SURVIVAL AND PARALLELISM

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Abstract

The constitutional changes of 1989 in Kosovo, in addition to physical, political and psychological pressure, exerted social pressure through job dismissals. Job dismissals became a "normal" process, becoming a common way of exercising social pressure.

In all these impossibilities in front of which a whole society is placed, self-organization or opposition through self-acting is expressed.

In this course, the collapsed life on every sphere, and precisely this collapse burdened even more the daily life of these citizens, imposing reflection on these inabilities.While the repressive state was exclusive, degrading, and denigrating for a category of the society, precisely this category got self-integrated through resistance, which can not be called otherwise but self-organization.In this flow, many subsequent developments came to the fore, such as the comprehensive mobilization of the society, so that individual tasks became self-voluntary collective duties and obligations.

To this society, faced with such a situation, Solidarity was undoubtedly imposed in every area of life, having the course from similarities, and "solidarity that comes from similarities is at its maximum when the collective conscience completely wraps up all our conscience and complies with it on all points" (Durkheim, 2004).

Keywords: *pressure; inability; self-organization; self-functioning*.

Introduction:

This paper handles the issue of building of parallel life due to insubordination, a refusal, as a path which leads to parallelism, and on the other side helps to emphasize and empower the insubordination.

We will show that insubordination, dissent and refusal became unavoidable in the situation when the life inside this society was being ruined, especially in the fields of education, healthcare and in the social sphere.

Furthermore, this paper will also deal with the issue of self-organization and self –functioning of the Kosovar society, within an excluding and denigrating society, which in turn built and strengthened the foundations of parallelism.

Exclusions and differences, initially in the education and healthcare systems, followed by the expulsion from the buildings itself have imposed the path of parallelism, the building and the survival of which parallelismwill be detailed by this very paper.

Research question - How was the parallel system of Kosovo made possible and how did it function?

This is the issue that requires sociological treatment of survival and resistance, non-obedience, through self-organization.

Given the specific circumstances of parallel life development in the period 1990-1999, the hypotheses of this paper will reveal the role of the parallel system in the overall efforts to survive and achieve the most human goals.

Hypotheses I:

In a period when life was collapsing, its parallel construction is vital and irreplaceable as a result of homogenizing factors. The idea of the parallel system comes as a definition for independent political and special life in terms of ethnic, social and political identity.

Hypotheses II:

It is the circumstances that produce and create the course of creating an educational, socio-cultural and health parallelism. The political project of the parallel system derives depending from the developments of the political system and the cultural and social relations, which is a project that is being gradually clarified.

Methodology

Various methods are included, inclusive of comparative and data analysis. Relevant field literature review as well as specific research and factual evidence from previous publications are also incorporated.

Survival and parallelism

Parallel life derives exactly from *disobedience* which initially pushes the individual and then the collectivity towards *rejection*. *Disobedience* on one hand and *rejection* on the other hand, produce *parallelism*. The flow of *parallelism* has a source but *disobedience* and *rejection* also stem from *nonconformity* before the tendency to deprive the individual, respectively the community from an undeniable right which is denied.

Situations of this kind have occurred in Kosovo precisely when social, political and cultural norms were overturned, especially when this had affected only a part of the citizens who were deprived of their liberty as well. In such circumstances the conditions for the development of social and political *parallelism* have been created. Moreover, the repressive behavior of state authorities imposes parallel life on this line, which Gene Sharp would call"massive political disobedience*"*(Sharp, 2012).

Looking at the origin, disobedience in this case derives exactly from a situation where not only the *being*is at risk but also the *being*itself and its thinking, because "the thinking itself is the engagement by being for being"(Heidegger, 2010).

The life of Kosovo of the 1990-1999'shad developed as *disobedience and opposition, rejection and parallelism*, challenging every political, social, healthcare, cultural and educational level. The Kosovar society was forced to pursue an alternative path, which, as evidenced in continuity, led towards the realization of an unfairly denied right. Under these circumstances, *disobedience* was increased and exerted as a result of increased pressure, and which was practiced as a manner of opposition, respectively the expression of disagreement with the new circumstances created in this society, especially after the constitutional changes.

Disobedience, disagreement, opposition, as a sole purpose had the expression of dissatisfaction with increased pressure, by seeking or trying to find an appropriate solution, namely finding a peaceful solution that would, first and foremost, safeguard the life of the people.

The Western Balkans was in these kinds of courses and processes during the 1990-1999s, being heavily challenged by a destructive policy which functioned on any other principle other than that of preserving people's lives or respecting the human rights and freedoms, especially in Kosovo. Everywhere, opposition and dissatisfaction were expressed through various means like: protests, strikes, boycotts, which Sharp sees as a part of a "war without violence"(Sharp, 2012).These actions were considered inevitable when societies were faced with a situation where the state was not in the function of man, while Maritain claims that "man is by no means for the State. The State is for man"(Maritain, 2000).

In the case of Kosovo there is a situation where the state placed the individual and the society in front of itself, which was evidenced best in March 1989 when the Serbian Parliament proclaimed the new Constitution suspending the autonomy of Kosovo. This can be considered as a starting point for disobedience, rejection and parallelism. This trinomial was enforced after the violent changes that occurred, like: dismissal from work, the closure of schools, and the closure of hospitals. These changes aggravated and paralyzed life in every sphere. From day to day, from development to development, from underdevelopment to underdevelopment, life lost meaning, was burdened and stumbled in its fullness.

While the state of Serbia became a state against society, namely against the Kosovar society, the Kosovar society was already considered as a *stateless society,* or even as a "Berber society"(Berishaj, 2014).With this political fate and historical fact, in one way or another, the majority of the Western Balkan countries had been attacked.

The test of the *stateless state* and the *state against the society*, in this way also brought about the need for great human, moral, and political paths, built as *opposition* in front of *submission*. The Kosovar society managed to overcome the entire submissive effort through self-organization in every sphere of life, moving from a stateless society and the state against society towards the state for society and the society with a state. On this path, the policy of *self-organization* became one of the most important issues of society, which helped in overcoming and facing the situation which was not easy at all.

Confronted with processes and events which killed the life within it, this society survived by maintaining itself. "It are the people themselves who are organized in this manner. They are very solidary. It is not easy to sustain, because material conditions and repression are very

grave. But it needs insistence. It is a people that don't easily surrenderthemselves"(Rugova, 2005), it was said about the people of Kosovo in this period of time. In this survival struggle, almost all the boundaries had moved; the cultural, social, educational and political ones. Life disappeared in the senselessness and its economic and social minima being affected in all its spheres. In this way the initiative of an ethnic cleansing policy was tried out.

On the other hand, it was the spiritual limit itself which, in one way or another, maintained the existence and kept alive the social and political processes that lived with the self-organizing and self-serving power, while "the greatest acknowledgement for this existence of the Albanian continuity is dedicated to the Albanian with the white hat, who experienced cruelties that the human brain can't imagine and nevertheless sustained and preserved the individuality, the family and the ethnic Albanian hamlet"(Krasniqi N. , 2016).

The fact that survival was severely challenged, made that, in certain circumstances, the pathways led to the acceptance of what was allegedly pretended, fleeing across the borders. But risk was also added to survival. "The lack of perspective and the threat of service in the Yugoslav army pushed a total of 400,000 Kosovo Albanians, mostly young people, to flee to the foreign world, especially to Central and Northern Europe"(Schmitt, 2012).

Slowly, the culture of patience was challenged by intolerance, hope by hopelessness. In the name of the extraordinary measures set forth in a form of law in June 1990, Serbs invaded hospitals, schools, the media and everything else, only to encourage the escape beyond the borders and for an ethnic cleansing to happen. All this was done through constant pressures such as the expelling from school and evictions from workplaces, action these which made normal life within that abnormality which was strengthened more and more by day impossible. Already, this pressure was stretching and increasing everywhere, but in some fields it was felt more than in others, especially in the educational field.

Through degradation in the field of education, the number of illiteracy was tried to be increased and to denigrate the society as a whole. Within a short period of time, "over 5000 high school teachers, in fact all of them,over 850 university professors are expelled from work, more than 20,000 students and about 60,000 students of secondary schools are expelled from school premises considered not to be able to continue education anymore. At the same time, the payment of all Albanian elementary school teachers, was interrupted for six years, altogether about 18,000 Albanian teachers"(Agani, 2002).

In these circumstances, the process of *disobedience-rejection and parallelism* became unavoidable. These processes attracted self-organization in the social sphere. They would be impossible as if a social resistance wouldn't have happened, in the circumstances when the number of unemployed was increasing every day, and when the forms of pressure found a broad stretchalso in the prohibition of doing business and the prevention of any sphere enabling a better life.

The forms of psychological, economic, social and cultural pressure were exercised more and more, especially in the plane of job dismissals, and this is evidenced by the fact that "147,000 Albanians (out of 200,000 employees) have been removed by force from their places of work,

from public institutions, meanwhile since 1989 the unemployment rate now reached 50%"(Rugova, 2005).

The best description of all this was made by Fehmi Agani, who called this situation a tendency of "*collective punishment*"(Agani, 2002). This could not have been called and described differently, while we have in mind the fact that the unemployment rate was increasing every day and it reached up to 90%, thus collapsing in fullness the economic life but also imposing resistance, disobedience and parallelism.

Self-organization as a way of strengthening the parallelism of the Kosovo society

Political, social and cultural uncertainty raised demands in front of the need for a social and political organization. Among the few links to the former state organization for the Albanians remained the acceptance of personal identity documents issued by the Serbian administration and the performance of obligations as far as public services are concerned. They, "in the political, educational, cultural plan, and partly in the health and social protection plan, were disconnected from state administration and control."(Krasniqi S. , 2013)

Seeing that the general trends led to the daily abyss, the people of the country were aiming for something different, trying to givemeaning to the meaninglessness, by changing direction and approach towards national and social issues in general. This was the period when the Kosovar society testified extraordinary organization maturity, giving meaning to external captivity through gaining an inner freedom in response to constant isolation, torture and pressure. The circumstances themselves were opening up new paths, producing new decisions as well.

"Relying on the private sphere, Kosovo's civilian movement occupied a public space denied by Belgrade. Good or bad, education is functioning (lessons are held in private houses), just like publishing, health, (a private network of "clinics") and a form of social solidarity which ensures each one that they will not starve; sourced from "reconciliation councils" that, in 1989-1991, made the extinction of blood feud throughout the country possible, a kind of justice will function as well..."(Rugova, 2005).

While the repressive state was exclusive, degrading and denigrating for a category of the society, precisely this category got self-integrating through resistance which can not be called other than as *self-organization*. Through resistance in education and health, a sense of self-confidence was created, which was further strengthened by the resistance developed through solidarity, since, according to Rugova, this is the point where the "spirit of the Albanian people"(Rugova, 2005),a point upon which it had managed to survive by creating a general parallelism.

So, self-organization derived from the self-solidarity shown among one another, by creating new opportunities and ways of help to one another, and hindering all the social pressure exerted, through the dismissal from places of work, exclusion from school, etc. This stretching of homogenization as a response to the stretching of pressure, Buxhovi sees as an internal connection built on the premise of insecurity, while he sees solidarity as "the sole and last defense tool"(Buxhovi, 2012).This was evidenced in every plane, because the people sustained by helping one another; families supported each other.

The psychological awareness and preparation for self-organization in the social sphere was already overcoming any other form of organization and this was manifested through different ways apart from the three percent."If, for example, 30,000 Albanians work in Germany, this means that 30,000 families in Kosovo receive assistance. And families help families. They ask us, "Which family does not have the means for existence?"and send money, even if they don't know each other at all(Rugova, 2005).

Solidarity that has crossed Kosovo's borders can be considered as the foundation of other parallelisms that have been developed, thus producing a unity in a struggle already not only psychological, but also social and economical."Domestic solidarity, starting with the close family, to extend to the broader and then to the neighborhood, the community and beyond, to go to the highest point of stretching, from where it would also go to various parts, to where there was more need, would not be successful without the participation of many Albanians from Macedonia, those from the Presevo Valley, Montenegro and Croatia and Slovenia, where many Albanians lived and worked.Likewise, the concept of solidarity would not be successful without the great and unreserved assistance of the Albanians form the diaspora, of those from the United States of America and various European countries"(Buxhovi, 2012).

Over time *Self-organization* became a great hope in the most hopeless time when everything was tried to be collapsed within society. If "social life comes from a double source, the similarity of consciences and the division of social work"(Durkheim, 2004), all of this, of course, derives from the conscience itself to give help to the other.So it is also related to the moral side, because "everything that is a source of solidarity is moral, everything that compels man to count other people is moral, whatever urges him to regulate his behavior through something else, other than the survival of his ego is moral and morality is so strong, as these threads are numerous and strong"(Durkheim, 2004).

Exactly on the lines of morality and tradition for the friend to help the friend, the Kosovo society overcame the obstacles that emerged, producing a new time context completely solidarity. The "Mother Teresa" association, which in its principles of activity had "the evidencing of families and individuals according to the principle of "the poorest among the poorest", had a special role in this regard, as the collection of donations by members, donors and humanitarian organizations, the distribution of aid to families and persons regardless of nationality, race, language, gender, religion, the organization of the action for the collection of funds, the construction of ambulances and other health institutions"(Pjetër Përgjoka Berisha Rami, 2005).In order to extend the activity of this association as much as possible, also seeing the great demands for assistance that are inevitable, but also in the course of self-organization and self-operation, the Association's leadership in May 1990 takes the decisionfor the establishment of the numerous committeeswhich carried the burden of the best possible organization and functioning of this Association, coming to the aid of all people, depending on their demands. The Committees established in the framework of this association like: the Committee on Social Affairs, the Committee on Health Issues, the Committee on Education, the Committee on Culture, the Committee on Financial Affairs, the Committee on Cooperation with Associations in the Country and the World, and the Commission for the collection and distribution of material goods, undoubtedly helped to the more rational strengthening and judging of the circumstances that were already inevitable, to strengthen the

policies of disobedience and nonconformity. It is this self-organization that built a strong resistance system opposite the great violence and torture that was increased and exercised in every sphere of life.Expulsion from work, beyond psychological and social pressure, was intended to create a situation where *Survival* was seen as an impossible mission and through this road an ethnic cleansing policy would be realized. In such circumstances, the main activity within this association was the evidencing of families in need and then the assistance that could be provided to them.

If we take into consideration the evidencing of families in need that this association did during those years, then we see that "in 1990 2,450 families with 15,084 members were evidenced, in 1991 26,700 families with 174,084 members were evidenced, in 1992 43,320 poor families with 282,446 members have been evidenced, in 1993 45,835 families with 373,994 members are evidenced, in 1994 57,353 poor families with 373,942 members are evidenced, in 1995 a total of 55,470 poor families with 373,942 members, in 1996 a total of 62,340 poor families with 404,465 members, in 1997 in evidence there were 59,700 poor families with 389,244 members"(Pjetër Përgjoka Berisha Rami, 2005), and from these figures it turns out that the number of families evidenced as a poor family grows year after year.

Parallelism and disobedience already extend to other forms. As the situation deteriorates in the political sphere, it becomes even worse in the social sphere and imposes large movements of the population. The "Mother Teresa"association had started with the new way of evidencing the poor, now not like families, but like individuals". "The association in 1998 had evidenced 559,844 people in need, a number which in the first three months of 1999 increases and reaches the amount of 720,397 people in need"(Pjetër Përgjoka Berisha Rami, 2005).These numbers show a great social and psychological pressure which, as seen, has increased from year to year, as the situation as such had only deteriorated and under no circumstances it had improved. As pressure extended to every corner of life, self-organization was also imposed in every sphere of it, especially in the educational and healthcare plane.The expulsions from school facilities clearly show how society was organized through social solidarity and practically solidarized with the domestic developments.Upon the closing of school premises, many individuals opened the doors of their homes, thus creating the *School houses*. This action had the intention not to leave the children without space for learning and while not being able to return to school facilities, the individual power and will was the only alternative not to stop the process, and at the same time to given an answer to all the violence already practiced on innocent children."When they closed the schools and expelled the university people, we decided to continue work in parallel. This happened in 1991. We were left without schools for six months. We tried with peaceful demonstrations, to re-enter the schools from which they drove us out. But they started maltreating people. It was very difficult. In the second semester, we decided to continue teaching at private homes, where we could, where it was possible"(Rugova, 2005).

After such violence, the expectations were either for acceptance and compliance with the system and the conditions that the system provided, or on the contrary it was thought that the society would surrender to all this pressure. However, according to Agani, one thing was not well calculated by Serbia "organizing the school, being it even outside school facilities! It is precisely this organization or, rather, this self-organization of the Albanian school, this

amazing organization that maintained the whole structure of education, without suppressing any school, no faculty or branch, no section or class, which saved the education in Albanian"(Agani, 2002).

The determination about parallelism was now revealed publicly, and this best reflected on the field of education. One of the protagonists of the national education strategy in the circumstances of Serbian occupation, Fehmi Agani, being responsible for education issues at one of his meetings with US representatives, stated that "there will be no compromise with the Serbs for national education, even if we are obliged to develop lessons in fields and mountains and in snow and rain..."(Buxhovi, 2012).

On this determination and self-organizing power, and on these survival circumstances, *parallelism* was built, which made it possible for this society to function as a whole society in all its key segments, in the educational, healthcare and political plane.

Of course, the healthcare field didn't functionanything better than the other fields, especially after the phase of the dismissal of the medical staff from work, for which the need of self-organization in this direction emerged through the opening of humanitarian ambulances that functioned within the "Mother Teresa" association. "The dismissal of the Albanian employees from work made the Albanians leave massively from the health care system as well. The Albanian population was not only endangered for existence, but the greater the risk came from the inability of health care(Pjetër Përgjoka Berisha Rami, 2005).

In this spirit of self-organization, this cooperative power within this society, as far as it took form, also received content, extending also the level of responsibilities and interventions in issues of general social interest. Beyond this whole organization of life, there was the issue that it had to be preserved, and of course it was not easy to preserve it in a situation where pressure was imposed, in a society where there was no rule of law.

Throughout this period the Kosovo society was also heavily challenged by a familiar phenomenon within it, which was the blood feud,whichevery day more and moreaffected the disruption of the society and the creation of other challenges producing effects of great instability and disruption in the family, in the village or even in the city.Entire families were already prey of this phenomenon and suffered its consequences, living isolated. Seeing that such a circumstance was already of great magnitude, and in the absence of a complete legal order, the first steps were undertaken for the initiation of a blood reconciliation initiative at the forefront of which Professor Anton Çeta was placed.

"Only during the period of August to September 1990 in Peja, several cases were solved, exactly 1500"(Rugova, 2005). The actions for reconciliation presented this society as unique, and quite self-organized and established now not only for survival but also for a new understanding and socializing order with any circumstances already created within it.

An action of this kind helped many families get rid of heavy burdens which had kept them isolated for a long time, respecting canonical traditions in the absence of law. From this, it is clearly demonstrated that *Disobedience-Opposition-Parallelism*, have been inevitable and irreplaceable in such an entirely military environment.This situation initially produced the mentality and then also the opportunity for a new climate not only of thought, but also of

action making this a form of survival as the best possible one and the only way to cope with other difficulties. Though not the ideal and perfect one, however, this was seen as a good coursein relation to the impossibility of organizing otherwise.Naturally, this stopped other distribution and delivery processes because it managed to keep them unique about one goal, even in the most critical and at the same time the most crucial moments of the country. The Movement for Reconciliation, preserved the cultural connection with the Code (Kanun) as a spiritual culture and brought blood reconciliation and the ending of animosities of Albanian families. This customary cultural impetus provided good material to the parallel state in the core.

Gradually, the parallel state was taking shape. "It would be even worse if Albanians were left unorganized, without political structures, without parallel schools. Think of all those young people (most of our population) on the streets, serving for no purpose with this unemployment, with all these privations, and the state of tension"(Rugova, 2005). Through this form, a social solidarity has emerged as never before in Albanian society, and so also a kind of political solidarity by*concretizing the aspirations of Albanians*(Rugova, 2005),and responding to the demands and the needs of the time towards the realization of a legal and legitimate right, but a denied right.This self-action of the Kosovo society helped and strengthened even more the internationalization of the Kosovo issue, especially when social, educational, and healthcare survival was ensured through this self-organization system.

Conclusion:

Consequently, *Self-organization* and *Self-functioning* produced *Disobedience, Opposition and Parallelism*, and precisely these actions of that period also produced the internationalization of the Kosovo issue. The change and deterioration of the circumstances created during the period of '98 -99, alsoled the international military intervention to give the ultimate solution to all this extreme pressure on the people of Kosovo.

The case of the Kosovar society presents a special example when through Self-organization and Self-functioning it was achieved not only to secure and safeguard the social, cultural and political survival of a society but also to create the legal and social basis of the internationally recognized state of tomorrow.

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