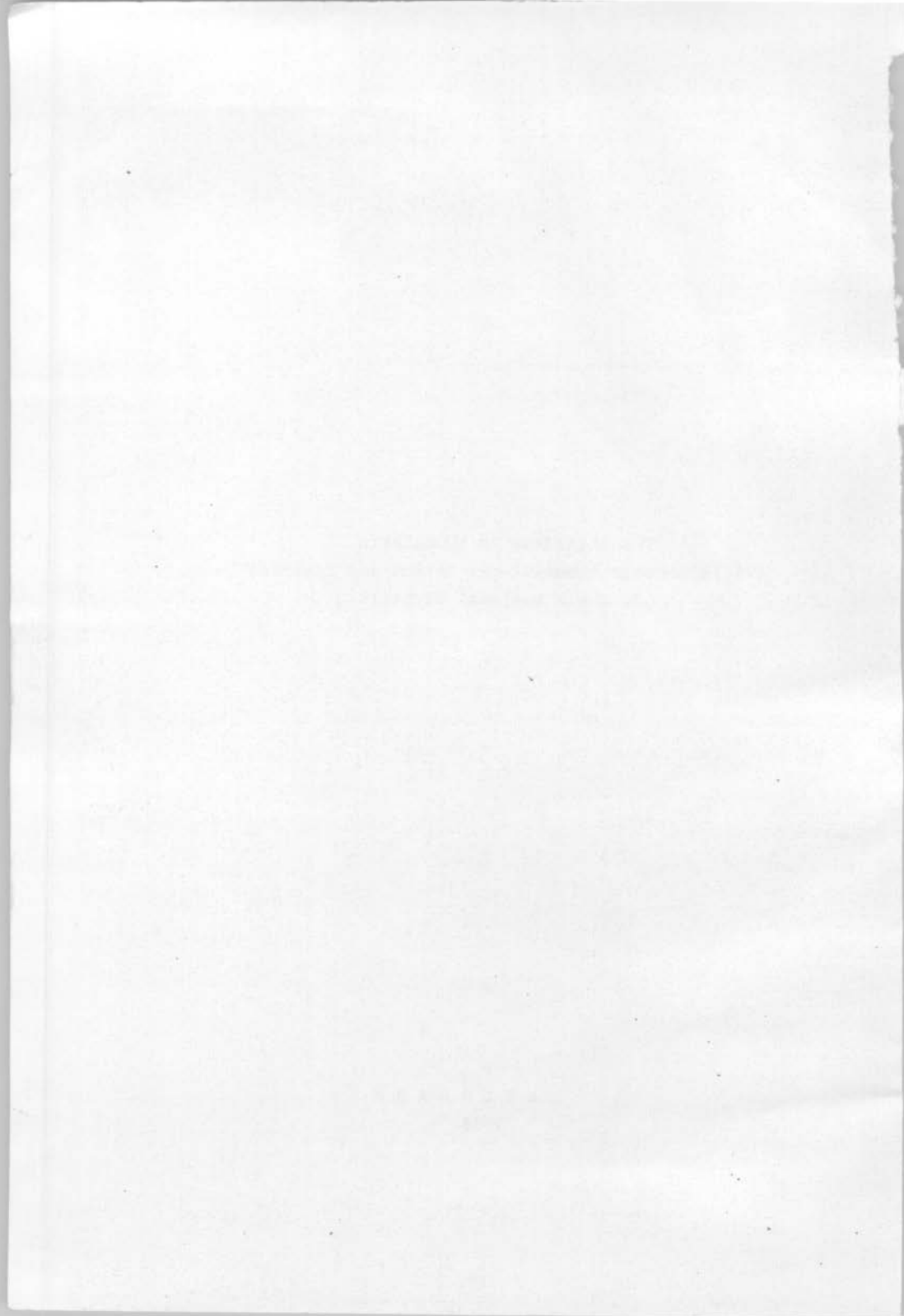


THE ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA  
(Their Constitutional-legal Status and Exercise  
of Their National Rights)

BELGRADE  
1989.



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The SFR of Yugoslavia is a multinational community composed of six basic nations determining the formation of the following national people's socialist republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the last one having no property of a national republic, since its population includes Serbs, Croats, and Moslems. In addition to these nations, also living in Yugoslavia are citizens of about twenty other nations or ethnic groups. Most numerous are the Albanians (Shqipnians), inhabiting for the most part the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, although they are to be found in other parts of Yugoslavia as well.

Kosovo's past has left it a grave inheritance of cultural and general backwardness. On this soil, too, from time immemorial, conquerors have built up their power on the foundations of social and political inequality, by placing people in mutual opposition, and by instigating religious or national intolerance.

The liberation struggle of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities marks a historic turning point in the life and development of this region. The nations and nationalities of Kosovo,

together with other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, have chosen the path of their national and social liberation.

The socialist construction and overall commitment of the working people, coupled with the entire country's solidary assistance, resulted in major achievements in all spheres of life and work.

The contrasts of Kosovo's panorama, endurance of the old along with the thriving new forms and contents, confirm the ability of the modern Yugoslav society to sublime the values of the traditional and the new, and to surpass the old by creation of the new values.

The events of 1981 and 1989, demonstrations and pressures exerted by the Albanian nationalist and separatist forces, delivered a heavy blow to the togetherness of the nations and nationalities living in the Province, which in turn adversely affected the relations between nations and stepped up emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Over the past months, however, in some foreign mass media there have been occurrences of incomprehension and, moreover, ignorance of the basic facts on the SAP of Kosovo, status of the Albanians there, i. e. their constitutional-legal and socio-economic position in the exercise of their national rights.

The following summary of the situation of the Albanians, Albanian nationality and the SAP of Kosovo in the SFR of Yugoslavia and all her republics contains data showing among other things:

- that the Albanians are completely equal in rights with all other nations and nationalities in the SFR of Yugosla-

via and in all her republics;

- that the national, political, ethnic, cultural and other rights exercised by the Albanian nationality as an ethnic group are virtually unprecedented in the contemporary constitutional solutions in the world;
- that the SAP of Kosovo<sup>Y</sup> enjoying full autonomy rights as laid down in the Constitutions of the SR of Serbia and the SFR of Yugoslavia, and
- that the SAP of Kosovo, while coping with its difficult inheritance and backwardness, has been accomplishing remarkably rapid and dynamic social, economic, cultural, educational and other development, with direct assistance and special development contributions coming from the SR of Serbia and from the whole country of Yugoslavia.

According to the census of 1981, the number of the Yugoslav citizens of Albanian nationality amounted to 1.730,878, accounting for 7.7 % of the total Yugoslav population. Following the demographic trends in the course of this decade, the statisticians, however, have established that the number of Albanians in Yugoslavia has exceeded the figure of two million, i. e., that this nationality makes today about 10 % of the population of the SFRY. The prevailing number of the Albanian population (about 71 %) live in the SAP of Kosovo, which is a constituent part of the SR of Serbia, bordering, however, with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The census figures of 1981 offer the following picture of distribution of Albanians in Yugoslavia:

Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo	.....	1.227,424
Socialist Republic of Macedonia	.....	377,208
Socialist Republic of Serbia (without the two provinces)	.....	72,484
Socialist Republic of Montenegro	.....	37,735
Socialist Republic of Croatia	.....	6,006
Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina	.....	4,396
Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina	.....	3,814
Socialist Republic of Slovenia	.....	1,985

Constitutional-legal Status of the  
National Minorities in the S F R Y

The rights, freedoms and responsibilities of citizens belonging to the national minorities or ethnic groups in Yugoslavia are defined by the Constitution of the SFRY, which also determines the constitutional-legal status of the socialist autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, which are inhabited by the most numerous nationalities - Albanians and Hungarians.

Underlying the today's Constitution, as well as all other post-war constitutional acts in Yugoslavia, are the reso-

lutions of the Second Session of the Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), held on 29 November, 1943, in Jajce. Among the significant acts passed by that historic session of the Yugoslav war parliament was also the resolution ruling that the new Yugoslav state will be set up on federal principles and that the "national minorities in Yugoslavia shall be guaranteed all national rights". In other words, the status and rights of all national minorities, therefore Albanians as well, in Yugoslavia do not differ in any respect from the status and rights of all other Yugoslav nations.

On the basis of this resolution, in 1945 Yugoslavia was constituted as a federal state composed of six republics and two autonomous provinces - Kosovo and Vojvodina. Autonomous Kosovo-Metohija district was set up in Kosovo at first, enjoying almost the same rights as those of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, with Kosovo acquiring the status of the province under the Constitution of the SFRY and the Constitution of Serbia in 1963. The Province was given its new name - Kosovo - by the Constitutional Amendments of 1968.

The SAP of Kosovo is a multinational community. Apart from the Albanians (77 % by the 1981 census figures), it is populated by the Serbs (13 %), the Montenegrins (1.7 %), the Turks (0.8 %), the Moslems (3.7 %), the Roms - Gypsies (6.2 %) and others (1.1 %).

Demographic estimates show that today the number of Albanians in Kosovo has risen to cca 85 %, while the number of Serbs dropped below 10 %.

The legal status of the SAP of Kosovo, as well as of the SAP of Vojvodina is laid down in the Article 4 of the

Constitution of the SFRY, defining the autonomous provinces as "self-managing democratic socio-political communities based on the power of and self-management by the working class and all working people, in which the working people, nations and nationalities realize their sovereign rights, and when so specified by the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in the common interests of the working people, nations and nationalities of that Republic as a whole, they do so also within the Republic".

Although the socialist autonomous provinces are constituent parts of the SR of Serbia, as a "constitutive element of the Yugoslav federalism", they are also represented in the highest organ of the Federation. The republics and provinces are represented on the Federal Chamber of the SFRY's Assembly by 30 or 20 delegates each respectively, while the Chamber of the republics and provinces, which coordinates the positions of the assemblies of the republics and provinces and makes decisions of interest to all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, is composed of the 12 member delegations of all the republics and 8 member delegations of the provinces. In the delegations of the SAP of Kosovo the Albanians are represented in proportion with their numbers in the Province.

In the SFRY's Presidency, which, as a collective head of State has substantial constitutional competences, the rights of the provinces are equal with those of the republics. That is to say, this body includes one representative from every republic and each of the provinces. Ever since the constitution of this Presidency, the SAP of Kosovo has always been represented by an Albanian.

The so defined right of the autonomy has enabled rep-



representatives of the provinces after the promulgation of the SFRY's Constitution of 1974 to assume twice the functions of the vice-president and president of the SFRY's Presidency, i. e. Fadilj Hodža as representative of Kosovo held the function of vice-president in 1978, while Sinan Hasani acted as vice-president in 1985, and as president in 1986.

The Federal Executive Council (Government) is formed in conformity with the principles of "equal representation of the republics and corresponding representation of the autonomous provinces" (Article 348 of the Constitution of SFRY), taking care of the national composition. Every Federal Executive Council so far has included a representative of Albanian nationality as well.

Rights under the Constitution of the  
SR of Serbia

Even stronger emphasis is laid in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia on the rights and responsibilities of the autonomous provinces "for their own development and development of SR of Serbia and SFRY". The Chapter 1 on the Basic Principles of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia points it out that the provinces are "autonomous socialist democratic self-management communities with particular national composition and other specific properties, wherein the working people and citizens at large, nations and nationalities, exercise their sovereign rights", apart from those exercised within the SR of Serbia and the SFRY "in the common interest of the working people and citizens, peoples and nationalities".

Several articles of the Constitution of the SR of

Serbia stipulate the ways in which the national rights are exercised in the SR of Serbia. Article 145 reads: "In the SR of Serbia nations and nationalities are equal in their rights. Every nationality is guaranteed, for purposes of exercise of its right to express its own national identity and culture, to freely use its own language and script, develop its own culture, set up organizations to this effect, and enjoy other rights as defined in the Constitution.

#### Constitutions of the Socialist Autonomous Provinces

The measure of autonomy and independence of the provinces, and, consequently, of the equitability of nations and nationalities living therein, is best expressed in the fact that the autonomous provinces settle, by their own constitutions, their internal relationships in their own territories and set up their own legislative and executive bodies "within the framework of the uniform political and socio-economic system of the SFRY". Under these constitutions the competent organs of the autonomous provinces, independently from those of the SR of Serbia or the SFRY, pass legislation to regulate the relationships in all domains, except where, in the common interest, the legislative competences have been transferred onto the organs of the SR of Serbia or the SFRY.

#### Bodies of the SAP of Kosovo

The SAP of Kosovo has its own Assembly and its executive council (Government), the Presidency, the Council of the Province, the provincial administration organs, the Constitutional Court of Kosovo, the Supreme Court, the court of Associated Labour of Kosovo, the provincial Public Prosecutor office, the National Bank of Kosovo, and the provincial bodies responsible

for cooperation with organs or organizations of foreign states within the framework of the foreign policy of the SFRY or international agreements. In all these bodies the numerical prevalence of the Albanian nationals is beyond comparison.

The Albanians in the Leading  
Offices in the SFRY

Same as citizens of other nations or nationalities living in Yugoslavia, the Albanians take an active and equal part in all activities of the Yugoslav community, including performance of highest and most confidential state or political functions in the country.

On the basis of its constitutional rights and responsibilities the SAP of Kosovo is represented by its delegates on the highest state and political organs of the SR of Serbia and the SFRY. The official records between 1978 and 1988 show that the following state and political offices in the Federation were held by the Albanians as representatives of the SAP of Kosovo:

- 1978 - vice-president of the Assembly of SFRY,  
Sinan Hasani  
(Under the SFRY's Constitution of 1974, term of  
office in leading functions in the Federation is  
one year)
- 1978 - vice-president of the Presidency of the  
SFRY, Fadilj Hodža
- 1983 - president of the Federal Chamber of the  
Assembly of the SFRY, Aslan Fazlija
- 1984 - president of Presidency of the Central  
Committee of the League of Communists of Yugos-  
lavia, Ali Šukrija
- 1985 - president of the Assembly of the SFRY,  
Ilijaz Kurteši

- 1985 - vice-president of Presidency of the SFRY, Sinan Hasani
- 1986 - president of the Presidency of the SFRY, Sinan Hasani
- 1986 - president of Presidency of the Socialist Youth Union of Yugoslavia, Hašim Redžepi
- 1988 - president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of SFRY, Kazazi Abaz

During this period Albanian nationals represented Yugoslavia in 15 countries as ambassadors. Further on, two of them held the office of the Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, three were general consuls, one a director of a Cultural-Information Centre, and seven acted as heads of departments or advisers in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

At the same time, Albanians also performed significant functions in the national defence sector: four had the rank of General of the Yugoslav Army, one was Assistant Federal Secretary for National Defence, and held in turn the function of the Commander of the territorial defence of the SAP of Kosovo.

Likewise, the Albanian nationals are also represented in the organs of the SR of Serbia, the SR of Macedonia, the SR of Montenegro and the SAP of Kosovo. Statistics show that their participation in the state and party organs at the federal level, in the republics and the SAP of Kosovo has been continuing steadily over the past 15 years, and substantially increasing in the bodies of the SAP of Kosovo.

The Political and Business Directory of the TANJUG Agency shows the following representation of the Albanians in high offices in the Federation, republics and the SAP of Kosovo

during this period:

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	November 1974	November 1988
- in the organs of the Federation	41	38
- in the organs of the SR of Serbia	17	20
- in the organs of the SR of Macedonia	21	18
- in the organs of the SR of Montenegro	10	11
- in the organs of the SAP of Kosovo	99	171

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It is not difficult to infer from the above survey that, although enjoying the same rights as other nationalities, the Albanians in Yugoslavia take a considerably more active part in the state and political organs of the country than representatives of other nations. Political analysts consider that this high involvement is not only ensuing from the large number of the Albanians in Yugoslavia (they rate as the largest national group after the Serbs, the Croats and the Moslems). Their activity is determined by other factors as well:

First, the endeavours of the political leaders of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo to use to the maximum, even exceeding the set limits, the constitutional and other possibilities for the provincial representatives, primarily Albanians, to participate in the policy making bodies and organs which make significant decisions. Although the SAP of Kosovo is a multinational community, with Serbian population rating second in the Province in terms of numbers, it took four decades for a representative of the Kosovo's Serbs to come to a high political function in the Province (the function of President of Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo).

This tendency has been expressed even more markedly in the representation of the SAP of Kosovo in the highest political and state organs of the Federation. For two whole decades Kosovo has been represented on the Presidency of the SFRY and Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia solely by Albanians, and in two terms of office one and the same man, Fadilj Hodža, the national leader of the Kosovo's Albanians, represented Kosovo in both of the two bodies.

Second, a strongly pronounced desire of a considerable part of the Albanian population to attain national assertion as soon as possible and in the most visible way possible, while frequently neglecting democratic forms, real possibilities, or even regard for other national groups in the Province. The fact that every 38<sup>th</sup> inhabitant of Albanian nationality is a student today shows well how this desire is translated into practice. The implication becomes clear when comparison is made with the situation elsewhere in Yugoslavia or in foreign countries. In Croatia, for example, every 80<sup>th</sup> inhabitant is a student, in Serbia every 68<sup>th</sup>, in Slovenia every 67<sup>th</sup> and in the FR of Germany every 63<sup>rd</sup>.

#### Exercise of Rights in the Spheres of of Education and Culture

From the figures on education it is quite easy to see how the national rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia are exercised. Not a single case is known of a national minority (nationality) in any country to have achieved such results or created such institutions in the sphere of education, science and culture as has been the case in the SAP of Kosovo within a comparatively short period. In 1945 90 % of the Albanian nationals in Kosovo were illiterate. Similar situation was to be found in other nationalities living in that region. The percentage of literacy was only considerably higher in the Serbs and Montenegrins.

In the first post war year, in Kosovo and Metohija there were 278 primary and 11 secondary schools attended by 27,400 primary school children and 4,373 secondary school pupils. Twenty five years later (in 1970/71 school year), the SAP of Kosovo had 824 primary schools attended by 242, 235 pupils, and 69 secondary schools with 42, 171 pupils. In 1970, University was founded in Priština, comprising ten university departments and undergraduate schools, with 16,190 regular or part-time students receiving tuition in Albanian or Serbo-croat in 1971. In as early as 1972, the chairs of history and albanology produced six Ph.D. titles and two doctorate degrees in pedagogy and tourist science respectively. When in 1975 President Tito visited Kosovo, where he was proclaimed Honorary Doctor of the University of Priština, he was surprised at the quick development of this high educational institution. "It may be a rare case", he said, "that an only just established University, so to say, which has no longer been in existence than it takes to produce a generation of graduate students - enrolls today more than 30,000 students, which is nearly twice the number of students in the entire Yugoslavia on the eve of war."

Ten years later (in 1981) the SAP of Kosovo came ahead of all the republics and the SAP of Vojvodina in terms of embracement of youth in undergraduate or university education (17.1%). That year's Yugoslav average was 12.6%.

Statistics show that the undergraduate schools and ten university departments are educating today about 70 types of experts. In seven university education centres in the SAP of Kosovo in 1987/88 school year lectures in Albanian, Serbo-croat

or Turkish languages were attended by a total of 37,369 Yugoslav citizens, of which 78% were Albanians, 12% Serbs, 3% Montenegrins, 0.5 Turks, and 6% other nationals. In the same school year, the undergraduate and university education institutions in the Province employed a total of 1837 teaching personnel - professors, lecturers, etc., majority of whom - 62% are Albanians, the remaining body of teaching staffs consisting of 26% Serbs, 5% Montenegrins, 0.4% Turks, and 6.6% other nationals.

The latest analyses reveal that "over 470,000 of the young people are covered by different forms of education or training for a direct involvement in the society's life and work, which means that every third inhabitant of Kosovo is a pupil or a student today." (v. "Kosovo - Facts and Numbers").

Also educated in their mother tongue are Albanians in those communes in Serbia outside the Province and in Macedonia where a proportion of Albanian population is to be found. In 1981, in the SR of Macedonia the primary schools teaching in Albanian were attended by 75,676 school children, and secondary level schools by 9,302 pupils. In three communes of the SR of Serbia bordering with Kosovo the schools teaching in Albanian were attended by 11,316 pupils in 1986/87.

#### Science, Culture, Arts

In the seventies, many scientific and cultural institutions were founded in Kosovo for the first time - the museums, the Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments, the Archives, and others. Among the scientific institutions the first to be set up was the Institute of Albanology. Following afterwards were the Historical Institute of Kosovo, the Institute of Econo-



mics, and finally, all in the course of the seventies, the Academy of Science and Arts and a series of research institutes.

There are four professional theatres in Kosovo performing in Albanian. In Priština, a modern National and University Library was built up, with its network of several hundred local libraries disposing of some three million books.

Through the publishing activity in Albanian, the Albanians in Yugoslavia exercise in most concrete terms their right to their own culture, and other autonomy. This activity is concentrated in the "Rilindja" publishing house, which published over 5,000 titles in Albanian till 1987. Two thousand of that number are original works, the rest being translations from the languages of Yugoslav nations or nationalities, as well as the best works of the European and world literature translated into Albanian, including technical literature as well.

Cultural life of the Albanians in Yugoslavia is also accomplished by development of various artistic activities. Numerous creative artists of Albanian nationality have acquired recognition in Kosovo, where they are organized in their associations. The largest one is the Writers' Association of Kosovo, while fine arts, musicians, and film makers using Albanian language in their creative activities are assuming ever more prominent places. The musical art in Kosovo is cultivated on the rich tradition of the Albanian folk music. Apart from the Symphony Orchestra and the mixed choir "Colegium Cantorum" of Priština, also promoting the development of musical art are cultural-artistic and musical clubs which are to be found in almost all cities of the Province.

Information in Mother Language

A significant achievement in the exercise of their national rights is made by the Albanian nationals in Yugoslavia through the information activity in their mother language. This can be noted as the most advanced branch of the cultural life in the SAP of Kosovo and in other regions inhabited by the Albanians.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia are kept informed on current developments by the daily "Rilindja" (issued in Priština, circulation of 50.000), and by Priština Radio-Television. In addition to these two sources, regular programmes are broadcasted in Albanian by the Belgrade Radio and Television, Radio and Television of Skoplje and Radio of Titograd.

Radio Priština is a big and modern centre running two programmes. Programme 1 is broadcasted for 19 hours on weeks days, and around the clock on Saturdays and Sundays. Following is the breakdown of these programmes: 73 % Albanian, 19.45 % Serbo-Croat, 7 % Turkish and 0.55 % Romic languages. In addition, there are six regional radio stations in Kosovo.

The Priština Television is a modern centre with two studios and two programmes. Programme 1 runs for nine hours daily at an average, while the broadcasting of the programme 2 is considerably shorter. The language breakdown of the TV programmes is almost identical with that of Radio Priština. In 1983 in Kosovo there was one TV set to every 2.3 households.

The newspaper house "Rilindja" is issuing 11 magazines in Albanian: "Peraparimi", "Jeta e re", "Zeri i Rinise", "Kosovarja", "Fjala", "Shkendija", "Thumbi", "Gazeta e pionievre", "Pionieri", "BAT" and "Bujku". In Titograd, a weekly "Tribina" is

published in Albanian, as well as the "Koha" monthly magazine dealing with questions of culture and arts. The publishing house "Flaka e vlazeremit" of Skoplje publishes three times a week a paper under the same title in Albanian, a magazine for culture and social questions "Jehona", and two children's magazines "Gazimi" and "Fatosi".

#### Health Protection

Protection of health provided for the population is a domain in which substantial levels have been reached in terms of effectuation of the national and other rights in the SAP of Kosovo. From almost negligible potentials with which this region embarked on the post-war development and organization of the health service, Kosovo made a "seven mile leap" in the field of health protection within a short period.

Today the citizens of Kosovo receive medical care in 333 health units and out-patient stations; further on, in 17 general health centres, 5 medical centres, and in clinics and institutes of the Medical Faculty in Priština supplying a scientific basis for the latter. At the end of 1987 these institutions employed over 1,500 medical doctors, 320 dentists, 92 pharmacists, about 200 undergraduate medical experts, and 5,200 secondary school graduates. Number of inhabitants per one doctor has dropped from 8,527 in 1952 to 1,252 in 1982. The vast number of the personnel are Albanians. In the same year, the medical institutions in the Province disposed of 5,500 hospital beds.

Among the most impressive results of the so organized health care is the decreasing death rate, from 13 % in 1947 to 6.5 % in 1983, thus reaching the lowest mortality rate in the

SFRY. The lowest number of deaths in Kosovo (8,909) was recorded by statisticians in 1980. The change is conspicuous in the infantile mortality. The statistics register 141 infantile deaths per 1,000 newly born in Kosovo in 1950. In 1988 the ratio was 51.8 infant deaths to 1,000 newly born babies.

#### The Economic Development of Kosovo

With its today's majority of about 85 % of the Albanian population, the SAP of Kosovo was one whole century behind in embarking on the road of the modern economic development and cultural renaissance. It entered the new Yugoslav federal community in 1945 with substantial natural wealth and grave heritage of the past spent under the long Turkish rule in this part of the Balkans.

For easier understanding of the reasons why it is difficult for this part of Yugoslavia to rid itself from this heritage, it is necessary to take a look at the economic and cultural level at which this region started its post-war development.

Although the feudal relationships were abolished in Kosovo already in 1923, the economy of this region retained its feudal characteristics long afterwards. In 1948 four fifths of the population of Kosovo lived on agriculture, while the industry was making its first steps in order to create conditions for a normal development. In the first post-war years there only were some 10 enterprises in Kosovo, of a handicraft rather than an industrial type. For the most part those were flour mills or saw mills. The only sizable industrial enterprise was the "Trepča" lead and zinc mine.

Still more unfavourable situation was to be found in

the spheres of education and health care, about 90 % of the Albanian population were illiterate, and there was one medical doctor to 13,000 inhabitants. Also recorded in the negative balance of the past of Kosovo was the fact that a majority of the Albanian population supported during the World War II the Italian and German occupiers whom they considered their liberators.

It was clear from the beginning that with such economic and personal potentials Kosovo would not be able to keep pace with the rest of the country. That is why the Yugoslav Government and Government of the SR of Serbia in which the SAP of Kosovo is incorporated, decided that Kosovo, as the least developed part of Yugoslavia, should be rendered the necessary assistance so as to help it develop more rapidly than the Yugoslav average. Appropriate legal measures were also undertaken to this end.

Expert analyses show that in the past 4 decades the SAP of Kosovo has achieved an economic and cultural boom estimated by many economists as an "achievement of historic significance". Between 1948 and 1985, for example, the social product of the overall economy in the Province has increased 6.8 times in real terms. During the same period the social per capita product has been augmented by three times, reaching the figure of US \$ 800 in early eighties. With this social product per capita, according to the criteria of the World Bank, Kosovo could rank with the lower group of the medium developed countries. Corroborating this assesment is the fact that every tenth adult Albanian in Kosovo owns a car.

Among the most significant changes in the economy of Kosovo is the participation of the industry in the social product

of the Province, which rose from 16.1 in 1947 to 45.2 % in 1985, while the share of agriculture dropped from 54.8 to only 20 %.

Inference of the kind of transformation the Kosovian economy has undergone can be made from the fact that the region has developed 31 branches of industry of the total of 34 to be found in the Yugoslav nomenclature, and that apart from the basic industries, which make 44 % of the Province's industrial potential, a major contribution to the development of Kosovo is made by the processing branches as metal, chemical, electrical or other industries.

Also worth noting are employment figures. While in 1952 there were 38,000 employed in the Province, three decades later the figure has increased to 198,000.

Such development of Kosovo's economy was enabled by the constant assistance coming from the Yugoslav community and from the SR of Serbia. For example, two thirds of the economic investment projects in the Province (between 1965 and 1985) were financed from the Fund of the Federation which is formed by earmarking of 1.56 % of the social product in the socially run economy of the entire country in order to speed up the development of the insufficiently developed republics and the SAP of Kosovo. At the same time, substantial resources are granted through the Federation's budget and on the basis of a special agreement in the SR of Serbia for financing of social services and for development of the social activities in the Province.

In the course of the first three years of the present medium-term plan (1986, 1987 and 1988) through these forms of financing of a quicker development of Kosovo an amount of 2.247,132

million dinars was secured, which exceeds considerably the social product of the socially run economy of the Province in 1986 and 1987. One third of these funds was supplied by the economy of the SR of Serbia together with the economy of Vojvodina. In terms of liabilities laid down in the Yugoslav Programme for quicker development of Kosovo (quoting considerably larger amounts for 1989), Serbia will also cover one third of the overall funds, which for the most part will be used in the construction of new factories in Kosovo.

A recent analysis of the effect of these investments has revealed that the Yugoslav community is allocating about one million and four hundred Dollars daily to subsidize the quicker development of Kosovo and its other needs.

#### What Slows the Development Down

In the debates on Kosovo going on in Yugoslavia and outside, a question most frequently asked is why this Province, in spite of the substantial material assistance of broader community is still developing slowly and only with difficulty ridding itself of the burden of its heritage. Economic and sociological analyses of the hitherto practices indicate two reasons most frequently. First, non-existence in the past of a Yugoslav organ (within the Fund of the Federation or some other federal body) which, together with the competent organs of the SAP of Kosovo, would channel the supplementary funds for faster development of this Province to those industries which would be able within the shortest possible time, to secure higher employment rates and more profitable production. Instead, the provincial organs autonomously determined the policy of Kosovo's quicker development, which often failed to pro-

duce expected results. In quite a number of cases the provincial political and state administration favoured construction of administration-government buildings, banking centres, or other non-productive facilities.

To avoid such practice, and following an agreement in the Federation, the economic organizations in the republics and the SAP of Vojvodina were suggested to invest a part of their own accumulation, together with the enterprises in Kosovo in the construction of new industrial facilities for such production programmes as will secure a more rapid development of Kosovo and in the given conditions produce the optimal economic effects.

#### Demographic Explosion of the Albanian Population

Among the reasons why the SAP of Kosovo is still considerably the most underdeveloped region of Yugoslavia, undoubtedly is the lack of a definite policy of demographic development in the Province. Analyses of demographic trends show that this region is undergoing a population explosion as can only be found in some countries of Asia and Northern Africa.

According to the census of 1921 there were 439,000 Albanian nationals living in Yugoslavia, which accounted for 3,4 % of the then Yugoslav population. Of that number, 280,000 or 63.8% lived in the area of today's SAP of Kosovo.

The census figures of 1948, i. e., 27 years later, showed that the number of the Albanians in Yugoslavia rose to 750,431 and the number of the Albanian population in Kosovo to 498,242, which did not essentially change the national pattern of the population. That year, the Albanians accounted for 4.8 % of the entire Yugoslav population, and the Albanians in Kosovo 69.5 %.

The situation began to change more substantially in early sixties. The census carried out in 1971 established that



the number of Albanian nationals in Yugoslavia and Kosovo nearly doubled within 23 years. In percentages, Albanians made 73.7 % of the total population in Kosovo that year.

The real demographic explosion has taken place over the two past decades. Already in 1981 there were 1.730,878 Albanians, or 7.7 % of the entire Yugoslav population. In Kosovo that year there were 1.126,738 Albanians, i. e. 77.4 % of the population were Albanian nationals. Only five years later (in 1986), following the natural population trends demographers calculated that there were 2.287,800 Albanians of which 1.745,437 lived in the territory of the SAP of Kosovo.

Statistics recorded a five times increase in the number of Albanians in Yugoslavia between 1921 and 1986, while the total number of population in Yugoslavia grew less than twofold. During the same period, the time necessary for the Albanian population to double in the Province, rapidly decreased. While the first doubling of that population took 38 years (1921 - 1959), the second doubling was achieved in 22 years (1959 - 1981). According to the latest trends the third doubling of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia will be accomplished in 15 years.

The abrupt growth of the Albanian population is causing dissatisfaction both in Kosovo and in other parts of Yugoslavia. Among the Albanian population dissatisfaction arises because the material basis of the Province, despite the incessant and ever more sizable assistance from the Federation the SR of Serbia cannot keep up with the demographic explosion, which results in an ever increasing gap between the underdeveloped Province of Kosovo and advanced parts of Yugoslavia.

In this situation, a considerable number of Albanians in Kosovo are not able to accomplish some of their constitutionally guaranteed rights, primarily because they cannot find employment in the Province, nor are many of them able to get a job elsewhere in Yugoslavia, since they cannot speak any other language but Albanian.

Comparative surveys of the natural growth rates in the Yugoslav population between 1958 and 1980 offer an interesting picture of the demographic changes in Yugoslavia.

	1953 - 60	1961 - 80	1971-80
Total population of the SFRY in percentages	14.9	10.6	8.9
Albanians	25.6	29.9	29.0
Macedonians	19.6	15.0	11.5
Serbs	13.6	9.5	6.6
Croats	11.5	6.8	5.9

The emigration of the Serbian and Montenegrine population from Kosovo is also considered in the light of these demographic trends. In an analysis of the hitherto migrations, experts of the Federal Institute of Statistics have established that 92,197 Serbs and 20,424 Montenegrins moved out of Kosovo within 20 years' period (1961 - 1980). About 28,000 Serbs and Montenegrins moved out only between 1981 and June 1988. These processes are still going on.

The current debates on the causes of emigration do not deny the influence of the Great Albania separatists who launched the slogans: "Ethnically pure Kosovo" and "Kosovo - Re-

public" in their programme two decades ago.

Constitutional Changes and  
Status of the Albanians

The debates on Kosovo and status of the Albanians in Yugoslavia have lately been stepped up with the proposal for a amendment of individual provisions of the SFRY's Constitution and Constitutions of the Republics and Provinces accordingly.

The initiative for amending the 1974 Constitution came from the Presidency of the SFRY, the consent therefor having been obtained from the assemblies of all republics and provinces, which also determined what would be changed in their own constitutions.

The latest constitutional amendments are not intended to curb the rights and competences of the republics and provinces, nor to reduce the rights of any nationality in Yugoslavia. These actually are normal and regular adjustments of the constitutional acts to the social practices, as have been made ever before the present constitutional changes. The first post-war Constitution of Yugoslavia was promulgated in 1945, while the first constitutional changes were introduced with the constitutional law of 1953. The next Constitution of the SFRY and new Constitutions of the Republics and Autonomous Provinces were passed ten years later (in 1963). Some 50 amendments to the Constitution of the SFRY were made between 1967 and 1971, and, in keeping with these, the Republics and Provinces amended their own constitutions. The new federal Constitution as well as constitutions of the Republics and Provinces were passed in early 1974. Fifteen years of their implementation, however, have shown that the on going social practices call for new adjustments of the constitutional provisions.

With the constitutional amendments there is no change whatsoever in the position of the SAP of Kosovo or in the status of the Albanians or other nationals in Yugoslavia. The SAP of Kosovo remains a constituent element of the Yugoslav federation with the right of autonomous participation in the decision-making process, the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia only replacing the provisions whose imprecision gave rise to different interpretations. The status of the autonomous provinces in the SR of Serbia is regulated by these amendments in a logical and principled manner.

Amendments to the Constitution of  
the SR of Serbia

With the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia the status of autonomy within this constitutional system has suffered no essential change, since:

- with the constitutional amendments the basic constitutional principles concerning autonomies both in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and in the SFRY's Constitution are not changed in any way whatsoever;
- the property of the Provinces as constituent parts of the Yugoslav federal set up, and their direct representation in the Federation and its organs, their right to participate independently in the decision-making process, etc. have not come into question;
- there is no infringement whatever upon the Provinces' right to organize themselves and pass their own constitutions;

- the responsibility of the Provinces for their own development and for development of the SR of Serbia and the SFRY is substantiated;
- while their economic and financial independence and autonomy are consolidated at the legislative level, the Provinces retain the right to regulate all those matters that, in the common interest, are not stipulated in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, i.e. that of the SFRY, and
- equality in use of the languages of nations and nationalities remains fully protected, and the Socialist Autonomous Provinces retain their functions in the spheres of defence and internal affairs, with territorial defence headquarters and security services, as well as other functions essential to autonomy of the Provinces.

The amendments, in fact, are formulating in more precise terms all those provisions of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia whose imprecision caused different interpretations, and, consequently, different practices in their application. In particular :

- full equality in the official and public use of the Serbo-croatian language (and script) and the language of the nationality. To this effect, the Constitution of the SAP of Kosovo may not be at variance with that of the SR of Serbia;
- precisely defined by the amendments are individual legislative powers of the republics (Articles 300 and

301 of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia), which, due to different interpretations in their practical application, led to difficulties in passing of the respective republic legislation, and generated disunity and increasing complexity of the relationships in the Republic (such as social and environmental planning, national defence, security and international cooperation). All these are traditional functions of the state, and a minimum unity and uniform regulation at the level of the whole Republic is needed;

- provided in the amendments are also more precise authorizations and responsibility of the Republic's organs for implementation of the Republic's laws, for purposes of the consistent, efficient and uniform application of these in the entire territory of the Republic. Likewise, the amendments stipulate direct responsibility and competence of the provincial organs in implementation of the Republic's legislation;
- further on, a very important accomplishment in the amendments is that they secure an equal status for all citizens in the entire territory of the Republic also in respect of their judicial protection, their basic rights and freedoms, thus overcoming the situation in which the Supreme Court of Serbia had no powers whatsoever over the citizens of the Republic who live in the Socialist Autonomous Province. It is essential to note that the judicial autonomy of the Provinces is not impaired in this way. The amendments only establish the power of

the Supreme Court of Serbia to decide, by extraordinary legal means, against the verdicts of all courts in the territory of the Republic, while at the same time fully observing the jurisdiction of the Provinces' Supreme Courts. Consequently, all citizens of the Republic are enabled to get judicial protection at a higher degree, i.e., in the so called third instance. Thus the Constitutional Court of Serbia becomes authorized to secure legality and provide judicial protection for all citizens, regardless of the nation or nationality with which they may belong. Essentially reinforced by these constitutional amendments are the rights of all citizens - the Albanians, but also the Serbs and Montenegrins, whose emigration from Kosovo, in addition to other reasons, is also due to the lack of full judicial protection.

Furthermore, Amendment 47 rules that the SR of Serbia, i.e., its Assembly, may independently, without having previously obtained the Provinces' consent - as has been the nonsensical practice so far - change its own Constitution. The same Amendment, however, sets it down that the "status, rights and responsibilities of the Autonomous Provinces as defined in the Constitution of the SFRY, may not be changed by amendments in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia".

