. 200-201. Relacion i Ambasadës se Shqipërisë në Stokholm, dërguar Ministrisë se Punëve të Jashtme-Drejtorisë së Dytë në Tiranë, 20 shtator 1981.

^{xxxvi} *Po aty*, f. 134

^{xxxvii} *Po aty*, f. 125. Informacion mbi punën e përfaqësive Algjer-Dar Es Salam lidhur me ngjarjet në Kosovë, Drejtoria e Dytë-Sektorit i Afrikës.

groups, the Marxist-Leninist Party and Movement, the diplomatic corps, news agencies, employees of different students, people of art and culture in Mexico and in the countries of the area that covered^{xxxviii}.

Tirana articles on demonstrations conducted in Kosovo that were distributed among diplomats from European and Eastern European countries by diplomatic missions in different states where they were accredited, were received and not returned. In many cases, there were also requests for other specimens, which were completed. Only in one case, the Polish ambassador in Budapest had turned the Albanian Embassy article "People's Voice", dated April 23, 1981^{xxxix}. Courses, Vietnamese had officially requested the Albanian Embassy not to distribute article dated April 23 at home^{xl}. Nor did the Koreans have supported the position of Albania. Meanwhile, to lead to Albanian emigrants, Albania's attitude toward demonstrations was intensified significantly by propaganda work. The diplomatic representations of Albania in different countries of the world dispersed about 15,000 copies of brochures, containing articles dated April 8, 23 and May 17, 1981, published in the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit". In addition to this form, 200-300 Albanian newspapers were sent, with stories devoted to events for Kosovo. The magazine "New Albania" in the Albanian language increased the circulation to 5,000 copies and added a special separation dedicated to the concrete problems of Albanian territories. Even newspaper "Albania Today" published articles that talk about events in Kosovo^{xli}. In an information from the Directorate IV, titled "Kosovo Immigration in Western Europe", drafted on September 7, 1981, wrote: *"In our turn, there were 6 836 brochures that were published in our country about the events in Kosovo, not counting the several thousand copies of articles published in the "Zëri i Popullit" and other periodicals which were distributed at the time of exit from the press"*^{xlii}. In this propagandistic and cognitive activity for immigrant Albanians, the associations of friendship, such as the Peru-Albania and Brazil-Albania associations, which had published in brochure the "Voice of the People" article of April 8, organized the activities mass associated with the events in Kosovo^{xliii}. While among the Albanians and Arbëresh residing in Argentina, it was distributed across the contingent of brochures and newspaper "People's Voice"^{xliv}.

^{xxxviii} AMPJ, viti 1981, dos. 1182, f. 78. Relacion nga Ambasada e Meksikës, "Si kanë ndikuar ngjarjet në Kosovë në marrëdhëniet tona me Meksikën dhe me vendet e tjera te zonës", dërguar Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme (Drejtorisë së Dytë), Labo Abazi - Meksikë, 25 shtator 1981

^{xxxix} *Po aty*, f. 50.

^{xl} *Po aty*, f. 52-53.

^{xli} AMPJ, viti 1981, dos. 1140/1, f. 69-70. Informacion i Drejtorisë IV, 21 qershor 1981, f. 78-79.

^{xlii} *Po aty*, f. 304. Informacion i Drejtorisë IV, 7 shtator 1981.

^{xliii} AMPJ, viti 1981, dos. 1165, f. 140. Informacion nga Ambasada shqiptare në Buenos Aires, gusht 1981.

^{xliv} *Po aty*, f. 135. Informacion nga Ambasada shqiptare në Buenos Aires, qershor 1981.

Friendship associations in Scandinavian countries also mobilized to disseminate information about events in Kosovo and the fairness of their demands. Especially the Albanian representations in Sweden, Finland and Denmark played important roles, which distributed magazines and other material about what had happened in Kosovo. The members of these associations were written several articles. In Sweden, in an open letter be known Swedish public right of Kosovo Albanians. Associations of friendship in the Scandinavian countries have developed much activity, so much in Finland Yugoslav ambassador protested to the Works Ministry of Foreign^{xlv} of the Helsinki he sought to maintain the attitude towards the friendship association Finland and Albania, which had published a brochure of events in Kosovo. The Finnish government did not consider that application of any measure to ban the brochure in question, but had informed the presidency of the association for it to continue publishing knowledge on Albania Albanian attitudes, but careful not affected other countries they had relations with Finland^{xlvi}.

Meanwhile, the Friendship Association Denmark-Albania had issued a "Communication on the massacres in Kosovo-Yugoslavia"^{xlvii}. In this Communication, among others, described curfew in Kosovo by the Yugoslav government bodies, blockades created by government bodies that things do not agree, organized massacres in Kosovo during WWII long held demonstrations, the difficult economic situation in Kosovo compared to other countries in the Yugoslav federation, the right attitude of Albania to the developed events are not considered as interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia supported the right of Kosovo Albanians demand to declare a republic country in itself under the framework of the Yugoslav federation, etc. Even Spain Friendship Association Albania, lobbied for events held in Kosovo and attitudes of the Albanian State^{xlviii}.

Albania's attitudes made their impact in Kosovo, positively influenced, somehow prevented the bloody momentum of the Yugoslav army and UDB (of the State internal service), and to some extent led to the opinion of world diplomacy condemned political attitudes and barbaric actions of Yugoslavs in Kosovo. In this context, it becomes knowledgeable of Yugoslav beyond that Albanians are a nation. Hitting the Albanian

^{xlv} *Po aty*, f. 121. Radiogram nga Stokholmi nr. 1194, 10 shtator 1981. Drejtoria e II-të, Sektori i Evropës Perëndimore, Tiranë, 14 tetor 1981.

^{xlvi} *Po aty*, f. 202-203. Relacion i Ambasadës së Shqipërisë në Stokholm, dërguar Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme-Drejtorisë së Dytë në Tiranë, 20 shtator 1981.

^{xlvii} *AMPJ*, viti 1981, dos. 1202, f. 4-7. Në emër të Shoqatës së Miqësisë Danimarkë-Shqipëri, Ole Mielsen, Kopenhagë, 28 prill 1981.

^{xlviii} *AMPJ*, viti 1981, dos. 1218, f. 7. Spanja, aa-Kosova 1981.

state against the Yugoslav regime helped the legitimate aspirations of the Albanian people.

The approach taken to the events in Kosovo has had positive results in the total national and international directions. Tirana universally recalled unfair division of Kosovo from Albania in 1913, turning a wing National Movement and its prospects. Kosovo is divided into three republics of the Yugoslav Federation, a little-known journalists from international public opinion, failed to become a matter of world-renowned, along with other factors also thanks the Albanian Government. Tirana exposing chauvinist Serbian politics, seriously hit the prestige of Yugoslavia, within it and in the international arena. The demand of the people of Kosovo to the Republic strongly supported by Albania became tractable problem to solution. Albania's position in support of the claims of the people of Kosovo became an important encouraging factor for the Albanian people in Yugoslavia to strengthen the fight fair determination of their aspirations for national liberation. At the same time, it also increases the prestige of state in the international arena, creating conditions for further development of relations with various European and world countries.

4. The escalation of the Albanian - Yugoslav relations

Support the demonstrators and their demand disclosure Republic of Kosovo of Yugoslav politics for slave policy against Albanians in Yugoslavia, was greeted with outrage in Yugoslav circles. In Yugoslavia, it was thought that Albania will be quiet, taking into account the specific circumstances of the development of those events that had to do with the place and role of Yugoslavia in relations with Albania, its remaining without major ally after the break with China etc. However, events unfolded differently. Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Government of Albania held more critical attitude toward Yugoslavia and in particular to Serbian politics^{xlix}. Albanian leadership not only praised the demonstrators' demands but condemned unequivocally and decisively position the Yugoslav authorities toward them.

Yugoslav political leadership initially accused Albania of demonstrations developed if we rely on an interview with Renaissance April 7, 1981, but at a press conference, Stane Dollanc¹. This ruled out the possibility that the Albanian government

^{xlix} Sabit Syla, *Shteti shqiptar dhe çështja e Kosovës 1939-1981*, Instituti i Historisë, Prishtinë, 2012, f. 356.

¹ Politikan komunist jugosllav nga Sllovenia, një prej bashkëpunëtorëve më të ngushtë të presidentit Josip Broz Titos dhe një prej njerëzve më me ndikim në politikën federale jugosllave në vitet 1970 dhe 1980. Sekretari Federal i Punëve të Brendshme nga 1982-84 dhe anëtar i Kryesisë së Jugosllavisë ne vitet 1984-89.

had a hand in the events developed. Dollanci recalled the earlier statement of Enver Hoxha, in which had said that Albania is very interested in independence, preserve the integrity and inviolability of Yugoslav borders and that Albania is ready to fight against anyone who would jeopardize the independence of Yugoslavia. We hope that Albania still lies in these positions.

Because if anything is clear, it is clear that any attack, any danger of Yugoslavia in any way would damage as well as Albania, including the one in Kosovo harms Albania's interests, "he Dollanci said, adding that: "*Yugoslavia does not has received no note from Albania cannot even say that behind this lies the Albanian government*"^{li}.

On April 9 the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, reacted sharply to the article, written on April 8 in the newspaper "Zëri i Popullit"^{lii}, of Radio Tirana broadcast, describing it as a flagrant attack on the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, encouraging hostile tendencies, etc.^{liii} According to Yugoslav authorities, Albania was what lay behind the events in Kosovo, which promotes the war in Kosovo, to make way for it to join with Albania. Kolishevski Lazar, member of the Presidency of SFR Yugoslavia, among others, was expressed: "... *Albania's policy and its propaganda activity against Kosovo are an important source of national euphoria ... In materials prepared for council presidency presented enough evidence on what propaganda-subversive activity and has made Albania to Yugoslavia, particularly towards Kosovo. The most recent articles in the newspaper "Voice of the People" clearly show that behind everything is the Albanian government and the Albanian Party of Labor...*"^{liiv}. Dobrivoje Vidiç, also accused official bodies of Albania, for information regarding the work of the ideo-political activity hostile political and propaganda that is made from Tirana to Yugoslavia^{liv}. Meanwhile, on May 8, 1981, the counselor of the embassy of Yugoslavia in Tirana, Spasoje Tuniq during the conversation he had with Jovan Antonin, at the reception given by the Czechoslovak embassy, he said: "*The Yugoslav authorities are convinced that Kosovo Movement have hand reactionaries and Zogite Balli, who are also the enemies of Albania. They, he added, are not Enverist for this are safe because we caught their program where the connection they have is clear with reaction*"^{livi}.

Secretariat Federal for Foreign Affairs of SFR Yugoslavia, through a memorandum drew the Ministry of Foreign Affairs attention to Albanian propaganda

^{li} "Asgje s' mund te na zmbapse prej detyrave kryesore", *Rilindja*, 7 prill 1981, f. 3.

^{lii} "Pse u përdor dhuna policore dhe tanket kundër shqiptarëve në Kosovë?", *Zëri i Popullit*, 8 prill 1981, Nr. 55 (10 196), f. 4.

^{liii} *AMPJ*, viti 1981, dos. 1151, f. 261-263. Sulm flagrant i "Zërit të Popullit".

^{liiv} "Tanjug", 29 prill 1981.

^{liv} "Tanjug", 7 maj 1981.

^{livi} *AMPJ*, viti 1981, dos. 987, f. 63-66. Informacion lidhur me bisedën e bërë midis Jovan Antonit dhe këshilltarit të ambasadës së Jugosllavisë Spasoje Tuniq, 8 maj 1981.

and other activities in Albania and its diplomatic representations in connection with the recent events in Kosovo, the party Yugoslav appreciated as direct and public support of irredentist forces, which were directed against the integrity and constitutional order of SFR Yugoslavia and who represented the hostile acts impermissible interference in its internal affairs^{lvii}. On this issue, the Federal Deputy Milorad Pesic, on May 14 called Albanian Ambassador Sokrat Plaka and during the conversation developed, delivered the aforementioned Promemorien, to order that the Government carefully evaluate it, and to warn verbally Albanian Ambassador^{lviii}.

Federal Secretary of the Interior, Franjo Hërleviç also accused the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, its Embassy in Belgrade and in other parts of the world, as an incentive to the events in Kosovo^{lix}. Secretary said, the June 9, 1981 at the meeting of the Federal Council of SFR of Yugoslavia Assembly reported on the security situation in Kosovo. According to his report: "In SAP Kosovo is discovered illegal irredentist organization known as the "national movement for the liberation of Kosovo and other Albanian regions". This organization operates the platform of the Party of Labor of Albania ... a certain number of members of the "movement", have left over the years abroad and have formed an organization named "The popular Red Front"..., in demonstrations and other hostile activities of the Front, attended by some members of the Marxist-Leninist factions of the communist parties West European, who go occasionally in Albania, and was also invited at the last congress of the Party Albania labor.

Besides the "movement" of the above, it continues Hërleviç during the years 1979, 1980 and 1981 also revealed the existence of an illegal organization calling itself the "Communist Party Marxist-Leninist Albanian in Yugoslavia". It is about an organization, which has the same purpose as the "movement" of the above-joining the so-called Albanian province of Yugoslavia and the creation of a "Greater Albania". According to him, 137 people were identified. Hërleviç further added that: "*Albania Factors officials, the press and the broadcaster support and encourage irredentists new hostile action ...*"^{lx}. Meanwhile, he announced that 154 people are waiting to go on trial in connection with the demonstrations of 1981, of whom 29 are organizing riots and people accused of links to the country's intelligence services Stalinist neighbor. Further, the Assembly said that the authors of hostile slogans were 46 people of 104 people are hostile public attitudes while 506 people have been punished, some 1,700 have been

^{lvii} *Po aty*, f. 53-58. Promemorie, RSP e Jugosllavisë, Sekretariati Federativ për Punët e Jashtme, Beograd 14 maj 1981.

^{lviii} S. Syla, Shteti shqiptar dhe çështja e Kosovës., f. 299.

^{lix} *Po aty*, f. 300.

^{lx} *AMPJ*, viti 1981, dos. 991, f. 12-26. ATSH, Lajme të Jashtme, 10 qershor 1981.

arrested and are being questioned by police after demonstrations, in which nine people and several dozen were killed They wounded^{lxi}. Charges and harsh criticism, addressed to professors who had taught at Tirana and Pristina faculties during the 70s, exerting their political influence, like the unfettered by anyone. Also, the use of literature come from Albania, which was not previously overseen cooperation between different institutions of both countries Albanian, etc. In late June, the newspaper published excerpts from the Renaissance Pristina press conference Milos Miniç, according to Tanjug's titled "*Albania held dual policy towards Yugoslavia*"^{lxii}. As previously gave part of Albania where the accused as the cause of the deterioration of relations that Albania is involved in the affairs of Yugoslavia, it has emerged territorial claims to have attacked the constitutional order etc. On November 22, 1981, at the meeting of the Central Committee of the SKJ, it was approved platform for Kosovo. In Platform, in addition to various issues dealt with Kosovo, a special place was devoted to the analysis of the Yugoslav-Albanian relations. Albania was again accused of interfering in the internal affairs of SFR Yugoslavia for its territorial claims^{lxiii}.

Also, the Kosovo political leadership fiercely attacked the diabolical intrigues Tirana^{lxiv}. Provincial Committee of the Communist League of Kosovo, in its meeting held (one day before the declaration that S. Dolancit) April on 06^{lxv}, among others stopped and the activity and the impact of general intelligence and propaganda from RP Albania, which had an impact on the irredentists nationalists in the country, as well as in the "red Front". According to this meeting can be reasonably determined that Albania cooperation had used for subversive propaganda directed at promoting nationalism and chauvinism, the destruction of brotherhood - unity and promoting irredentism ... With the general concept of banners that are served holders of this activity, "*one nation - one country,*" they write more material for allegedly "*for the wrongful termination of the Albanian people from their home countries for Kosovo's occupation, the difficult economic situation of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia, economic injustices, political, social, and often with their propaganda they call people to prepare for "the right moment and decisive" for the unification of Albanian Kosovo, stressing that it necessarily to have to come*". This activity subversive propaganda by RP-Albania, estimated that in

^{lxi} *Po aty*, f. 17;34.

^{lxii} Rilindja, 26 qershor 1981.

^{lxiii} Lefter Nasi, *Aspekte të shtypjes kombëtare e politike të shqiptarëve në Kosovë (1981-1986)*, Tiranë: "Dardania", 1995, f. 44-47.

^{lxiv} ASHAK, F. Kryesia e KK të LKK-së, kutia 701, Ocena politicko-bezbednosnog stanja u pokraini, Prishtinë aprill 1981

addition to its media, was developed by the Albanian diplomatic representations in some Western countries, the Albanian embassy in Belgrade etc.

At the meeting of 99 of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of Kosovo Communist League, held on June 13, 1981, in introductory remarks concerning the evaluation of the political and security situation in the province - Ali Shukrija^{lxvi}, the role and influence of the Albanian state among other said, "... by Albania conducted in a systematic and intensive hostile propaganda, through the press, radio and television, which in Kosovo have exceptional visibility and obedience ... It is very intensified Albanian propaganda especially by diplomatic missions in Europe and the US, especially in the United Nations".

In response to accusations from Belgrade and Pristina body of the PLA Central Committee's stated that "*Albania had not intervened and will not intervene in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia*", he had never made territorial claims, that "*people Albania was not to undermine the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and would fight side by side with the peoples of Yugoslavia, if they came under attack from anyone*"^{lxvii}.

Regarding Albania's stance on the 1981 demonstrations and attitude towards Yugoslavia, Enver Hoxha writes: "*We have no hand in these demonstrations, we will defend our Kosovo brothers to the end in their rights ... People's Socialist Republic of Albania the least interference did in Kosovo, no tanks, no helicopters or police did not send, as said border guards, nor cannons battery is not brought to its limits and no official protest did not, but an article fair, measured and argued politically, ideologically and historically ..., socialist Albania has stated that, if a foreign aggressor power touches the boundaries of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, then it and the Albanian people will rise up and fight alongside Yugoslav peoples*"^{lxviii}. As far as "political rights", status changes from provinces in the republic etc., They qualify as internal matters of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the Albanian people issues that lives on its own territories in Yugoslavia, which according to laws effect arising from the constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has the right to ask. "*Republic of Kosovo within the Yugoslav Federation did not ask us, he urged the people of Kosovo ... We just have affirmed that it is the right of the Albanian people, living in their own territories in Yugoslavia to ask what he thinks is his right within the Federation laws and we added that to our opinion, it makes no crime*"^{lxix}.

^{lxvi} ASHAK, F. KK i LKK-s-, d.Predsednishtvo PK SKK, (Strogo poverljivo), „Magnetofonski snimak sa 99 sednice Predsednishtva Pokrajinskog Komiteta Saveza Komuniste Kosova, održano 13 juna 1981. (Diskusije učesnika nisu autorizovane), Prishtinë, 13. Juna 1981. God. Fjala e Ali Shukriut, anëtarë i Kryesisë së Komitetit Krahinor të Lidhjes së Komunistëve të Kosovës, Fjalë hyrëse, në mbledhjen e 99 të Kryesisë të KK. të LKK, Prishtinë, më 13 qershor 1981.

^{lxvii} E. Hoxha, Ditar për çështje ndërkombëtare..., nr. 13, f. 382; 490.

^{lxviii} Po aty, f. 398-399.

^{lxix} Po aty, f. 389-390; 433-434.

The Party of Labor of Albania, supported the unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but was against the "unity" of the Yugoslav leadership at the expense of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia^{lxx}. It was also pointed out by Enver Hoxha, on May 9, 1981^{lxxi}, which express the revolt of his April 17, 1981: "How can the Albanian people not interested in its Albanian schools, freedoms and their rights, he cares not for mass murder, unlawful arrests and torture were made Albanians in Yugoslavia?"^{lxxii}. On April 26, 1981, Hoxha in his diary would stress: "People's Socialist Republic of Albania is not to undermine the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Albania has never emerged territorial claims ... She knows that we have no finger on what happens in Kosovo, that what happened there was the result of anger Albanians caused by the Yugoslavs, they know that the demand for a republic was legitimate."^{lxxiii}. Hoxha in the report delivered at the VIII Congress of the PLA, on 1 November 1981, strongly defended the request of the Republic of Kosovo, as fair and legitimate requirement which does not undermine the existence of the Yugoslav federation^{lxxiv}. However, the mutual accusations between the two neighboring countries, Kosovo, seriously strong negative Yugoslav-Albanian relations. Accusations and counter accusations between them deteriorated political climate and overcome the ideological debate about pursuing internal policies and external state. After Plenum of the 10th, held in June 1981, Albania broke off cultural relations, but in the field of culture and education for Albanians in Yugoslavia, aid continued through radio, television, etc^{lxxv}.

^{lxx} "Kërkesa për t'i njohur Kosovës statusin e republikës është e drejtë", *Zëri i Popullit*, 17 maj 1981, f. 2-4.s

^{lxxi} E. Hoxha, *Ditar për çështje ndërkombëtare...*, nr. 13, f. 446-47.

^{lxxii} *Po aty*, f. 388; 390.

^{lxxiii} *Po aty*, f. 388; 390.

^{lxxiv} *Po aty*, f. 412.

^{lxxv} Enver Hoxha. Nga "Raporti në Kongresin e 8-të të PPSH", K. Prifti e të tjerë, *E vërteta mbi Kosovën...*, f. 616-623.

Creative Commons licensing terms

Author(s) will retain the copyright of their published articles agreeing that a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY 4.0) terms will be applied to their work. Under the terms of this license, no permission is required from the author(s) or publisher for members of the community to copy, distribute, transmit or adapt the article content, providing a proper, prominent and unambiguous attribution to the authors in a manner that makes clear that the materials are being reused under permission of a Creative Commons License. Views, opinions and conclusions expressed in this research article are views, opinions and conclusions of the author(s). Open Access Publishing Group and European Journal of Social Sciences Studies shall not be responsible or answerable for any loss, damage or liability caused in relation to/arising out of conflicts of interest, copyright violations and inappropriate or inaccurate use of any kind content related or integrated into the research work. All the published works are meeting the Open Access Publishing requirements and can be freely accessed, shared, modified, distributed and used in educational, commercial and non-commercial purposes under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License \(CC BY 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).