ON THE EVENTS IN KOSOVA

WHY WERE POLICE VIOLATIONS AND TANKS USED AGAINST THE ALBANIANS?

ZËRI I POPULLIT

Albania has not interfered and is not interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is a basic principle of our policy. In expressing our views about the events in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but we are raising our voice and we loudly express our support when injustices are being done to our brothers, when violence and oppression are committed against them.


Regardless of what is said and written in Yugoslavia, the true causes of the demonstrations in Kosovo, their content, the demands which are raised in them cannot be covered over with misleading phraseology, however noisy, as the staffs in Belgrade are trying to do. Any objective person, any unbiased observer can see and immediately understand that the basic cause of the recent events in Kosovo are the great backwardness of this district, the poverty and suffering of its people, and the lack of democratic freedoms and political rights. The demonstrations have erupted as the result of an intolerable situation which has been going on for tens of years and the increasingly gloomy prospects of ever emerging from the situation.

According to figures published in the Yugoslav press, the per capita income in Kosovo is about six times less than in Slovenia, 5 times less than in Croatia, 3.5 times less than in Serbia. In recent years, the growth rate of industrial production in Kosovo has been about one quarter or one fifth that of Serbia. The level of unemployment is 20 times greater than in Slovenia, and two and a half times greater than in Serbia. More than 110 thousand workers have emigrated outside Kosovo and Yugoslavia in search of work, besides the 70 thousand others, most of them qualified workers, who are unemployed in Kosovo.

The leaders of Kosovo and Yugoslavia know and admit these facts. In a speech delivered in Prishtina, V. Djuranovic, chairman of the Executive Council of Yugoslavia, said: «The development of Kosovo is at a standstill... It is clear that the policy of the accelerated development of the region is not being realized to the degree envisaged in the plans. On the contrary, the gap between Kosovo and other parts of the country is becoming deeper... Economic investments in Kosovo are about 13 per cent below the average of Yugoslavia.»

In a speech delivered at the 15th meeting of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in December 1980, M. Bakalli, chairman of the leading body of the League of Communists of Kosovo said that «The aims of reducing the differences in the level of development of Kosovo compared with the average of the country, have not been achieved. On the contrary, the gap has become even more pronounced... As a result, instead of the dynamic of the development of the region being
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Yugoslavia.

events in Kosova, we are not interfering
have the right to do so,
are being used against them

60 per cent above that of the whole
country as planned, the dynamic of
the development of Kosova was 46.9
per cent below the average of the
country. This tendency for these diffe-
rences to increase,» he said, «has been
going on from 1947 to this day.» «This
process of the deepening of the gap,»
said M. Bakali, «has reached its critical
limits.» From this situation it is clear
why the people of Kosova are dis-
satisfied and why they came out on
demonstrations to express this dissatis-
faction in what they consider the best
way and the form which they found
most appropriate.

Belgrade is now fuming and thunder-
ing against the students of Kosova, but
what did these students do, and what
did they demand? The Yugoslav leaders
personally and the press communiques
have admitted publicly and officially
that in the demonstrations of the March
11th in Pristhina, the students expres-
sed their dissatisfaction over the eco-
nomic situation, over the bad living
conditions, over the discrimination
which they suffer in comparison
with the other students at Yugoslav
universities. As the Yugoslav press
has frequently reported, they have
expressed this dissatisfaction on sev-
eral occasions to both the local and cen-
tral authorities, likewise the working
people of Kosova have frequently com-
plained about the backwardness of Ko-
sova and pointed out the need for ur-
gent measures for the development of
the country. But no one has listened to
these just and essential demands, no
notice has been taken and the people
have been left to their fate. If any
interest had been taken, Kosova with
its endless mineral resources, its fertile
plains, and its brave and industrious
people, would not have been in the
state it is. Of course, these assets are
exploited, millions of tons of coal are
mined, the thermal power stations gen-
erate billions of kilowatts, the molton
lead flows in rivers in Trepca, the chro-
me, nickel, and magnesium ores are
stacked in mountains, the wheat of Ko-
sova is transported in train loads and
the fine flavoured meat of Kosova is
sold on all the markets of Europe.
Then why is Kosova not progressing?
These are the questions which the stu-
dents and people of Kosova posed to
the Yugoslav leaders and they re-
ceived bullets in reply.

The Yugoslav leaders say that in
Yugoslavia the nations and nationa-
listies, the workers and various collec-
tives are self-governing, that they de-
cide for themselves about the eco-
nomic development of enterprises, vil-
lages, cities, Republics, etc. Here we
do not wish to enter into ideological
polemics over their theories and prac-
tices, but we would like to ask a simple
question: In the so-called socialist self-
administrative country, the Federal So-
cialist Republic of Yugoslavia, on the
basis of those rights provided in the
Yugoslav Constitution, do the people
and youth of Kosova have the right,
do they have the freedom to ask the
question why the other regions of Yu-
goslavia are developing, while this is
not occurring in Kosova? It seems that
someone has hindered the develop-
ment of Kosova and the leadership of
the Federation must know who this is,
since it admits that Kosova is poten-
tially rich, but effectively poor.

In the speeches of several Kosova
leaders, as well as in many articles
in the press, it has been stated that the
students in the demonstrations inPri-
shitina, apart from protesting about
their difficult economic situation, also
demanded more freedom and demo-
cratic rights and the establishment of the status of a Federal Republic for Kosovo. In this direction, too, a question might be asked: On the basis of the so-called self-administrative democracy, do the peoples of Yugoslavia have the right to demand such things?

Dushan Dragosovac, secretary of the Presidium of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in his speech about the events of Kosovo, which he made on the 3 April, said, «Experience has shown that we have always suffered damage when we have neglected the moments of historic importance to step by.» This «valuable advise, which he gives, is not only appropriate for the leadership of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but is also a reminder to the PSR of Albania. It is a recommendation not only for the Serbian people, but also for the Albanian people who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia.

However, we want to point out on this occasion that the Yugoslav leadership has not forgotten anything and is not wanting to look at history as it ought to be looked at, in order to avoid that the bitter past reoccurs. In this same speech, Dushan Dragosovac says: «We have solved the problem of nationalities, of national republics and, in the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the problem of autonomous regions, in the best possible way.» Dobrivoje Vidic, chairman of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, also stresses the same thing when, after venting his spleen and pouring out indignation about Kosovo, he said, «The Autonomous Socialist Regions have complete independence and equality in the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.» In other words, «complete independence and equality» but under the wing of Serbia!

These statements by Yugoslav leaders show that even after the National Liberation War of the peoples of Yugoslavia the old history was not forgotten; Kosovo remained «an autonomous region» and the Albanian population, compact in both nationality and territory, split up between three republics of the Yugoslav Federation. Why did this occur? It is up to Dragosovac, Vidic and company to explain this ideologically, politically, geographically and economically. If such an analysis is made, then it will emerge how worthless are such declarations as those of Dragosovac, when he says: «We have solved the problem of nationalities and national republics... in the best possible way.»

After claiming that the problems of nationalities have been solved in Yugoslavia, the secretary of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY says in one part of his speech: «Nevertheless, it would be an illusion to think that we have found a perfect solution to this and there will be no problems between nationalities.» He admits clearly that lasting and perfect solutions have not been found to this very complicated problem of nationalities. Hence, the conclusions must be reached that the peoples, who make up Yugoslavia, must make efforts to improve these problems, thus it is up to the peoples of Yugoslavia to find better solutions to these problems democratically, within the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

What crime have the people of Kosovo committed with this demand which is so described by the leadership of the Yugoslav Federation and several main leaders of the region of Kosovo? They have not committed any crime. On the contrary, these legitimate demands have been underrated, have been considered hostile, and that is why the point was reached that demonstrations took place.

At no time have the Albanian people of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia been allowed to express their opinions freely and democratically about the status, which the regions in which they live should have. Other persons have decided this. And when after many peaceful requests they demanded in loud voices so that the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia can hear that Kosovo is seeking the status of a Republic within the framework of the SFR of Yugoslavia, those who turned a deaf ear to these requests did not hesitate to open fire on the Albanians and attack them with tanks. And that is not all — they accused the brave Kosovo students of allegedly acting like the gangsters of Chicago and putting little children in the front of the demonstration. Others may have such filthy customs, but never the Albanians who have always fought sword in hand. In fact, what the Yugoslav press claims in this direction proves that the demonstrations were popular and peaceful. This claim implies that, if there had not been a great crowd of school pupils, the Serbian police would have moved people down with machine-gun fire. These things are not easily forgotten. They do not indicate strength but weakness, do not indicate prudence but stupefaction.

Why does the leadership of the Federation not study the demands for a Republic within the framework of the Federation in a fair way, why does it not interpret them as demands which stem from the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but rush in to describe them as «hostile, counter-revolutionary demands which ruin the stability and destroy Yugoslavia?» Do the Albanians of Kosovo, not have all the features and characteristics that constitute a nation, do they not live in a compact territory, do they not have their common language, culture and spiritual make-up, are they not capable of governing themselves, but need the tutelage of someone else, are they so few in numbers that they are not worthy of being raised to the rank of a Republic, are there not other Federal Republics in Yugoslavia so that the Republic which the Albanians of Kosovo demand will make an exception?

The problems must be judged objectively and fairly and the position should not be reached that all the leaders of every rank are set in motion to arouse feelings of hostility towards the Albanians among the peoples of Yugoslavia, that all the forces are mobilized to attack, to abuse, to beat, to kill,
to injure and imprison the flower of the valiant Albanian youth of Kosova and other Albanian regions.

It jeopardizes the honour and interests of Yugoslavia to pour into Kosova half the Serbian police and the militia of Belgrade, armed to the teeth, to surround the cities of Kosova with tanks, to fill the skies with aircraft and pack the aerodromes with paratroops.

No, this should not have occurred. We sternly denounce this unprecedented violence in Kosova. Those who are really to blame for the situation must be found, but they are not in Kosova, nor in the PSR of Albania, as is being hinted and implied in some quarters. One must probe deeper to find them, into the subjective and objective reasons and the policy pursued by the Yugoslav leadership.

The demonstrations and just demands of the students and the Albanian people of Kosova have been seen and interpreted from a wrong standpoint, they have been treated in a hostile way and with extraordinary brutality. We think that these matters ought to be treated wisely and with cool heads, bearing in mind especially that injustices have always been done to the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, and that the chauvinist forces have striven to take savage vengeance in both the more distant and more recent past.

No good purpose will be achieved by trying to intimidate a people with monstrous epithets and tanks, as is being done with the Albanians in Yugoslavia. With the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, and with those who have emigrated on account of unemployment and poverty, matters should be talked over calmly and reasonably and not with ill-intentioned pre-judgements. These people ought to enjoy all the rights and full equality with the other peoples within the Federation of Yugoslavia.

Every proposal and every just demand of the Albanians, who live in Yugoslavia, but which upsets the Federal or the regional leadership is unhesitatingly described as "hostile, Albanian-chauvinist, Irridentist," etc. Likewise, any protest against injustices, which have been and are imposed on them, and these are neither few nor minor ones, is described In these insulting terms.

What does the epithet "nationalist" on the lips of the Yugoslav mean, when it is applied to the Albanians? The word nationalist comes from the word nation, which means nation, nationality. Any dictionary, large or small, explains this. But on the lips of the Yugoslavs the epithet "nationalist" is a demand for submission towards the big nation, is a demand that people give up their love for their country, their Homeland and their nation.

When you try to deny a nation its nationality, sovereignty and all the attributes which flow from this, then the words nation and nationality, which the Yugoslavs are talking and writing about everyday are sheer demagogy. Such efforts cause friction which leads to undesirable and dangerous confrontations. If you try to suppress and wipe out the traditions and national aspirations of a people, then you will certainly encounter a reaction of self-defence.

Only Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism, the theory of Marx, Lenin and Stalin provides a correct solution for national problems. In the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia things have gone so far that in the Republic of Bosna-Hercegovina, Kosova and other places, where Albanians live, a "Moslem" nationality has been created. It is said that the Moslem nationality is something specific to Yugoslavia. But surprisingly there is no "Christian-orthodox nationality" or "Roman-catholic nationality" in Yugoslavia. If you want to find the explanation for this you must read the memorandum of V. Cubrilović, former political consultant in the monarchic regime, former minister of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and now an academician of Yugoslavia, addressed to the royal government of Stoyadinović in 1937.

If one reads this memorandum, one can understand better why every action of the Albanians of Kosova within the Federal Constitution laws is immediately described as "Albanian chauvinism", why it is very easy to describe them as "Irridentist", in order to put them into prisons and concentration camps. To have the right to accuse as Irridentist a whole people and nation of more than 2 million inhabitants, like the part of the Albanian nation which lives in its own lands in Yugoslavia, you yourself must not be a chauvinist and must have wiped out all the causes and sources of national injustices which have been spawned by imperialists and the old Balkan feudal bourgeoisie. If the principle of self-determination of peoples has been applied after the National Liberation War, why then should there be irredentism?

Before there is talk of so-called irredentism, the past history, the economic and cultural backwardness, the mass unemployment and forced emigration of Albanians, which constitutes one of the most massive emigration of Yugoslavia to foreign countries, must be explained. The situation of Kosova cannot be explained through the "world crisis" as certain Yugoslav leaders, allegedly theoreticians in the Federation and in Kosova are trying to do.

In regard to the so-called Albanian chauvinism, it must be said that the character of the Albanian and his history through the centuries indicates the opposite of that for which the Albanians of Yugoslavia are accused. The Albanians have never oppressed or exploited other peoples, have never attacked or partitioned the territories of other peoples. These things have been done to the Albanians, therefore chauvinism must be sought and found elsewhere and not among the Albanians of Kosova or those of the PSR, who constitute one people and one nation. This chauvinism must be sought precisely among these Yugoslav leaders who ordered the attack with Serbian tanks and police, who killed, injured, tortured and imprisoned the Albanian students, workers and peasants, the
grandsons and daughters of the heroes of our people, Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Abdyl and Naim Frashëri, Sulejman Vokshi, Xmer Pri- zreni, Azem and Shote Galica, Çerçiz Topulli and Selam Salaria, the brothers and co-fighters of Hajdar Dushi, Hysni Kapo, Miladin Popovich, Emin Duraku and thousands of heroic Albanian, Montenegrine and Macedonian partisans who fought and shed their blood together, as brothers, in Yugoslavia, for the freedom, independence and self-determination of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Does Belgrade demand that the Albanians cease to be patriots? No, this will never occur! The Albanian has always defended himself heroically and has triumphed over the enemies, because he has always been in the right. Wherever he lives, works and fights, he always displays maturity and patience. But, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «don't anger the Albanian people, they are patient, but when the Albanian becomes angry, even the stones are set ablaze.»

The history of the Albanians through the centuries and that of the National Liberation War have shown that the sons and daughters of the Albanian people have shed their blood to help the fraternal neighbouring peoples. The lofty spirit of sacrifice and profound internationalist feelings characterize our people. We have always wanted good neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia, our stand is unalterable. If anyone, imperialism or social-imperialism, attacks Yugoslavia, our people, socialist Albania, will fight shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Yugoslavia. This is what we have said and this is what we shall do.

Our opinion and international opinion cannot accept and reconcile themselves to the barbarous actions being taken against the Albanians in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav leadership ought to be prudent and study and solve its internal problems justly, and not be always trying to lecture the others about «moderation, the peaceful solution of conflicts, and the human rights and rights of peoples», etc.

We think that tempers must be cooled and, first of all, those of the Yugoslav leaders. The problems of the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia should be studied calmly, wisely and fairly. If this is not done, the wounds will not be healed but will become much worse. We do not want this to occur, and we are ready to give sincere assistance with all the forces of our noble hearts and mind to preserve friendship with the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, to safeguard the good neighbourly relations which have been established, to assist our Albanian brothers in every direction as before, to develop commercial relations and cultural exchanges, as we do with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, on the basis of agreement concluded jointly between the PSR of Albania and the SFR of Yugoslavia.

This is required in the interest of our two states, of our friendship, of our good neighbourly relations, without at any time interfering in each other's internal affairs.

Albania has not interfered and is not interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is a basic principle of our policy. In expressing our views about the recent events in Kosovo, we are not interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but we are raising our voice and we have the right to do so, when injustices are being done to our brothers, when violence and oppression are being used against them, when such slogans as Albanian chauvinism, irredentism, etc. are being used to discredit the Albanian youth and people of Kosovo. We have this right just as Yugoslavia and any other state has the right to defend and demand justice for its own national minorities. The Treaty of London, the Treaty of Versailles, or any other imperialist treaty can no longer be passed to the detriment of the Albanian people. Everybody, friends and enemies, states, big and small, imperialist and revisionist, anti-communist or pseudo-socialist, as well as our communist comrades and brothers and progressives people should understand this clearly.
CENSUS IN YUGOSLAVIA

«BASHKIMI»

In a new item released from Prishtina on April 8, the Yugoslav news agency informs that «the regular census which began on April 1, is going on in Kosova,» and adds that because of the recent events in Kosova «the census showed a slight slow-down in recent days, but now has regained speed to make up for the lost time.» This is all the news from TANJUG. However, it is now known that this census is carried out after the use of savage police and military violence against the population of Kosova, where, according to information from foreign news agencies and press, 308 people were killed or wounded, apart from many arrests. The census is carried out in a savage state of siege, in which people are not allowed to meet one another and no foreigner is permitted into Kosova.

In this atmosphere the results of the census are a foregone conclusion. However, according to the Yugoslav circles, the census will be carried out «in complete calm», «in exemplary freedom of decision», «in a high spirit of self-administrative socialism.» In this manner success will be guaranteed for the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia and Yugoslavia and another heavy blow will be dealt at «the Albanian counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists and irredentists.» This will be a success not only for the Serbs, Macedonians and Montenegrins, but also for the hodjas and muezzins who will be rewarded for the religious and secular services in strengthening their Moslem nationality.

But all direct or indirect pressure to force the Albanians living in Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and in different cities of Yugoslavia, as well as the great mass of hundreds of thousands of those, who have emigrated, to write themselves as Turks, Moslems, Rumis, or Yugoslavs are pointless and condemnable.

Whatever the manipulations and distortions, whatever the results of this census, the Albanians do not change their nationality, they are born and die Albanians.
WHO INCITES HOLOCAUST AMONGST THE PEOPLES OF KOSOVA

ZËRI I POPULLIT

It is easy to explain the revolts and the demands of the people of Kosova with abusive statements that «the Albanians have shown that they are counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists and irredentists». However, abuse is no argument and it never can be. The uncontrolled use of insulting and discriminatory epithets about a whole people in place of a realistic and objective analysis can neither explain nor improve the situation in Kosova.

THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN KOSOVA CONTINUE TO FILL THE PAGES OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS. THERE IS LITTLE REAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SITUATION IN KOSOVA, WHICH IS STILL UNDER POLICE AND MILITARY SEIGE, BUT THERE ARE PLENTY OF COMMENTARIES. THE NEWSPAPERS AND THE AUTHORS BELONGING TO THE MOST VARIED POLITICAL TENDENCIES ARE ALL ASKING ONE QUESTION AND SEEKING ONE EXPLANATION FROM THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP: WHAT ARE THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CAUSES THAT UNDERLIE THE EVENTS IN KOSOVA?

In an interview given to foreign and Yugoslav journalists in Belgrade in connection with the events in Kosova, the member of the presidium of the CC of the LCY, Stane Dolanc, who is from Slovenia, where the standard of living is the highest in Yugoslavia, said nothing at all about the grave economic situation in Kosova. Not only should he have mentioned this, but he should also have explained to the international press the reason why Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia have so high a standard of living and Kosova such a low one. Why the gulf between them is growing deeper, although the potential wealth in Kosova, both above and below the ground, is greater than in any other republic of Yugoslavia.

Does Dolanc not know that the economy, economic relations in general, play the decisive role in the existence of states and peoples? Why did he not bother to speak about the principal economic problems which are worrying Kosova and which determine its general situation?

It is easy to ignore such things and to explain the revolts and the demands of the people of Kosova with abusive statements that «the Albanians have shown that they are counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists and irredentists.» However, abuse is no argument and it never can be. The uncontrolled use of insulting and discriminatory epithets about a whole people in place of a realistic and objective analysis can neither explain nor improve the situation in Kosova. The situation remains unchanged, the problems remain unresolved and give rise to phenomena of a sort that Dolanc and other Yugoslav leaders either do not want to see or are afraid to face up to.

The Yugoslav leaders, from the most senior down to the lowest in rank, claim that «equality in political and economic rights» and «unity and fraternity» exist for all the nations and nationalities in their country. But who can believe them when one republic or region is treated as «mother’s favourite» while another region is treated as a Cinderella, when one «brother» eats from a silver spoon, while the other has only a little wooden spoon? This indicates neither «unity» nor «fraternity.»

Can it be that the blame for this situation, for this reality falls on the article published by «Zëri i popullit» which expressed its own opinion, as the whole of the world press has done about the events in Kosova, and condemned the Yugoslav leadership for the
barbarous repression which it resorted to against the Albanians?

The Yugoslav press accuses us of ignoring the positive changes which have been made in Kosovo. But this is not so. Whatever is right we admit and defend, whatever is unjust we denounce and condemn.

We have asserted and assert again that during the past decade Albanian education and culture in Kosovo (and to a lesser extent in Macedonia and Montenegro) have taken a laudable step forward. The opening of Albanian schools and the important University of Prishtina, the use of the Albanian literary language, the development of Albanian songs, dances and folklore, and elaborated music, of Albanian literature and Albanological sciences, etc. along with the culture of the peoples of Yugoslavia, have received an impetus such as has not been seen for a considerable time. The reasons for this are known and we do not want to dwell on them here. Hence, we look and compare the past with the present and we see the positive changes made in these fields.

But such a thing cannot be said for the economic development of Kosovo and the other regions inhabited by Albanians, which have advanced extremely slowly in comparison with the other parts of Yugoslavia. The differences between them in economic development and the standard of living are colossal. These differences cannot be explained away on account of the «world crisis,» as the Yugoslav leaders are trying to do. The differences in the standards of living in different republics and regions must be attributed to other major political, ideological and economic causes.

The large number of economic emigrants is evidence of the low level of the development of the economy in Kosovo. About 250,000 of the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia have been obliged to emigrate to Turkey alone, apart from tens upon tens of thousands of others who have gone to other countries of Europe, to America, Australia and elsewhere. You can find Albanian emigrants from «self-administrative socialist» Yugoslavia everywhere, but not one economic emigrant from «statist-bureaucratic, Stalinist» Albania! The youth of Kosovo cannot find work, can hardly earn a living in the Yugoslavia of Tito and post-Tito time. It is in these problems that the reason must be sought and the diagnosis made with the purpose of curing the illness properly and as quickly as possible.

Socialist Albania and the newspaper «Zeri i popullit» have greater right than anyone else to express their opinion about the situation in Kosovo, about the murders and savage tortures which are committed by the UDB and the Serbian army against the Albanians of Kosovo. This is not the first time that such things have been done in Kosovo. History is not forgotten, it is written. Scripta manent.

The twisting and hiding of the truth by «leading» personalities of the Federation and the republics, the hysterical claims of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian press, which go so far as monstrous accusations such as that «socialist Albania has a finger in the demonstrations in Kosovo,» or «socialist Albania has united with the Croatian-Slovenian-Albanian reaction in exile,» or «Albania aligns itself with those states that want the destruction of the Yugoslav Federation,» etc. etc. are slanders worthy of scoundrels. The louder and more frequent these screams, the more clearly the world understands that hopeless efforts are being made to cover up the truth. Verba volant. This clamor will die away leaving no trace, because there is no truth in it.

In the interview which we mentioned, Dolanc said that eleven people were killed in the demonstrations in Kosovo. One of his Albanian lackeys, from the leadership in Kosovo, said nine. Apparently, they had no time to come to agreement about the figure. However, they are all deceiving Yugoslav and world opinion. The foreign press is speaking about hundreds killed and hundreds missing, injured and arrested in Kosovo. But the best informed about these things are the people of Kosovo themselves, because it is their blood that was shed. They know, likewise, why this blood was shed and who caused this disaster.

The minimizing of the numbers killed, injured and arrested, on the part of the Yugoslav leadership, does not come about «as a result of inaccurate information,» but is the result of efforts to hide from the world the terror which it has launched in Kosovo, and to preserve the disguise of the false democracy of Yugoslav self-administration. However, the truth will break through the walls of the state of siege and the Yugoslav censorship which has been established in Kosovo. Then the world will see what massacres and tortures on a mass scale were carried out by the Serbian army and police, and will come to know the true face of Yugoslav self-administrative, human, socialism. The truth about the killings in Kosovo, which Belgrade is trying to cover with lies, will soon come out.

All those who are speaking and writing in Yugoslavia now about the events in Kosovo say that «only a small number of youth took part in the demonstrations and they were misled.»
If there were only a few in the demonstration why then did Belgrade send in the army, the militia of the capital, the tanks and the aircraft? Why were so many people killed and wounded when the troops opened fire and why was the state of siege declared? For a "small handful of enemies," for 10-15 people, whom the Yugoslav leadership described as "reactionary, chauvinist and irredentist?"

Can the lack of a lemon ruin a wedding feast, the "feast" about which a flood of telegrams is pouring in from all parts of Yugoslavia like the waters of the Danube, the Sava and the Drava, telegrams full of indignation and anger against "Albanian chauvinists and irredentists" and jingoistic hymns about the "unity of nations and nationalities" in Yugoslavia? It is not easy to deceive a brave and mature people like the Albanian people who live in various parts in Yugoslavia with such slyness, to deceive the workers, peasants, students and honest intellectuals, who are conscious about the existence of their nation and concerned about its future.

Then, which is invoking and inciting the hostility amongst the peoples of Yugoslavia — the natural, fair and well-weighted article of "Zëri i popullit" or this frenzied campaign which the leadership of Yugoslavia has built up against the Albanian population of Kosovo?

Did the Yugoslav leadership expect the Albanian press to say nothing about the tragedy which that leadership caused in Kosovo, when for weeks on end the entire world press has been talking about and condemning the ferocity displayed? Did that leadership expect us to praise it for the misdeeds it committed in Kosovo? Why is it that we did not "incite hostility" or "concoct stands" a year or even a month before the disturbances occurred in Kosovo?

No, gentlemen of the Yugoslav leadership! Be realistic, control your tempers! Look at what you are doing in regard to the demonstrations and strikes by "Solidarity" in Poland! You are speaking, writing, criticizing, advising and moralizing. Are you the only ones who have the right to speak and write about others? Since we published our article on April 8, we have kept calm, while from the Yugoslav leadership down to the most insignificant journal in Yugoslavia, there has been a torrent of abuse and attacks against our country. Indeed, Radio-Zagreb went so far as to threaten that the very existence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was being endangered.

Zagreb forgets that Albania knows how to defend itself even without Zagreb. It ought to know that Yugoslavia, including Tito's Yugoslavia, has never assisted the liberation and defence of Albania. On the contrary, the Albanian National Liberation Army helped to liberate the peoples of Yugoslavia and shed blood for this. And we will perform this sublime act again if Yugoslavia is endangered! We tell that spokesman from Radio-Zagreb that what we say is clear and we keep our promises.

Nothing unites the Albanians with the Ustaše, the Četnici and the Ballists. On the contrary, the Albanians have fought against them everywhere, because they have been and still are enemies of our peoples, are blood-thirsty mercenaries in the service of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and others, who are working with every means to blow up the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In countless speeches by Yugoslav leaders and in their press, open threats are being made of future measures against the Albanians of Yugoslavia. This is a dangerous course. Therefore we cannot let this pass without telling them that they should not behave badly and brutally towards the Albanian population, should keep calm and be fair towards them, should put a stop to barbarous acts and sternly condemn those who gave the order and opened fire on the masses of Albanians, should stabilize the economic, political and spiritual situation and prevent the Serbo-Croat-Slovonian spokesmen and their Albanian lackeys in Kosovo from slandering and attacking the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people.

If they continue to act as they have done up till now, no good will come of it. As for those Albanian leaders in Kosovo who attacked the people, let the people of Kosovo themselves judge them. They know how to differentiate the lackeys from the honest sons and daughters of the people, whom the UDB tries to compromise by forcing them to speak and to send telegrams for propaganda purposes.

We want everything to be normalized and we remind Radio-Zagreb that it is true that history will judge who is right, you or we Albanians. In the history of the Albanians, one does not find barbaric acts like those of the Ustaše, old and new. As for the fear which Zagreb wants to arouse, the Albanians know none of it.

When it is a question of some of their minorities, the Yugoslavs even protest about shop-signs which are not written in their mother tongue, as in Carinthia. During the last visit he made to Austria, the chairman of the Federal Executive Council, Džuranović, demanded "the concrete solution of all problems which have to do with the rights and position of the Slovenian and Croatian national minorities" who live there. We did not and do not make any accusations against him, as a "counter-revolutionary," "irredentist" or "chauvinist," on account of this.

Defence of the rights of Slovenian and Croatian minorities, which are not being shot down by machine-gun bullets, or crushed under tank tracks, is considered normal for the Yugoslav government. But when the People's Socialist Republic of Albania interests itself in the Albanian language and education, the freedoms and rights and the economic situation, in the mass killings, jailings and tortures, which were committed against the Albanians in Yugoslavia, this is allegedly "chauvinism" and "irredentism." What gives rise to and where is the source of the great allergy to Yugoslav leaders and the Yugoslav propaganda?!

Have you gentlemen of the Yugoslav leadership forgotten how you fought for Trieste, Pula, Rijeka, etc at the Paris Peace Conference? You were right to do so. We did not call you "chauvinists" or "irredentists." But since you were not chauvinists or irredentists, why did it not cross your minds that there was an Albanian population, the third in Yugoslavia in size, which you ought to have united with Albania, your socialist ally in the National Liberation War? You were silent. Why were you silent when allegedly you were such great men of principle? You did not even give Kosovo the status of an autonomous region until 1968. Why did President Tito not carry out what he said
to Comrade Enver Hoxha in the official talks they held in 1946, that “Kosova and the other regions inhabited by the Albanians belong to Albania and we shall return them to you, but not just now, because great-Serbian reaction would not accept such a thing at present”?

Nevertheless, the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania has not made any territorial claims. In no document can such a thing be found. But documents to defend the rights of our brothers in Kosova and the Albanians who live in the other republics of Yugoslavia, rights which are recognized in the Yugoslav Constitution, which have been violated and are being violated, can be found in plenty, both in the past and at present. Whether or not there will be such documents in the future depends on the stands and policy of the Yugoslav government towards the Albanians.

The Yugoslav leaders declare, one after the other, that “Kosova will never become a Republic... because Serbia will not allow this.” “If Kosova becomes a republic within the framework of the Federation,” they say, “then the Federation is destroyed.” They present the issue as though the Albanian regions are the “key-stone of the wall” which keeps the Federation together. These “arguments” are unfounded from the historical viewpoint, from the economic and juridical viewpoint, from the viewpoint of the content of the Constitution of Yugoslavia, as well as from the practice applied with the other nations which are included in the Yugoslav state. However, they show that these regions have been made commodities to bargain over, and those who are ruling in Belgrade still consider them and treat them so. We did not invent “the Republic of Kosova” within the Yugoslav Federation, the people of Kosova demanded this.

Changes of status from region to republic etc. are internal questions of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Questions of the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia, who, on the basis of the Yugoslav Constitution itself, have the right to demand this. No one in the Federation has the right to prevent the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia from making these demands, and even less have they the right to attack them, to injure them, kill them and jail them. Because we proclaim this truth, the Yugoslavs accuse us of interfering in their internal affairs. We have not interfered and are not interfering in their internal affairs which, we think, can be solved justly only through self-determination, through understanding, through sincere discussions by all sides without passion.

Socialist Albania is not guilty of the slightest interference in Kosova. It did not send tanks, helicopters or police, did not increase its guards or artillery batteries on its borders, and did not even lodge an official protest. “Zëri i popullit” simply published an article about the tragedy which occurred in Kosova, a restrained article, based on sound political, ideological and historical arguments. This is how the world press assessed it. Therefore, Albania does not bear the responsibility for what occurred in Kosova; those who are to blame are those who used violence and not cool heads and reason.

Books with bombastic titles, with a strong smell of megalomania and unrestrained chauvinism have begun to come out in Yugoslavia, such as “The Struggle for the Balkans” by Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, “Aspects of the Macedonian Question” by Lazar Kollshevsky, described as “a book about the reality in the Balkans.” At the same time, in Bulgaria — a real colony of the Soviet social-imperialists, long articles are being written, celebrations are being held and speeches are being made about “The Great Bulgarian” of San Stephano which carries the borders of that country into Albania.

These people have learned nothing and forgotten nothing from history. Only the Albanians, who have been their prey, are allegedly “chauvinists” and “irredentists.”

Let Lazar Kollshevsky, former president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, speak through his own mouth. According to a report of TANJUG agency on April 15, 1981, in the book which we mentioned he writes: “It is a fact that we exist, that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian nation are continuously developing and reaffirming themselves, and the feeling which every Macedonian nurtures, that he is a part of his nation, is becoming even stronger irrespective of where he lives. This is a process which nobody can stop.”

How are we to describe these opinions, Mr. Dolanc, Dragosavac, Vidić and others, who accuse the Albanians of Kosova and socialist Albania of being “chauvinists and irredentists”?

Is this process of the development and affirmation which nobody can stop the exclusive right of the Macedonians? Is this process not developing in Kosova, in Macedonia and in other regions of Yugoslavia, where more than 2 million Albanians are living? Is it not a fact that a people exist there, who are demanding only the right that their regions be proclaimed a republic within the Federation? Why then is this process «which nobody can stop for the Macedonians» prohibited for the Albanians?

At least settle your opinions amongst yourselves, but not to the detriment of the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia!

The Yugoslav leadership is mistaken when it thinks it can deceive anybody, and especially world opinion, when it says that socialist Albania wants to undermine the Federation, or is playing the game of those who want such a thing. Let them continue to resent the truth we tell them if they wish, let them make accusations if it suits them, about interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, however, this does not alter the situation in the Yugoslav Federation in the slightest. The chronic sickness which exists there does not come from the lawful rights which the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia are demanding, but from the profound injustices and other weaknesses which exist throughout the Federation.

Titoism, this current hostile to Marxism-Leninism, has undermined the Federation. The anti-socialist system of self-administration has undermined it, the great debts into which Yugoslavia has sunk up to its neck and which have caused the inflation, the great unemployment, the rise in prices, the inequality in the development of different republics and regions, the poverty of the working masses and the emigration of hundreds of thousands of people from their homes, have undermined it.

The Yugoslav officials accuse us of being “nationalists, chauvinists and so on.” They all but accuse us of being “pan-Slavists.” None of these things are part of our ideology. They are from anti-Marxist ideology, theories of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and revisionism.
You can carry out a revolution, and the Yugoslav leadership talks and theorizes about this every day, but you can also deviate from and betray the revolution. Modern revisionism, of any hue and under whatever disguise it is hidden, is the offspring of the capitalist bourgeoisie which fights the revolution, which distorts it and drowns it in blood. Like the bourgeoisie, modern revisionism does not unite the peoples but divides them.

What occurred in the Soviet Union? Khrushchev and his successors changed the direction of the great deed of the revolution, established capitalism, and rejected the policy of Lenin and Stalin on the national question. Now savage great-Russian chauvinism dominates the peoples of the Soviet Union, but at the same time, Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian nationalism, and so on, have also raised their heads. Pan-Slavism dominates in the Soviet Union, which has turned from a socialist country into an aggressive, warmongering social-imperialist country? Brezhnev's theory of "limited sovereignty" is strangling all the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, members of Comecon, and the "socialist community," which from fear of the Soviet armed strength, set their faces in a sickly grin so that their tears and sobs will pass unnoticed.

This is a terrible history and lesson for the peoples who want to live free and build socialism, just as terrible as the imperialist ideology and practice of the United States of America, which exploits not only the peoples who live in America but also other peoples of the world. Therefore, Messr. theorists of "Borba," there are different levels of chauvinism and different kinds of chauvinism, irrespective of their forms and dimensions, irrespective of their disguises and pompous words. Nationalism, chauvinism and pan-Slavism are to be condemned wherever they come from, regardless of whether those who cultivate them are great or small, but the nationalism and chauvinism of the greater state is more dangerous. This should not be forgotten. All these evils must be combated, must be totally eradicated, but this can never be done except from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. There is no other way.

The Yugoslavs pose as clever politicians, but they are showing themselves to be not only naive but also bemused. The cause of the wounds and splits is not in the demonstrations in Pristina. It must be sought in the line followed by the Yugoslav leadership, in the old great chauvinism, and in the new chauvinism, which their anti-socialist system has created. This is the source of that split, that evil which we do not wish upon the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia in any way.

It is true that the peoples of Yugoslavia carried out the revolution. However, the old feuds and squabbles were not wiped out, but smouldered on in secret like embers hidden under ashes; the rivalries between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes remained, despite the fact that these peoples fought against the Serb Cetinici and Croat Ustaše, and defeated them physically. The nationalistic and chauvinist ideology and spirit were not completely swept away and were bound to manifest themselves later, as they did, in various forms, but with virtually the same content, this time cloaked under slogans of chauvinism, unity and fraternity and equal rights of the peoples.

The heroic struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia could not fail to arouse justifying pride, but this was turned by the Yugoslav leadership into Yugoslav megalomania and chauvinism, claiming that virtually only they fought, only they made sacrifices, that it was only thanks to them that the other peoples followed their example and fought, too. All this was transformed into a "feeling of superiority" which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

The worm was implanted in the "core of the red apple." It gnawed away, weakening the revolution and to justify this the blame was laid on Stalin, the Soviet Union, its genuine Leninist system and the ideology which had guided that system — Marxism-Leninism. Tito and company were made the anti-Stalinist and anti-Soviet heroes of the day by the international bourgeoisie. Their megalomania was increased tenfold.

The counter-revolution and "self-administrative socialism" aroused the old rivalries and ambitions for hegemony, Serbian hegemony from one side and Croat-Slovenian hegemony on the other. The desire for hegemony from these two sides has undermined the Yugoslav Federation and not Albanian "chauvinism." The latter is used as a veil to cover up the great-Serb chauvinism and the great-Croat-Slovenian chauvinism.

The struggle for hegemony and power between these two classes has been and is being waged fiercely. Tito posed as a mediator, but he was a supporter of Croat-Slovenian hegemony. His clan reived in great luxury, took the lion's share of the income of Yugoslavia, consumed as much as it wanted from the loans provided by American imperialism and other capitalist states.

It is understandable that this state of affairs is not to the advantage of the Serbian clan and it is fighting to regain supremacy.

The other, poorer republics circle around these two rival clans. With their stands in favour of one side or the other, all of them to a greater or lesser degree add fuel to this great fire which exists in this Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which was never stabilized.

The only positive and unbiased factor in this federation is the Albanian factor. The Albanians in Yugoslavia were treated with contempt, politically, economically and from the cultural-educational aspect. At the same time however, they have been the most tolerant and realistic factor in the political-economic chaos into which post-World War Two Yugoslavia was plunged, a chaos which was a burden especially on the Albanians.

No Yugoslav politician took any notice of this very important factor. On the chess-board of the Yugoslav politicians the Albanian element was a pawn which they could move as they wished and with which they could do whatever they liked. The policy pursued by Tito-Kardelj and Ranković towards the Albanians was not merely mistaken but savage, a policy of extermination. The Albanians endured, but did not give way. Even though Kosova became an autonomous region later, it remained the poorest economically and the most neglected politically in the "self-administrative system. In these conditions the people of Kosova demanded the status of a republic in the framework of the Yugoslav Federation.

Is this demand the factor which is dividing Yugoslavia or is it the great Serbo-Croat-Slovenian rivalries? It is more than obvious that the latter are the divisive factor. The Albanians are impartial in these rivalries and have no ambitions for hegemony and supremacy over the others. They have not
fixed their eyes on one or the other superpower in order to gain backing and support to capture the dominant positions in the Federation.

The Yugoslav leadership and press laid the blame for the demonstrations in Kosovo on the Albanian people in Kosovo and went on to accuse socialist Albania and along with it the Ustaše, Čelnaći and Ballists in Europe and America. To round off this case, they lumped us all together, foolishly thinking that they had solved the riddle. This was the solution they dished up for world opinion to swallow. But nobody eats the broth that the Yugoslavs concocted.

The Yugoslav leadership wants to hide the true reasons for the events in Kosovo. This stand is fraught with dangers not only for the peoples of Yugoslavia but also for the people of Albania and other peoples of the Balkans. That is why we do not hide our opinions and are saying openly were these dangers come from.

Any one who goes deeply into these key problems of Yugoslavia will immediately come to the conclusion that it is neither socialist Albania nor the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia who are undermining the Federation. Indeed, as emerges from Dolanc's interview, the Albanians are for the preservation of the Yugoslav Federation. However, Dolanc is gravely mistaken when he thinks he can placate the Serbian desires for hegemony in the face of Croat-Slovenian hegemony by proclaiming curiously that "Kosovo will never become a republic." Kosovo must not be sacrificed to this antagonism.

In this situation of international crises, not only economic but also political, in this aggressive warmongering rivalry between American Imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, do the superpowers have a finger in the weakening of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In the Incitement of great-Serb chauvinism and great-Croat-Slovenian chauvinism? It is not by accident that the Yugoslav-"politicians" are not even scratching the scab over this great wound.

Why is this dangerous situation being hidden? It is being hidden because Yugoslavia is not independent, but is dependent on these two great powers. Tito's theory of "non-aligned" countries is worthless, a fraud. Life proves this. Yugoslavia cannot exist without loans. Without doubt, the political, hegemonic, economic and strategic interests of the two superpowers in Yugoslavia are intertwined with this economic dependence.

It is from these two savage enemies and other open and secret enemies that the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia must be defended, gentlemen of the journal "Nin." Let us repeat to you for the hundredth time that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia are not the enemies, either of the Yugoslav peoples or of the Yugoslav Federation. You, Messrs Yugoslav politicians, need not listen to us if you do not wish to do so, but we are convinced that the peoples of Yugoslavia will listen to us and will understand our opinions, our sincere feelings, the fraternal feelings of Albanians.

We Albanian communists are masters in our own house, and we pursue the policy which we consider the best and most correct. Others may not accept it. That is their right. Our people supervise and judge us. The facts, life, work, all show that the Albanian people support and defend the correct line of the Party and their state with all their strength.

Official Yugoslav propaganda attacks our socialist system built on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, with derogatory epithets such as "statist-bureaucratic, Stalinist", etc. A whole pseudo-theory has been built up for this mission. The Yugoslavs defend and propagate their "self-administrative" system as "one of the most perfect forms of socialism." That is up to them.

But it is up to us to defend the Marxist-Leninist theory, scientific socialism and the construction of socialism in Albania, on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We are fighting and will continue to fight unhesitatingly against world capitalism, imperialism and modern revisionism, whether Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav or Eurocommunist; we will fight against every kind of reformism which advocates the extinction of the class struggle, which causes the degeneration of the working class, splits its fighting unity and sabotages the people's struggle for national and social liberation.

We are against Yugoslav "self-administration" and fight it ideologically, because we regard it as a pseudo-socialist, counter-revolutionary, capitalist, system. We are doing this and will continue to do this without hesitation.

Hence, it is clear that we are not in accord with the Yugoslav revisionists politically and ideologically and never will be in accord with them. Both we and they are well aware of this truth. The whole world knows this.

But, irrespective of the fact that ideologically and politically we can never be reconciled, Albania and Yugoslavia have arrived at the same opinion that for the sake of good neighbourly relations and for the sake of stability and peace in the region of the Balkans, normal trade, cultural and other relations should be developed between our two states.

We must say that good understanding has been reached by both sides on this course. The trade between the two countries in the interests not only of Albania, as the world capitalist bourgeoisie wants to present it, but also in the interests of Yugoslavia, has developed and is developing in a satisfactory manner. Our cultural relations, especially with Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, have proceeded well, with success, without any incident and with fruitful understanding. Neither from the Albanian side, nor from the Yugoslav side has any serious obstacle arisen. We consider these relations, as well as our trade relations, as very good things which must be continued and not interrupted. Not even the slightest sign of "Albanian chauvinism and irredentism," such as the Yugoslav leadership and press are talking about, has been displayed or can be displayed by any of our citizens who have visited Kosovo, from our Minister of Education and Culture down to the professors and simplest Albanian tourists. Likewise, we can say that the Yugoslav citizens have acted similarly. There has been no sign of anything which could spoil this course.

In writing this, it is not our purpose to arouse polemics or to pour fuel on the fire. We have been forced to reply to the anti-Albanian campaign which has burst out recently in Yugoslavia and to express our opinion frankly, once again, about the events in Kosovo. At the same time we wish to reaffirm our desire and readiness for the further development of good neighbourly relations, a thing which is in the interests of both sides.
THE
OF A REPUBLIC
IS A JUST
ZËRI I POPULLIT

The way the Yugoslav leadership is seeking to
the difficulties in which the country finds itself, shows that it
it maintains and the actions it is undertaking respond neither to the
nor to European security, about which the Yugoslav leaders,

ONE AFTER THE OTHER, THE POLITICAL STAFFS OF YUGOSLAVIA,
FROM THE LOWEST TO THE HIGHEST INSTANCES, FROM THE REGIONS
AND REPUBLICS UP TO THE FEDERATION, FROM THE BASIC ORGAN-
IZATIONS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE LCY, MET AND
DISCUSSED THE EVENTS IN KOSOVA. EVERYWHERE THERE WERE CURSES
AGAINST THE PEOPLE AND YOUTH OF KOSOVA. THREATS, ABUSE,
INSULTS! A WAVE OF GREAT-SERB AND ANTI-ROMANIAN CHAUVINISM
IS SWEEPING YUGOSLAVIA. THE YUGOSLAV LEADERS ARE COMPETING
WITH ONE ANOTHER IN ORATORY TO COVER UP THE REAL
CAUSES OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS AND REVOLTS OF THE ALBANIAN POPULA-
TION OF KOSOVA. TO CONCEAL THE MONSTROUS MASSACRES AND
BARBARITIES OF THE SERB ARMIES, TO DENIGRATE THE ALBANIANS
OF KOSOVA. THEY ARE ALL RUSHING TO BE THE FIRST TO PROPOSE
THE MOST DRACONIAN MEASURES, TO PRESENT THE MOST OPPRESSIVE
AND INHUMAN PLANS AGAINST THE ALBANIANS.

In this article today, however, we do not intend to return to the explanation of the tragic events of Kosovo, to show where they have their source and who caused them.

We have expressed our view and stand on these questions in the articles published on April 8 and 23. We have nothing to delete from them or add to them. What we had to say we said openly, straight out, with sincerity and a high sense of responsibility.

We thought that after the first shock and confusion, reason, level-headedness, realistic and objective judgement of the causes which led to the new tragedy in Kosovo would prevail among the Yugoslav leadership, that the lofty inte-

ZËRI I POPULLIT—organ of the CC of
the PLA, article published on May 17,
1981.

rests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the
friendship and unity of the nations and
nationalities which constitute it would stand above nationalist prejudices, old
and new.

This did not occur. On the contrary,
all the government organs and the
organizations of the League of Com-
munists were swept by a furious wave
of chauvinism, not only against the Al-
banians of Kosovo, but also against the
Party of Labour and the People's Social-
ist Republic of Albania, against their
correct line and policy towards Yugos-
lavia. They are accusing Albania in so
many words of "having interfered in
the internal affairs of Yugoslavia."

We are said to have interfered because
we publicly condemned the massacres
that were perpetrated in Kosovo, because
we told the truth about thousands
of people being killed, wounded and ar-
rested there! Did the Yugoslav leaders
expect us to send them our congratula-
tions on these crimes and atrocities?
We are said to have interfered because
we said in our articles that the people
of Kosovo have the right to demand the
status of a Federal Republic. But this
is a legitimate demand, a demand of
the people of Kosovo, which we have
not invented.

In recent days, the Yugoslav leaders
have had a great deal to say about this
question, but nobody has explained why
Kosovo cannot be a republic. One after
the other, they merely repeat that the
demand of Kosovo to become a Federal
Republic is allegedly reactionary,
counter-revolutionary, chauvinistic, etc.
This stand is not only utterly baseless but
also in complete and open contradiction
with the wartime programmatic stands
of the CPY on the national question and
with many statements of the top per-
sonalities of the Yugoslav party and
state. But let us refer to documents.

A FEW FACTS OF HISTORY
ABOUT THE TREATMENT
OF THE NATIONAL PROBLEM
OF THE ALBANIANS
OF YUGOSLAVIA

At the London Conference of
Ambassadors of the Great Powers, in
1913, Albania was partitioned. Despite
to solve the problem of Kosova and overcome it is acting with great haste and in utter confusion. The stands the many protests through diplomatic interests of Yugoslavia nor to those of Albania, neither to Balkan channels and the armed opposition of the masses of the people will strive with the Albanian people, a large part of the all their might, has to be the urgent north-eastern territory. Kosova and solution of the national question in conformity with the democratic right of self-determination... Montenegro.

The Peace Conference of Versailles, in 1919, ignoring the just demands of the Albanian people, reconfirmed the partitioning of the Albanian territories, as was decided by the imperialist powers in London, and left them to the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom, which it created.

For a long time the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had condemned the national oppression of the Albanians who «were enslaved and earmarked for extermination» by the «nationalist policy of the great-Serb hegemonists», as Tito wrote in the newspaper «Proletar». For some time it has also upheld the thesis that the peoples which made up the Kingdom of Yugoslavia must be granted the right of self-determination up to secession.

In the article «Against the Danger of War, Against the Onslaught of Fascist Reaction! Let Us Unite All the Democratic Forces in the Militant Popular Front in Yugoslavia», too! published in «Proletar», organ of the CC of the CPY on February 2, 1937, Tito wrote: «The aim of this struggle, in which the solution of the national question here (in Kosova — ed.) can be achieved with the formation of the free workers and peasants’ republic of Kosova through the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist fascist regime of the 'great-Serb' bourgeoisie. For the Albanians, Turks and the Slav Moslems, this solution will mean that they achieve complete freedom of ownership of their land, are liberated from national oppression and secure the conditions for their completely free national political and cultural development.» (Arhiv F.N.R.J.

Fond: «Centralni Komitet K.P.J., Broj 12-11, 1940, Teze o nacionalnom pitanju na Kosmetu sa V Zemaljske Konferencije K.P.J.»)

Thus the Communist Party of Yugoslavia recognized the right of the people of Kosova, like the other peoples of Yugoslavia, to self-determination up to secession, the right to have their own republic. The people of Kosova would win these rights by taking part in the Anti-fascist Liberation War. And the Albanians of Kosova took part in the war, making their valuable contribution to the liberation of Kosova and the peoples of Yugoslavia.

By the end of 1944, as Fadil Hoxha has recorded, there were more than 50,000 fighters in the partisan brigades.
and other detachments in Kosova. During this war, thousands of Albanian partisans laid down their lives for freedom and national rights.

In accordance with the decision taken at the 5th Conference of the CPY of the year 1940, during the whole period of the National Liberation War, the Regional Committee of the CP for Kosova and Metohia maintained direct links with the Central Committee of the CPY. It was of the same rank and had all the attributes and competences which the highest party organs in Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina had. The Military High Command which was set up in Kosova during the war was linked directly with the Supreme Headquarters of Yugoslavia. Thus, during the war, the Party, the National Liberation Army, the Councils, the Front, etc. in Kosova were not dependent on Serbia and did not function within its framework. But like those of the other nationalities, were linked directly with the central forums of Yugoslavia.

On the basis of the decisions and orientations of the CPY on the self-determination of nations, in November 1943 the Regional Committee of the CPY for Kosova and Metohia decided to convene the Founding Conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosova and Metohia. This conference was held in the village of Bujan in the Gjakova Highlands from December 31, 1943 to January 1-2, 1944. Forty-nine delegates, of whom 43 were Albanians while 6 were Serbs and Montenegrins, took part in this conference. They were representatives of the national liberation councils of the main centres and villages, of the partisan units and communists from all parts of Kosova. The conference was held precisely at the time when the other nations of Yugoslavia founded the supreme organs of the state power that emerged from the National Liberation War, when every nation, according to its own desire and will, was realizing its right to self-determination.

The principal document of the Founding Conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosova and Metohia is the Resolution which expresses the stand of the whole people in regard to the future of Kosova.

This Resolution says, «Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau is a region inhabited for the most part by the Albanian people who today, as always, want to be united with Albania. Therefore, we deem it our duty to indicate the correct road which the Albanian people must follow to realize their aspirations. The only way for the Albanian people of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau to be united with Albania is through their joint struggle with the other peoples of Yugoslavia against the blood-thirsty nazi occupiers and their hirings, because this is the only way to win the freedom, in which all the peoples, hence, the Albanian people, too, will be able to decide their fate through the right of self-determination up to secession. The guarantee for this is the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and the National Liberation Army of Albania with which it is closely linked. Besides these, our great allies, the Soviet Union, Britain, America also guarantee this (the Atlantic Charter, the Moscow and Tehran Conferences)». (The People’s Council of the Autonomous Region of Kosova-Metohia 1943-1953. Prishtina 1955, p. 10.)

The Resolution of the National Liberation Council of the Kosova-Metohia region bears the signatures of the people’s heroes Xhevdet Doda and Hajdar Dushi, of the martyrs Tefik Çanga, Xheladin Hana, and others, of Fadil Hotxa, Xhavit Nimani, Ymer Pula, Milan Mićković, Ljubomir Canić, Veliša Mićković and the other delegates who took part in the meeting.

Although this decision was in accord with the documents of the CPY and the declarations of Tito on the self-determination of nations, it was opposed by the leadership of the CPY, in which the nationalist-chauvinist spirit was already predominant and the anti-Marxist stands on how matters would be arranged in post-war Yugoslavia had been outlined.

The letter of the CC of the CPY of 28th March 1944 to the Regional Committee for Kosova-Metohia, in connection with the decisions of the Bujan Conference, said, «You should not have set up the Regional Committee, because your region is not a separate compact district. The character of your Regional National Liberation Council is not clear from the Resolution. This Council can be only an initiator, an organ of the political unity of the masses, but we cannot give it a state character, although it must lead the low-ranking councils where they exist. This is because you do not have liberated territories...»

«...Here are our instructions of how the national question should be treated. First of all, you should understand and popularize more widely the decisions of the 2nd meeting of the AVNOJ*, and the essence and purpose of these decisions. These decisions guarantee equal rights for all the peoples, make possible the right to self-determination.

«Today there must be no talk of 'unification' with Albania, because at this moment there is no question of defining the borders between Yugoslavia and Albania, both of them occupied by Germany, but these two countries should be liberated from the fascist occupier through armed struggle.» (Zbornik dokumenta i podataka o Narodno-oslobodilačkom Ratu jugoslovenskih naroda. Tom I. Knjiga 19. Borbe na Kosovu 1941-1944. Dok. 104. str. 462-464. Beograd 1969.)

Nevertheless, the Albanians of Kosova and all Yugoslavia continued to fight the fascist occupiers with determination, always hoping that through their fight they would win their national rights.

In the autumn of 1944 Miladin Popović returned to Kosova from Albania, and resumed the function of political secretary of the Regional Committee of the CPY for Kosova. In 1943 he had sent a letter to the CC of the CPY in which he sought a concrete definition of the
content of the principle of self-determination and how this principle would be applied to the Albanians of Kosova. In this letter M. Popović wrote: «We have always stressed the slogan of self-determination for the future. The Albanian people could not be mobilized against the 'liberator' occupier in this way.» He goes on to demand that «the CC of the CPY take a concrete stand and define the form of the self-determination of the Albanians in Yugoslavia.» (Central Archives of the P.T.A. File M. Popović.) But the Yugoslav leadership turned a deaf ear to this international communist, this son of Montenegro, and proceeded on its course.

When Yugoslavia was liberated, the Albanians of Kosova and the other regions expected that, in return for the contribution they made in the war against the occupiers, for the blood of thousands of fighters who fell on the battlefields, and for the countless sacrifices of the whole people, they would be given political freedoms and national rights on an equal footing with the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

But instead of this, in February 1945 a military administration was established in Kosova. At this time, while most of the Kosova brigades were fighting in Croatia and Slovenia for the liberation of the whole of Yugoslavia, the Serb-Montenegrin 32nd and 46th Divisions, the Macedonian 50th Division and others poured into Kosova. Thousands of Albanians accused of various crimes were killed and massacred. Thousands of others were sent to the front under the pretext of military mobilization.

While the military administration ruled and made the law in Kosova, the whole of Kosova had been put on the auction block of Belgrade. The first variant which the Yugoslav leadership discussed was the division of Kosova among three republics — Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia. Thus a further partitioning of the Albanian regions, similar to that decided by the Yugoslav Kingdom, was being designed. At a meeting of the CC of the CPY held at the beginning of 1945, Miladin Popović strongly opposed this proposal. He declared that this proposal was openly contrary to the aspirations and rights of the Albanians of Kosova. Rights which they had won with the blood they had shed and the contribution they had made during the National Liberation War.

Next it was discussed that Kosova should remain an autonomous unit, neither separate nor dependent on the Federation, but annexed by one of three republics: Serbia, Macedonia or Montenegro. Finally it was decided that Kosova should be annexed by the Republic of Serbia. (Kosova 2, 1973, pp. 76-78.)

The solution which the Yugoslav leadership gave the question of Kosova was not a just solution of the national question. This was an arbitrary stand, an open negation of the sovereign rights of the population of Kosova, and a violation of the principle of the self-determination of the peoples.

Only one variant was not discussed in Belgrade at the time — that Kosova also could be united with Albania. Had the people of Kosova not expressed this wish at the Bujan meeting? Were not Albania and Yugoslavia two allied states that had fought and shed blood together?

The status of Kosova was decided under the dictate of the great-Serb chauvinist ideology, which was inherited from the Yugoslav Kingdom and preserved in post-war Yugoslavia. This emerged also from what Tito said to Comrade Enver Hoxha in 1946, that «Kosova and the other regions inhabited by Albanians belong to Albania and we shall return them to you, but not now, because the great-Serb reaction would not accept such a thing.» (Central Archives of the P.T.A. File «Visit of the Albanian delegation to Yugoslavia.» 1946.)

Tito admitted that Kosova belonged to Albania, but he was not sincere in saying so, because the Yugoslav leadership had already decided that Kosova would remain under Serbia. In fact a year earlier he had declared to the Albanian delegation of Kosova that «the peoples of Kosova and Metohia will create such a profound fraternity and unity that it will be all the same to the Albanian people whether they live within the borders of Albania or Yugoslavia.» («Rilindja», April 15, 1945.)

What Tito concealed, the great-Serb chauvinist Ranković declared openly, with no kid gloves. Speaking about the question of the annexation of Kosova by Serbia at the extraordinary meeting of the Anti-fascist Convention of Serbia in April 1945, he stated that this annexation «is the best answer to those who trumpet about the danger of the partitioning of the 'Serbian' territory, who make the accusation that the National Liberation War will weaken the Serbs in the interests of the Croats and the others.» («Borba», April 8, 1945.)

And the present Yugoslav leaders, in their attempts to reject the demand that Kosova should enjoy the status of a Federal Republic, are trying to prove that allegedly the Albanian people of Kosova themselves decided «of their own free will» that Kosova should be incorporated into the Serbian Republic.

The people of Kosova neither requested nor decided that Kosova should be annexed to the Republic of Serbia. This decision was taken by the top forums of Serbia in an arbitrary manner. This emerges clearly from the documents of that time.

Dušan Mugoša, who had replaced Miladin Popović, assassinated a month earlier by the agents of OZNA**, also spoke at the above-said April 1945 meeting of the Anti-fascist Convention of Serbia. Dušan Mugoša said, «I express the desire of the National Liberation Council of Kosova and Metohia that we, the peoples of Kosova and Metohia, too, should be annexed to fraternal Federal Serbia.» («Borba», April 8, 1945.) This declaration of Dušan Mugoša is considered as the «expression of the free will and self-determination of the people of Kosova.» On April 9, 1945, the
newspaper "Borba" with big headlines informed the public that the meeting of the Anti-fascist Convention of the liberated people of Serbia accepted the desire of the peoples of Kosovo and Meloânia to be united with Federal Serbia.

But on June 30, 1945, forgetting what it had censored on April 8, the newspaper "Borba" in one of its materials published the last part of the speech of Dušan Mugosa, in which he revealed that Kosovo had made no demand and taken no decision to be annexed to Serbia. Dušan Mugosa had said: "We have not taken this decision in our Convention yet, because military rule is still in force in Kosovo and Meloânia. At the first opportunity, as soon as the military rule in Kosovo and Meloânia is lifted, we will take the decision in our Convention on annexation to Federal Serbia." Thus, what had been decided previously in Belgrade would be endorsed in Kosovo.

What, then, did Kosovo gain from all that struggle it waged and all the blood it shed? In the new Yugoslavia it was not even granted the rights of an autonomous region; as was done with Vojvodina, but was reduced to the status of an "oblast" of Federal Serbia. Kosovo remained in this status until 1968. The people of Kosovo did not reconcile themselves to this situation and persisted in demanding their rights. In 1968, on the occasion of the discussion of amendments to the Constitution, the Albanians of Kosovo once again raised the question of their national rights and put forward their demand of the status of a republic for Kosovo. This demand was presented openly and publicly at the meetings of political activists held in the communes of Pristina, Gjilani etc. The Kosovo press of October 1968 said that in a number of meetings in several communes demands for a republic, the right of self-determination, etc., have been expressed." ("Rilindja", September 8, 1968 and October 6, 1968.)

A delegation of the Communist League of Kosovo-Meloânia also presented this demand to Tito at the beginning of November 1968. Tito opposed this lawful demand of the Albanians of Kosovo and refused it, saying that "the republic is not the only factor which solves all the problems." ("Rilindja", November 4, 1968.) It was clear that the Yugoslav leadership did not intend to give the Albanians of Kosovo the status of a republic.

That is why massive demonstrations, in which Albanian youth and citizens took part, broke out in November 1968 in various cities of Kosovo. They demanded that they be given the national rights for which they had fought and shed their blood, such as the right to keep their national flag, the right of two languages (Albanian and Serbian), the establishment of an Albanian university, the right of self-determination and the status of a republic. The demonstrations were violently suppressed by the police forces.

After the demonstrations, the Yugoslav leadership agreed to the Albanians' demand for bilingualism and the national flag, and established the University of Pristina. However, the demand for the republic was rejected. Although the autonomous region was given certain wider competences after the sanctioning of the amendments to the Constitution, Kosovo remained, as always, under the tutelage of Serbia.

From what has been said, it emerges that the demand of the Albanians of Kosovo for the status of a Federal Republic, for the recognition of their national rights, is not a new problem that emerged for the first time in the demonstrations of Pristina and other cities, and is not a problem stirred up by socialists. The people of Kosovo have always fought for these rights. But they have been systematically denied them, starting from the 2nd meeting of the AVNOJ of November 29, 1943, which treated the Albanians of Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia as national minorities, destined to live under the umbrella of other republics, while the right to sovereignty and the formation of a republic was recognized to others, such as Montenegro and Macedonia. As it turns out from the above-cited documents, the Serb bourgeoisie and Serb chauvinism have always been obstacles to the full recognition of the national rights of the people of Kosovo. Precisely because the just demands of the people of Kosovo, such as the demand for the republic, are not to the liking of this bourgeoisie, they are called irredentist, counter-revolutionary, chauvinist etc.

The demonstrations in Pristina which began peacefully but which Belgrade turned into a blood bath, can be explained and understood only if one bears in mind this sinister development, this anti-Marxist handling of the national problem of Kosovo and these chauvinist solutions which have been imposed on it when it has demanded its constitutional rights.

Why do the gentlemen of Belgrade keep this development of the problem of Kosovo secret? Why are they not making this analysis of their current meetings? They have a reason. And the reason is that any analysis of the constitutional problem of Kosovo will lead to the conclusion that the Albanians have never been given the rights for which they fought and shed their blood, together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, that national oppression is still applied against them unrelentingly, that in Yugoslavia a chauvinist policy is pursued towards Kosovo. The problem of Kosovo is not solved either by saying that these demonstrations have been organized by irredentists, or by using terror and violence, or by accusing Albania of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.

THE POLICY OF THE ALBANIAN STATE DOES NOT ENDANGER BUT DEFENDS THE SFR OF YUGOSLAVIA

The ideological contradictions between socialist Albania and self-administrative Yugoslavia are well known. The ideological polemic between us is
not a development of recent times. We Albanian communists have felt, feel and will feel it our permanent duty to defend Marxism-Leninism. We have fought against revisionist-opportunist-reformist theories and views of whatever hue and will continue to do so. This is our right, just as it is the right of all the anti-Marxists and the different parties of the bourgeoisie to fight us, and in this direction they do not hang back.

We have the full right to defend our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Others have the right to defend their systems. The ideological struggle resulting from this is natural and inevitable.

The Yugoslav leaders claim that they do not wage this sort of struggle against us. This is not true and never has been. We wage the ideological struggle and we say so, whereas they wage it, but don’t say so.

They claim that such an ideological struggle weakens the state, commercial and cultural relations between Albania and Yugoslavia. We assert and observe that they have not been weakened. On the contrary, they have strengthened, and this is due not only to their will, but also to ours. Neither the Yugoslavs nor we have made ideological concessions to each other, but we have agreed on matters of common interest and have disagreed on those questions on which we can never be reconciled.

Our state relations have developed on the basis of the recognized principles of good neighbourliness. We want them to proceed in this way in the future. If the Yugoslav leadership does not want such a thing, no one will hinder it from acting otherwise. We shall try to find a “modus vivendi” with it, without violating principles.

You who have launched the new anti-Albanian campaign in Yugoslavia pretend that you have “slackened your vigilance” against the so-called hostile actions of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This is not true, because you have waged the ideological struggle openly.

You claim that you have been “big-hearted” for the sake of maintaining the good relations between our two countries. This is not true, either. You do not suffer from “enlargement of the heart” and you have waged the ideological struggle against our basic doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, and our regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat relentlessly. Why do you conceal this?

Despite this, however, another reality exists, that of the continuation of the good neighbourliness in our state relations. We hope that this reality endures and advances. In recent times you give the impression that you want to restrict these relations. The responsibility for this falls on you.

It seems that you are going to step up the baseless and mistaken anti-Albanian campaign which you have launched in recent times and which is neither new nor weak, and raise it to a more strident pitch. Go ahead, we are not afraid. You go your way, we shall go ours.

You claim hypocritically that you have not informed Yugoslav opinion and your youth about the misery which prevails in Albania, about the Albanian people’s lack of freedoms and rights, about the smashing of churches and mosques, about the closing of our doors to the hordes of tourists, about the closing of our ports to the Soviet navy, about the many camps and prisoners, etc. For our part, we shall speak even more than we have done about the “Yugoslav paradise”. We have spoken about this “economic, spiritual and ideological paradise and prosperity” in Yugoslavia, however we shall refresh the memory of our people and youth about the evils that the Albanian people have seen and experienced at your hands both before and after the National Liberation War. This is in the logic of things and the fight you want to incite.

Contrary to the facts of history, you have claimed that Yugoslavia allegedly defended Albania. In the last Plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which met solely to attack Kosovo and assail the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, amongst others, many authorized voices were heard to say that “Federal Yugoslavia is the defender of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania.” This is a “paternalistic” expression and a one-sided statement. Not without purpose and from positions of the great-state megalomania, it was overlooked that socialist Albania also is a strong defender of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We oppose the present foreign and internal policy of Yugoslavia, because we think it is fraught with dangers for Yugoslavia itself and for Albania, for the Balkans and Europe, regardless of the pretentious claims about “self-administration” and talk about an “independent” “non-aligned” policy, etc.

Every government and every individual who understands politics and follows the situations that develop in the world, can see the dangers of this course of the Yugoslav policy. This policy has exposed Yugoslavia to the greedy ambitions and possible aggression of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. This threat is the outcome of this short-sighted policy which also causes the instability within Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leaders not only advocate their self-administrative system, but also recommend it to others as “the most perfect socialist system.” They present their foreign policy as if it will disarm and destroy the aggressive imperialist powers, as if it will bring peace and prosperity to the world. This megalomaniac pretension is not only naïve but also a fraud which is being exposed every day by world events.

Yugoslavia regards the fact that it is up to its neck in debt as a great merit. It calls this “economic independence.” It calls the policy of “non-alignment” protection and defence of
its independence, when, by law, the imperialist and Soviet multi-national companies are guaranteed 50 per cent of the profit from the joint economic ventures in Yugoslavia. It describes as «wise, open, and sincere» the influx of foreign tourists and the emigration of Yugoslav workers to all the capitalist countries of the world. It describes as «a gesture of good conduct» the permission it gives the Soviet warships to enter, make repairs and obtain supplies in the Yugoslav ports. It calls the great economic crisis which has afflicted Yugoslavia, the great increase in inflation, and the rising cost of living for the working masses, inevitable and almost «normal». According to the Yugoslav leadership, all these things have nothing to do with either «self-administration» or the «independent policy» or the «policy of non-alignment» These, say the Yugoslav «theorists», are two issues which do not influence each other, the former (the crisis) is not a consequence of the latter (the policy).

The Albanians living in Yugoslavia and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which «incites» them with «its statist, bureaucratic, Stalinist, nationalist, irredentist policy» are to blame for these things.

No, Messrs Yugoslav leaders, do not fear the truth, be just a little realistic, for it is not as you claim.

Do you really want us, too, to follow your course? This will never happen. We may even live poor, but we want to live free and build our own well-being which is rising day by day. And this we are doing with our own forces. We are not in debt to anyone and do not sell our country to foreign capital, of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and others. We are not locked away in self-isolation, but engage, in honest trade with mutual benefit, just as we develop cultural-educational exchanges. It is a fact that we have such relations with you, too, and trade between us is developing every year.

It is not hard for anyone to guess what would happen if socialist Albania were to open its doors to Soviet, American and other capitalist countries’ capital, to the hordes of hippy tourists, what would happen if Albania were to open the ports of Saranda, Vlora, Durres and Shengjin to the Soviet warships, as Yugoslavia does with its ports. If this were done, not only the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, but also the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Greece, and the whole of the Balkans and Europe would be endangered.

This we have not done and never will. Neither the Soviets nor anybody else will see our ports, even through binoculars. In order to enter the Albanian ports, any enemy will have to do so over our dead bodies.

Because it pursues a principled, correct and unswerving policy, because it sticks to its course consistently and with determination, Albania is an important factor of peace, stability, security and defence in the Balkans and Europe, as has been its tradition throughout its long history.

The capitalist and imperialist world has perpetrated many evils against the Albanian people at all times. Now, too, it is trying to distort the truth about Albania. It has robbed it of its assets and does not want to return them. It refuses or hesitates to pay the war reparations to Albania at a time when it has paid them to all the others. And all this is because the Albanian people, a small people want to live free, independent and sovereign in their own country. The Albanian people have done no one any harm, only good. But no force will deprive them of their legitimate rights.

Messrs Yugoslav leaders, forget your morbid passions for a moment and think with cool heads: Does this policy of the Albanian state endanger or defend the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

We have declared and we declare again officially and publicly that if the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is attacked, we Albanians of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania will fight shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Yugoslavia. Does this undermine or defend the Yugoslav Federation?

Do you think that, at the supreme moment when the Albanian people of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, united with the peoples of Yugoslavia, are fighting shoulder to shoulder, as they did during the Second World War, against an enemy or enemies invading our two countries, the Albanian people living on their own territories in Yugoslavia will turn the gun against us and oppose us, taking the side of the Soviet-Bulgarians or some other aggressor?

Why, Messrs Yugoslav leaders, do you distort our declarations and try to put in our mouth things we have not said? We have declared and we declare again that we have not raised and are not raising territorial claims. Why do you accuse us of being chauvinists, inciters of irredentism, and nationalists? Of course, by levelling such unfounded and preposterous accusations against us, you want to conceal something grave and unjust on your part.

We do not have the slightest interest in weakening the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, we want it strengthened, but not at the expense of the Albanians of Kosovo. The weakening of the Federation is to the liking of the revisionist aggressor, Soviet Union and the Bulgarian revisionist leadership. This truth we state openly, while you are afraid to do so. Moreover, you are blowing your trumpets clamouring that the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania wants to undermine the Yugoslav Federation, that the heroic Albanian people and youth of Kosovo, who are demanding the status of a Republic, are counter-revolutionaries and seeking to destroy the Federation.

Three times you have inflicted heavy bloodshed on the martyred Albanian
people living in Yugoslavia, 50 thousand of whom fought shoulder to shoulder with the Yugoslav brothers and with the fraternal Albanian people who sent their own liberation shock brigades to Yugoslavia to fight against the nazi-fascist occupiers, the Ballists, the Cetnici and Ustaše. Despite this war, you shed their blood in 1945, in 1968 and again covered them in blood in 1981.

Can things go on in this way, Messrs Yugoslav leaders? Can this be called «a just solution of the national question,» a slogan you are trumpeting every day? Would you tolerate such a terror against your peoples, would you have been so cool-headed and patient, as the Kosova people have shown themselves to be, in the face of these atrocities? Does the Albanian population living in Yugoslavia not have the right to live in peace and freedom? Has it not the right to stop the UDB-men from breaking into its homes and disarming and torturing its wives and children, from imprisoning and torturing innocent people? Does it not have the right to defend itself against these inhuman actions?

The Albanians of Yugoslavia ought to have all these rights and the People’s Socialist Republic of Albanian will defend them when these rights are denied them, especially when they are drowned in blood, as occurred recently all over Kosova.

These truths we assert and these rights we defend publicly you call «interruption in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia,» «subversive organization of Tirana,» etc. No, gentlemen, it is not so and no one believes what you are saying. The Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia have their own brains and know what they are doing. They do not need us, the Albanians of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, to teach and inculcate them. They are brave and loyal. They know how to demand what belongs to them. Just as they know how to defend themselves. Messrs Yugoslav leaders, make a correct assessment of the lofty virtues of this part of the Albanian nation which lives in Yugoslavia, don’t make them enemies by violating the rights that belong to them, because this is not good, either for you or for them.

THE ALBANIAN NATION IS ONE.
IT HAS THE ONE HISTORY,
CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

In our opinion, the educational, cultural and scientific relations which the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania has developed with Kosova, in the first place, but also with the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and Montenegro to a lesser extent (and this not for lack of good will on our part), have been quite normal, fruitful, useful and correct for both sides. These relations have developed through joint agreements and with the approval of our two Governments.

We believe the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has given its approval to both the Autonomous Regions of Kosova and the two Federal Republics where Albanians live. However, this is a matter which is not up to us. The fact that these relations were developed in the proper way is due to both sides. These relations had no political character, they stirred up neither nationalism, chauvinism nor irredentism. There has been no complaint about lack of correctness, violation of the laws of either Republic by the people who have travelled to and from our countries, and not even the slightest incident has occurred.

We are fully convinced that these relations, as you frequently like to repeat, served as a bridge for strengthening the relations of the Albanian people with the peoples of Yugoslavia. The leadership of the Yugoslav Federation described these economic, commercial, educational and cultural relations between the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania and the Autonomous Region of Kosova, after the troubles that occurred there through no fault of ours and without the slightest inci-
heritage of all Albanians, and of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in particular. We have beforehand submitted the plans of cultural and educational collaboration and the programs of performances of artistic groups to you and you have approved them. The public has liked them very much and applauded them. Everybody likes what is beautiful and healthy.

Our artistic ensembles have gone everywhere. They have been well received and applauded with great admiration and enthusiasm by the Greek people and their leaders, by the art lovers and the press of that country. Likewise, the Turkish people and their leaders of every rank have liked our folk songs and dances very much. The same thing has occurred in France, in Italy, in Algeria, in Tunisia, in the Nordic countries and everywhere. Nobody has accused us either of nationalism or of chauvinism. They have respected our feelings and we have respected theirs.

We ask: Why this stand of the Yugoslav leaders? What is it in their heads and feelings that is worrying them? Why don't they have a clear conscience? Or do they think that more people or groups of people have gone from Albania to Yugoslavia than who have come here from Yugoslavia? The statistics show the opposite and we rejoice over it.

Or do they want to find a groundless excuse to restrict these relations, to cut down on scientific, cultural and artistic exchanges and the number of people coming and going? Mr. Dušan Ristić, Chairman of the Convention of Kosova, let the cat out of the bag when he said that «all the protocols on the collaboration of the cultural-educational and other institutions and organizations of Kosova with Albania should no longer be implemented.»

If they want it, the Federation and the other competent organs can do what Ristić asks. This is their right. We do not force the doors of the others open. For our part, we will keep our doors open to all sincere friends, whoever they may be, and especially to our Albanian brothers who live in Yugoslavia. This will help them to become acquainted with the «Albanian hell», as the main leaders of the Autonomous Region of Kosova and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia call our country, and to compare it with the «Yugoslav paradise», as we call it.

We are stating our opinion in advance: if the Yugoslavs do take these nationalist, chauvinist measures, this will be a great mistake on their part. The Albanians of Yugoslavia and the entire Albanian people will condemn them and will rightly say that the Yugoslavs are afraid of the development of Albanian culture but not of decadent culture!

We tell the Yugoslavs in a friendly way that such measures will not calm Albanian public opinion in Kosova and the other regions of Yugoslavia. We are convinced that the healthy Yugoslav public opinion and world opinion will also condemn this act.

Once again it is our duty to tell the Yugoslav leaders to keep cool in their judgement and actions. The Yugoslav leadership should look into the needs of the Albanians of Yugoslavia with most rigorous fairness, should not treat them badly and discriminate against them, should seriously and objectively consider the lawful demands of the people of Kosova and should not harm and ill-treat the heroic Albanian youth, especially the student youth, the teachers, professors and all the intelligentsia of Kosova and the other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, should not consider the University of Prishtina and the Albanian elementary and secondary schools as hotbeds of enemies, counterrevolutionaries, chauvinists, etc. should not dismember the University of Prishtina on the pretext that there is overproduction of graduates and scatter the Albanian students throughout all the universities of Yugoslavia. No one is deceived and everybody understands why this is done. The Albanian does not forget his native place where he is honoured. Do not attempt to cut off the head of the youth, the beautiful Albanian flower of Kosova, because the Albanians have never spared their blood for knowledge and freedom.

There can never be over-production of people with schooling if production in Kosova, which is potentially rich and effectively poor, is increased. Serious measures must be taken for this development of Kosova, as for the rest you may shout as loud as you please that in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania «the people have nothing to eat, no freedom, there are no churches and mosques.»

The Albanian worker of Kosova, who works deep in the mines, does not accept that the underground wealth should be exploited while the wealth on the surface be abandoned, that his brothers should be impoverished and killed by bullets.

We say these things to certain Yugoslav leaders, who are reasonable, so that they will bear these truths in mind, because certain other irascible, despotic and anti-Albanian leaders have bolted off in a desperate gallop which may cause still more dangerous catastrophes, for which it will be difficult to find reasonable solutions later.

We do not want to tell you how to run your country, or to interfere in your internal affairs, but we are telling you this for the common good of our two countries, because you have made matters very tense with the Kosova people, with the Albanians of other regions and the Albanian economic emigrants outside Yugoslavia. You are creating a division among the latter. It is not the «diplomatic agencies of the PSRA» abroad that create this division, but you Mister Minić.

We are fully convinced that Kosova cannot be for undermining the Federation. But the Federation must study and find a just solution to the great problem of the rights of the Albanians of Kosova, which they themselves have placed before you and which Tito, Moša Pijade.
and Miladin Popović have dealt with from the theoretical and practical aspects.

Calm must be restored in Kosovo, but the removal of a certain Mahmut Bakalli*** and the promotion of a Mahmut Cakalli**** will not calm it. Kosovo will return to calm if the state of siege is lifted, the Serbian army and punitive police are withdrawn, if the situation is normalised, the innocent prisoners with whom the jails are full are released, and if the bodies of those killed in demonstrations are returned to their families, because this is a sacred and humanitarian matter. You must study the demand of the people of Kosovo for a Republic carefully and fairly, must solve its economic problems correctly. This is the only way to restore calm in Kosovo, only in this way will it be a friend of the other republics, within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Kosovo seeks the status of a Republic within the Yugoslav Federation. This status represents the aspiration of a great people, who rightly demand the «status of sovereignty» and not that of a «national minority,» which it was unjustly allocated at Jajce. The enemy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the great-Serb Milovan Gillas, in his latest writings has revealed the reasons for this injustice, which regrettably the present Yugoslav leadership has never disavowed.

The demand of Kosovo to be granted the status of a Federal Republic is a just one. It has deserved it because of the struggles it has waged together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia against fascism. The great-Serb chauvinism has cost Kosovo heavy bloodshed and created such a situation that expedients can hardly cure it.

Messrs Yugoslav leaders, do you want this wound to turn to gangrene? You must think it over yourselves. We do not wish such a thing on you. This disease must be cured at once, justly and courageously.

The wound cannot be healed with manoeuvres, with combinations, with juggling, with threats to force people say what is dictated to them. Fraternity is achieved with open hearts, with sincerity, with people whom the Albanians of Kosovo love and trust. They can and must close the great gulf which was opened through no fault of the Albanian people of Kosovo.

We feel it our duty to tell you these truths in a friendly spirit. Reject them if you wish, attach any epithet you care to use to us. Let the progressive world judge both us and you.

The peoples of Yugoslavia and the Albanian people want friendship with one another, but the friendship must be established on sound foundations.

«PURE ETHNIC ENTITY», «SMALL ALBANIA» AND «GREATER ALBANIA»

The raising of swords and shields against us on the part of the Yugoslav leadership has certainly been done in order to cover up something horrible and reprehensible which occurred in the streets of the cities and villages of Kosovo, where the blood of the people flowed in torrents.

How many were killed and how were they killed? This is kept secret, but the Albanian people of Kosovo know their sons and daughters who have been killed, tortured and imprisoned, or have disappeared. The more the truth is hidden, the more dangerous it becomes. Blood is thicker than water! This should not be forgotten. The complete truth about the tragedy of Kosovo will come out and it will be terrible and have consequences.

Mr Siane Dolané, in the interview he gave foreign journalists about the events in Kosovo, said among other things, «The People’s Socialist Republic of Albania does not have a finger in these events.» Mr Dolané is one of the main leaders, if not the main one, of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. What he said was based on facts.

But who cooked up the lie? Who distorted the truth? In whose interest was it to accuse the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania of having a finger in the disturbances in Kosovo? Let the Yugoslav leadership discover this, Mr Minic and Mr Vidic, but what was concocted was a monstrousity, an outburst of hatred which opened such a gulf that any politically immature Yugoslav could equate the name «Albanian» with the «enemy of the peoples of Yugoslavia.» Those who opened this gulf are answerable to their own peoples, including the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia. They are answerable to history.

The entire Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia unanimously and unjustly condemned the events in Kosovo, condemned the people of Kosovo, condemned the Albanians of Yugoslavia, condemned the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania as aids and abettors in these disturbances.

However, we know how to make distinctions between those who spoke in the top forum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. We observed that the main leaders of the neighbouring Republics of Montenegro and Macedonia, and also of Croatia and Slovenia, although they condemned the events, showed themselves more cool-headed, more restrained, more far-sighted about the situations that would develop later between the Albanians and the Yugoslavs, between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania.

We cannot make the same assessment of the main leaders of Serbia, such as Messrs Minic, Vidic, Stamboli, their speeches are characterized by unrestrained ferocity, by great-Serb chauvinism against the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia and against the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, in a vein never heard before.

As for those «Albanian leaders» who took the floor in this top forum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia,
or outside it, it must be said that their speeches were characterized by hysteria as great as it was servile, and designed to serve their bosses — Vidić, Minić, Stambolić, and others. Obviously, these people cannot bring calm to Kosovo. The people of Kosovo hate these knavish «leaders».

In all the meetings of the high state and party forums of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia voices were raised saying: «The relations with Albania must be re-examined.» etc. etc. Twice within thirty years you have aggravated matters to breaking point with socialist Albania.

Do you think you can frighten us? Do you imagine that the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania owes its existence to you? You are wrong! Your eyes are blinded with great-Yugoslav megalomania.

We have cool heads, and fiery hearts. We shall get by even with the restrictions you intend to impose on the relations between our two countries. The smoke will go straight up from our chimney as usual even if you break off these relations altogether.

For our part, we do not want any such thing, because it is not we who created the difficult situations in Kosovo and the whole of Yugoslavia. You yourselves have created them. We have nothing at all to do with them. Therefore, the accusations you make against us are only a pretext which you raise artificially in order to cover up the ugly events.

We tell you once again, beware! Keep cool! Do not turn your faults into a conflict with the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, because this is in the interest of our enemies.

Mr Minić committed a dangerous provocation in the Central Committee of the LCY when he said that «the Albanian leadership, through its spokesmen, its diplomacy, including its embassy in Belgrade, and its agencies, incited the Albanian irredentist groups whose aim was to destabilize and disintegrate Yugoslavia.» We think that this personality is not speaking in the name of the Government of the SFRY, because, if matters stood as Mr Minić claims, that one or two persons, or a whole embassy staff carry out subversive activity, then the Yugoslav Government has the right, just as the Albanian Government and any other government has the right in such cases, to declare them persona non gratae, and even break off diplomatic relations.

Neither the Yugoslav Government nor the Albanian Government have done this because such an activity does not exist.

Mr Minić knows this practice. But the things he says are invented in order to defend a lost cause.

Nevertheless, after Mr Minić’s speech we drew the conclusion that he had apparently put all our embassies in different countries, let alone the Albanian embassy in Belgrade, under surveillance. This was confirmed by the minister of internal affairs of Yugoslavia, Franjo Herlević, who while accusing the Albanian diplomatic representations in various countries and in Belgrade of having incited the events in Kosovo, revealed that our embassies everywhere had been placed under control of the Yugoslav secret police. This shows that the Yugoslav secret service is active in other countries in shadowing the Albanian embassies, thus violating the sovereignty of those countries and the international laws. This activity is impermissible and to be condemned.

Herlević’s claims are concoctions of the people in his service, ill-intentioned slanders which suit those reactionary circles, at home and abroad, which are interested in causing the deterioration and the breaking off of relations between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania.

The Serb Peter Stambolić spoke like an incorrigible great-Serb. He was defending the Serbian interest to the detriment of the Albanians, when he said, among other things, that «The attempt to achieve ethnical purity objectively leads to nationalism.» He described this attempt as fascist.

We ask Mr Stambolić: Is the Serbian people not an ethnic entity? Does he not consider the Albanian people also an ethnic entity? Without doubt, these two peoples are two ethnic entities.

If Mr Stambolić does not consider the Serbian people a «pure ethnic entity», because Albanians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, and Turks live together with them, likewise the Albanian people is not a «pure ethnic entity», either, because in Kosovo, where the overwhelming majority is of Albanian nationality, there is also a Serbian, Montenegrin and Turkish minority living together with them.

In these identical circumstances, Mister Stambolić employs a sleight of hand: the Albanian ethnic entity is nationalist and fascist, but not the Serbian. However, he can’t get away with this sleight of hand: either both ethnic entities lead to «nationalism and fascism», or neither of them do so, but in no way can it be that one does and the other does not.

Why does Mister Stambolić not say more openly that the greater ethnic entity must dominate the smaller one, that the former must be sovereign in Constitution and the latter must not, because this is to the liking of the bourgeoisie of the greater ethnic entity which wants to exploit the smaller?

In practical terms this great-Serb theoretician, who follows the same ultra-reactionary line as the notorious Academician Ćubrilović, by advocating the thesis that the «pure ethnic entity» leads to fascism, nationalism, means that «the Albanian ethnic entity must be destroyed, must lose its national characteristics and degenerate, because it has become a thorn in our flesh.»

For Mister Stambolić only the Serbian ethnic entity can live in friendship with the other peoples, which he considers as third-rate or fourth-rate peoples, whereas were the Albanian ethnic entity to become sovereign in Kosovo, it
could not live in friendship with the Serbian, Montenegrin and Turkish minorities of this region.

«The relations between Albanians, Serbs and Turks have been seriously upset,» states Mister Stambolić. This is true, but these relations have been upset only between the Serbs and the Albanians, and not between the Albanians, Montenegrins and Turks.

Why have relations between the Serbs and the Albanians been upset? Read La Fontaine’s fable, «The Wolf and the Lamb», and you will find the reasons, Mister Stambolić.

From the meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the attacks against the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania were repeated at various public meetings in the Republic of Serbia, this time with unrivalled virulence. Some speaker, in a rabid, great-Serb and fascist spirit, went so far as to say, «We should destroy the Stalinist regime in Albania.»

«Defenda Carthago,» shouts this new Cato in the «Serbian forums». But the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania is not Carthage and a great-Serb Scipio who would destroy Albania has not been born yet.

We have won everything with our blood, shouted this new Cato. But what has Albania won? Without bloodshed? On the contrary, she has won it with blood, her own blood. She has shed her blood also for the freedom of the Yugoslav peoples. We have never regretted this, nor will we ever regret it in the future. If need be, we will shed it again. The People’s Socialist Republic of Albania is healthy and full of dynamism. Somebody else is the sick man of the Balkans.

The new Catos of Serbia accuse us Albanians of hating the Serbian people. This is a monstrous slander. We have loved the Serbian people and still do. We hate only Serbian chauvinism, Albanian chauvinism, and any other chauvinism, because we are Marxists-Leninists, because we are internationalists.

In order to disguise their chauvinism, the great-Serb chauvinists label us great-Albanian chauvinists. The slogan of «greater Albania» was coined by the fascist Italy of Mussolini, and everybody knows the expansionist-aggressive aims which he and the Ballists had, just as the Serbian Cetnici. Our two peoples fought heroically, shoulder to shoulder, against these common enemies and vanquished them.

In the period after the war the relations between the Albanian and Yugoslav friends and allies should have been put in order. We performed our internationalist duty. We fought, together with the Yugoslav partisans, for the liberation of Yugoslavia. It was up to you to solve the problem of Kosovo in the correct road, but you did not fulfil this duty. As we said above, you talked about the rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia in principle, but in practice you did the opposite and you continue your exercise in demagogy.

The Albanians owe their origin neither to the Rome of the Caesars nor to the Slavs of Stefan Dušan, neither to the Sultans of the Ottomans nor to Mussolini’s fascist Italy. The Albanian people have their own history going back to many centuries, a history full of struggle for freedom, for existence. The enemies tried to exterminate them, but failed. The Albanian people fought and lived through the centuries. They remained a compact ethnic entity, although divided and fragmented. He who denies this reality not only makes himself ridiculous but also reveals his own savagely chauvinist feeling.

The Albanians of the «small Albania» of nearly three million inhabitants, or of «greater Albania» (a term used by the Italian occupier and now used also by you in order to accuse us of being chauvinists) of more than five million inhabitants, are all Albanians. There is nothing you can do about it, Messrs Serbian chauvinists. There are two Germanies, one of the East and one of the West, just as there are two Koreas, one of the North one of the South. However, nobody doubts that there is a single German people and nation, just as there is a single Korean people and nation.

The Albanians are one ethnic entity, one people. Whether you call them «small Albania» or «greater Albania». These Albanians of this Albania, «small» or «greater», who represent a compact people with all the features of a true nation, have not occupied the territories of others, nor have they violated anybody’s rights. They have merely demanded their own rights, have defended them and will defend them. This you find unnatural, call it «great-Albanian chauvinism», «nationalism», «fascism». When Kosovo seeks the status of a republic within the framework of the Federation for which 50,000 partisans have fought, you dare call this a counter-revolutionary demand, Albanian nationalism, and apply many such epithets to it.

You come out in open opposition to the declared principles and what your main leaders, to whom you sing hymns day and night, have said. You come out in opposition to the principles of international law, with the principles of good neighbourly relations, therefore you cannot have progressive and reasonable world opinion on your side.

The way the Yugoslav leadership is seeking to solve the problem of Kosovo and overcome the difficulties in which the country finds itself, shows that it is acting with great haste and in utter confusion. The stands it maintains and the actions it is undertaking respond neither to the interests of Yugoslavia nor to those of Albania, neither in Balkan nor to European security, about which the Yugoslav leaders, posing as protagonists of the Helsinki spirit, make much ado. With such actions the Yugoslav leadership does not strengthen the position of the SFRY but weakens it.


** The Yugoslav Secret Service.

*** grocer.

**** jackal.