IDEOLOGICAL CONDRADICTIONS OF ALBANIAN ILLEGALITY

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Abstract

The national history of a people often turns into an arena of various contradictions: fractional, clan, interest group, party, ideological, etc. In such circumstances, it always remains imperative to clarify the past under the realistic light of assessment. In short, the approach should be free of emotional and pathetic charges and with the aim of arguing with facts, which of course must be seen and put in the real balance of time.
In this context, even the topics that elaborate on the role and importance of illegality must be seen on two levels: what weight did it have on the domestic level and what on the external level...?
When this issue is raised, the first thing worth examining is the ideology of the illegality. It should be immediately mentioned that illegality was ideologically divided into the Left and the Right. It is even more tragic that even within the very nature of the two deep divisions there were subdivisions, or to put it bluntly, there were divisions, mutual disloyalty, and class warfare, which were less subject to investigation, but which occasionally created problems in the functioning of the illegality.
The dominance of the Marxist-Leninist, Stalinist, and Enverist illegality was, moreover, the antipode of Titoism, rather than any principled and dogmatic practical pursuit of a learned and theoretically elaborated ideology.
Thus, in its definition, the Albanian illegality was more fanatical than it had any vision or strategic tactics of patriotic action. However, it should not be accused in this regard, because all the developments on a global scale were confusing and nebulous. Even the Cold War itself and the political, economic and military bipolarization had created an unclear climate on the global level: simply in metaphorical language, not even the greatest futurists and forecasters would know which way to go or which side to take was the most fortunate for the nation.

Keywords: illegality, Albanian diaspora, left, right, Europe, USA, Kosovo

1. Ideological orientations

In the general political discourse, a division of the world has been made according to ideological orientations, so that the West is usually identified with the right, while the East with the left, although in reality the left-right division is neither Western nor Eastern, but is ubiquitous - global. This division, which is usually more than two centuries old, has marked the most severe historical contradiction between two rival economic philosophies: capitalism and socialism, or more bluntly between the authoritarianisms of the right and the totalitarianisms of the left.
However, as the election results in all former socialist countries have shown, there has been no willingness to return to the old system, and even the new successor parties, emerging from the old politics, do not propose such a return at all. This also proves that those regimes that fell like towers of paper did not enjoy sufficient popular support, but were kept in power thanks to violence and the mechanism of force.
On the other hand, the belief has been created and strengthened that the ideology of democratic liberalism, because it had triumphed on a global scale, therefore has universal value. Moreover, this resembles the level reached by a deceiver, who, by repeating a lie to deceive others, also falls prey to that deception, believing his own lie.
Exalted by the defeat of its only rival and the fact that it remained the world's number 1 superpower, the USA, calling itself the undisputed winner and the embodiment of world progress, succeeded in creating a 'new world order' in its own image, a goal expressed even in its currency. This gave it the opportunity to engage even more energetically in the implementation of the global strategy of open markets, which had not happened during the Cold War.

Seeing the departure of states from the socialist economic model, at the symposium held in Turin in December 1992, among other things, it was concluded: “The left no longer exists. The left was buried in the ruins of the Soviet empire. If the left is as it has been traditionally understood, then the collapse of the Soviet system is to be taken as a triumph, because it opens to the left all those perspectives that were closed and buried under the tyrannical system of 1917....” (Bobbio, N, 1997:22).

2. Historical prelude

It is a great shortcoming to address this topic without delving into history, because many past causes are linked to the consequences of the present. Albanian history is inseparable from regional and international impacts. No matter how irrational many things seem in it, however, if we express it in Hegelian language, “universal history belongs to the Spirit, which, revealing itself in concrete reality” (Hegel, F., 2001:30), instrumentalizes individuals, groups and peoples. Such may have been the Albanians, who, entering through the ‘cunning of history’ with the aim of solving the national question, could not be aware that they could not go beyond what was predestined by the Spirit. Consequently, there were many failures and declines.
History in fact remains one of the most sensitive points, where there have been, are and are expected to be various disagreements, even in academic circles, where strong voices have already emerged for changing history, especially where the communist hand for nearly half a century proclaimed its version of the absolute truth (under Russian ideological and scientific influence). The difficulty arises in several variants of the distortion of history, where many events and personalities are presented sometimes in one version, and then in another completely different version. Due to the nature of the topic, it is not reasonable to dwell on historical details, except for what is in the function of this topic.
After being liberated from Turkey in 1910-1912 with the great nationwide uprisings, it was occupied by the Serbian krajls and this captivity continued until the First World War and after that it was reoccupied in 1918. After the continuous resistance in the face of national tribunes like Azem Bejta and others, we came to the reoccupation again after the end of the Second World War, despite the heroic resistance of the national defense of Kosovo, in the face of the activists of the NDSH, the Kryeziu Movement, the legendary commanders Shaban Polluzha, mullah Idriz Gjilani (Novosella, S., 2012:104).

3. Kosovo and its Yugoslav fate

Kosovo has been considered a “Gordian knot of the Balkans” - historically troubled and problematic or “Pandora’s box”, with the opening of whose problems the painful and tragic process of the dissolution of the former SFRY began and ended.
While Tito was alive, he ensured that the situation in the province was kept stable, or at least appeared so. He was aware of the sensitivity of the problem, so he reacted with particular caution to the dissatisfaction expressed by the Albanian side. After his death, the Albanians rose up again to demand the advancement of their status, but nevertheless, there was no repeat of ‘74, but on the contrary, continuous attempts were made to have that constitution repealed.

4. Albanian collaborators

It was not only the Kosovo Albanian communists who supported the regime, to the detriment of their own population, but there were also many other collaborators of the Yugoslav state, who were considered Titoists, among whom there were also well-known intellectuals such as prominent writers and poets [such as Rrahman Dedaj (1939-2006), Fahredin Gunga (1936-

1997) etc.]. They were close collaborators of the government and were committed with all their heart and soul to Kosovo within Serbia and Yugoslavia.

5. Titoists and Enverists

It is now known that in Tito's Yugoslavia there was a silent war between the two most powerful clans: the Serbo-Montenegrin and the Slovene-Croat. Tito finally emerged victorious in this war, on 01.17.1966 in the Brijuni Plenum. The Serbo-Montenegrin clan was defeated, forcing the number two in the leadership in Yugoslavia, Aleksandar Ranković, to resign. Ranković was a Serbian communist, while Tito was a Croatian communist. Ranković fought to transform Yugoslavia into Greater Serbia, while Tito fought to strengthen the republics and provinces that were within Yugoslavia. The fall of Raković and the victory of Tito were also for the good of Kosovo and all Albanians in other parts of Yugoslavia (Novosella, S., 2012:95).

Albanian leftism during the Cold War period was divided into a deep chasm between Titoists and Enverists.

The Titoists were simply 'Udbaš' and they mainly worked to ensure that Kosovo remained part of Serbia.

Enverists were engaged in illegal activities for the Republic of Kosovo within the SFRY, as a prerequisite for national unification.

6. The illegality of the diaspora

As for the circumstances under which the Kosovo Albanian underground operated, it is enough to quote Sabri Novosella. "Until that moment I did not know that he, my brother, Selatin Novosella, had also been in the same organization, but in the group of normalists. Because of the conspiracy, we did not know about each other that we were members of the same organization" (Novosella, S, 2012:73).

Two forces operated underground: leftist and rightist. Towards the end of the seventies, three illegal political organizations and several small groups operated in Kosovo (Zëri, 1992:34).

Of course, the murder on January 17, 1982 of the leaders of the illegality, the brothers Jusuf (1945-1982) and Bardhosh (1951-1982) Gërvalla, as well as Kadri Zeka (1953-1982), would have been the pretext for calling a meeting in Ankara on February 17 of that same year to unite these organizations into a single one.

"The union was achieved according to the proposal of the representatives of the NLMKATY (National Liberation Movement of Kosovo and Albanian Territories in Yugoslavia – originally: LKÇKVSHJ) for a National Movement" (Novosella, S., 2012:195). Thus, the carrier of the illegal organizations became the Movement for the Republic of Albanians in Yugoslavia-MRAY (originally: LRSHJ), which emerged after the merger of three illegal organizations: NLMKOARY-MLOK-MLCPAY (National Liberation Movement of Kosovo and Other Albanian Regions in Yugoslavia- Marxist-Leninist Organization of Kosovo-Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Albanians in Yugoslavia – originally: LNÇKVSHJ-OMLK-PKMLSHJ) into this national political organization.

Illegal activist Ibrahim Kelmendi did not accept this date and according to him the real date is January 17, 1982, while speaking about what happened a month later on February 17, 1982, he adds that on this date "Sabri Novosella and Abdullah Prapashtica joined, only to separate in the following months" (Islami, B., 2012:77).

According to Bedri Islami, another merger of illegal organizations was achieved in April 1985 in a secret apartment in Pristina, where Ali Ahmeti was located. There, it was unanimously decided that the only organization would be MLOK (Marxist-Leninist Organization of Kosovo)" (Islami, B., 2012:151).

In 1986, the LRSHJ took the name People's Movement for the Republic of Kosovo and within it operated a series of small groups with different names, which aimed at the realization of the Republic of Kosovo at all costs, as a step towards the realization of National Union.
How divided and confused the illegal movement has been is evidenced by several published books with mutual accusations and counter-accusations, where activists of the illegality do not spare even the harshest words for each other. Ibrahim Kelmendi, in a conversation with Bedri Islami, calls one of the activists of the illegality Sabri Novosella a semi-illiterate tailor and Avdullah Prapashtica an officer of the UDB (Islami, B., 2012:40/95), while Sabri Novosella does not spare even his brother Selatin Novosella, whose writings he considers shameful lies, for Avdullah Prapashtica (Novosella, S., 2012:189,192). Speaking about the illegal leftist movement, Sabri Novosella emphasizes in his book that "those groups in their program materials, in their statutes and in their writings, openly praised Marxism-Leninism, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. They accused Tito of being a revisionist, American imperialism, European and international reaction" (Novosella, S., 2012:172), while in one of his statements he stated: "The main work of the PMRK was to popularize Enver Hoxha and Ramiz Ali, to organize successive demonstrations in front of the embassies of Yugoslavia to denounce Yugoslav Titoist revisionism, and to denounce American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and international reaction. It went so far that when the demolition of the Berlin Wall began (09.09.1989), the PMRK organized demonstrations right in front of that wall and cheered for Marxism-Leninism and for every days they convinced Europe that Albanians were fighting to bring back Stalinism in Yugoslavia, which Tito had removed with great difficulty with the help of the West" (Zëri, 1992:35).
Activists who fell under the anti-national communist influence of Enver Hoxha see the international factor we have in Kosovo through the eyes of E. Hoxha's communists (Novosella, S., 2012:38).
Meanwhile, speaking about the right-wing underground, Ibrahim Kelmendi stated: "The right-wing organizations did not join the demonstrations since their platform mainly included the liberation of Albania from the communist dictatorship. We had no relations and cooperation with the Albanian right-wing organizations, because, as I have said, almost all of them were under the control and command of the UDB and other pro-Yugoslav services (Islami, B., 2012:35/156).
However, this finding is biased by the ideological context and is not to be trusted, just as the generalization that " the homes of Albanian communists became the safest shelters for Serbian-Montenegrin communists, who stayed with them as if they were family members... Some young activists, who were in that prison and who had fallen under the influence of Enver Hoxha's communist ideology, opposed Muhamet Hoxha, trying to argue that Enver Hoxha's communist ideology was right and that Enver Hoxha had 'broken up' with Tito on the issue of Kosovo (Novosella, S., 2012:87) cannot be trusted.

The Right

According to Sabri Novosella, the passage of Enver Hoxha's army (during the WW2) into Kosovo, led by Ramiz Ali, created a terrible situation and sowed total demoralization... after the Mukje Meeting, that is, when it was announced that the communists betrayed the agreement and began killing Albanians (Novosella, S., 2012:160). He follows the positions of the leader of the Albanian right in Kosovo, Metush Krasniqi, according to whom "even if Enver Hoxha had the best desire to do something for Kosovo, he could not do it! He expressed his deep conviction that Kosovo could escape from the Serbian-communist and Serbian-Slavic clutches only with the military support of the West, with America at the forefront. And this could not have happened without the fall of the communist regime in Tirana... The communists of

Kosovo bear the burden of the crime of killing more than 40 thousand Albanians in Kosovo. Those Albanian-speaking people were supporters of the Serbian-Montenegrin communists and participated in the killing of tens of thousands of Albanians together with them. Fadil Hoxha was the commander of the General Staff of the Yugoslav army for Kosovo... From the Stalinist-Enverist communists, (Metush Krasniqi) he saw the main evil that they would influence the disorientation of the Kosovar youth, abusing the authority of the mother state. He had great compassion for the Stalinist-Enverist communists of the time. He considered them simply victims of the communist regime of Enver Hoxha… The only way out of this situation, for Enver Hoxha and his communists, was the unrest in Kosovo and the onslaught of the Serbo-communists, especially against the youth of Kosovo. To incite unrest in Kosovo, Enver Hoxha and his communists could only do this through the followers of Enver Hoxha in Kosovo, through the Marxist-Leninist groups of Kosovo. The firm stance of Metush Krasniqi and the NLAAT - National Liberation Movement of Albanian Territories (originally: LNÇVSH) was that no premature action should be taken. As for Enver Hoxha and the People's Party of Albania, this was terrifying. Their plans to influence Metush Krasniqi through me failed, since, as Abdi Baleta and others told me in Tirana, Enver Hoxha threw it at all Albanians, and Sabri Maxhuni-Novosella threw it at Enver Hoxha. Jusuf Gërvalla was also not up to the task… Metush Krasniqi argued that the 'daily newspaper Rilindja', the Radio and Television of Prishtina are nothing more than Yugoslav information media in the Albanian language. In those media, all the heroes of the nation of World War II have been accused of being traitors, while all the collaborators of the Serbo-communists, who were killed in the war to re-conquer Kosovo, have been declared heroes and martyrs… In 1981, the demonstrations in Kosovo broke out. The Albanian Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in Yugoslavia, led by Abdullah Prapashtica, took responsibility for being the organizer of those demonstrations. For this, he brought a series of arguments, which were published in the organ of this organization 'Workers' (originally: Punëtorët). At the forefront of the demonstration was Hydajet Hyseni, leader of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Kosovo… Metush Krasniqi and the organization he led, as stated above, were not for riots and demonstrations, but for organizing the liberation war of Kosovo at the right time. And the right time, according to Metush, was only when the armed war between the Serbian and Croatian clans broke out (Novosella, S., 2012: 156, 102, 184, 99, 185).

8. The Left

The list of books, articles, radio and television shows, writings and comments on social networks about the left-wing movement and its ideological clashes with the right is long. The role, function, weight, influence and importance of this division unfortunately extended during the war for the liberation of Kosovo with the emergence of two fighting formations: the KLA – Kosovo Liberation Army (originally: UÇK), whose founder is considered the leftist LPK, and the AFRK, whose founder was the Kosovo government in exile headed by Bujar Bukoshi, the rebel prime minister who for a time did not even recognize those from whom he had been appointed, Ibrahim Rugova's LDK. Both of these formations, although they had the occupying Serbia as a common enemy, did not hesitate to wage a conspiratorial, even liquidatory war between them (the case of the murder of Colonel Ahmet Krasniqi, etc.). In this context, accusations and counter-accusations of liquidations within the type, that is, within the leftist movement, have also erupted from the protagonists of these events (as mentioned in the case of the disappearance without a trace of Bejadin Allaq, which was the subject of the trial of the Special Court in The Hague during the indictment of former President Hashim Thaçi, former Speaker of Parliament Jakup Krasniqi and former MP Rexhep Selimi). Recently, Fatmir

Brajshori, Ibrahim Kelmendi, Sadri Ramabaja, etc. have also written about the disappearance without a trace of the member of the PMRK Managing Committee Bejadin Allaq.
Still according to Selatin Novosella, "The Marxist-Leninist Organization of Hydajet Hyseni and others, who declared war on American imperialism and European reaction. This is best argued by the magazine 'Zëri i Kosovës' led by the hero Jusuf Gërvalla and usurped by the Marxist-Leninists, as an extended arm of the Slavic-Greek conspiracy, or their internal organ 'Pararoja'... This Slavic-Greek conspiratorial arm develops its activity by attacking internationals, burning American flags in Tirana, throwing American flags to the ground in Prizren. Isn't the request of the leader of the Marxist-Leninists, Hydajet Hyseni, from the rostrum of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo similar, of course, if the internationals are asked to leave, then it is alluded to the fact that they will give way to Belgrade, Athens and Moscow … This happened on the boulevards of Europe, where demonstrations, protests, etc. were held, and when they entered the halls of Albanian associations, they openly cheered for communism, for the Albanian People's Party, for Enver Hoxha, much more than for Kosovo Republic, which was the main slogan at the time…. The activists, manipulated by Enver Hoxha's diplomats in Stockholm, were so aggressive that they even physically attacked national activists who were operating on the national democratic platform… The most serious accusation made against Xhafer Shatri was that he had said: "Albania should become like Switzerland". Where was the 'biggest argument' that Xhafer Shatri was reactionary…. The PNM organ 'Voice of Kosovo' was completely similar to Enver Hoxha's 'Voice of the People'. "The 'Vanguard' organ of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Kosovo was even harsher than the Tirana press" (Novosella, S., 2012: 212,234,236,206,208). According to a post by Ibrahim Kelmendi on 23.X-2026, the first issue of ZiK ('Voice of Kosovo') came out at the end of November 1981. In another post on 29.09.2026, he argues with an article by Osman Osmani, calling him the 'secretary' of the head of the UDBash, Abdullah Prapashtica, who, according to him, "in September 1978 must have simulated the formation of the Marxist-Leninist Albanian Communist Party in Yugoslavia (PKMLSHJ)... You, as Abdullah's representative in that collaboration, and Xhafer Durmishi, as Sabri Novosella's representative, have presented the "facts" why you are divided hostile. But I also suspected that hostility between you as a simulation, to impose on us the quarrel within the LR(S)SHJ as the main issue and main commitment. We advanced that LR(S)SHJ into the LPK, which was based on the UNION in the LRK of January 17, 1982!

Conclusion

The Albanian illegal in the diaspora has played an important role among Albanians within the former SFRY by keeping the flame of immigration alive and burning, although in its secret form and organization. The newspapers, magazines and books published by it have penetrated hundreds of thousands of Albanian families throughout Kosovo. However, the illegality, mainly the most dominant one, the left, has not achieved as much as it is desired to attribute to it in raising awareness worldwide of the Albanian issue in the former SFRY and especially that of Kosovo for two reasons: that the ideology to which they appealed was contrary to the political system of the countries where they operated: Switzerland, West Germany, Belgium, the USA, etc... and precisely this ideology often led them into a trap of opposing even those countries that gave them space for action. Likewise, the left-right division affected the exhaustion of energies in trivial issues, minimizing the essence of the organization's cause itself. I consider that ideological divisions, even if they are somewhat useful in peace and freedom in the context of producing ideas and putting them into the picture of argumentation pro et contra, are not at all necessary in times of captivity and war, as was the case in Kosovo. It was historically proven that this division fragmented intellectual forces, weakening their

energy in useless divisions at a time when the removal of differences, reconciliation and unity were the imperatives of the time.

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