Our country has constantly expressed itself to the effect that it wants to live in good neighbourliness with all the nearby states, including Yugoslavia, but the Yugoslavs must change the conception of their policy regarding good neighbourliness with Albania and cease their hostile practices against us.

A few days ago a low-rank employee of the federative secretariat for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia handed the ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Belgrade a note over the attacks which the Albanian leaders have allegedly made on Yugoslavia. The Albanian ambassador refused to receive this material and rejected its content because it distorted the facts and reality in a tendentious, arrogant and malignant manner.

The explanations and interpretations which the Yugoslav leadership makes of the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha of November 10 and his book «The Titoites» amount to nothing other than an endless chain of old slanders devoid of any foundation, which it has been continually making for 35 years on end against Albania, against the Albanian people, against our party of labour and its leadership, against the internal and external policy of our country. We scornfully reject these slanders and inventions Belgrade concocts uninterruptedly, as it did this time, too, through a political note which may have unpleasant consequences for the relations between the two countries.

The sound public opinion in Yugoslavia and in the world will condemn this new suspicious act of the Yugoslav leadership. The effort of the chiefs of Belgrade to bring a note to oppose Comrade Enver Hoxha's book «The Titoites» and his speech of November 10, 1982, and use an overbearing tone of the «great power», couched in general threatening terms which cannot stand up to a single fact or event of our documents, cannot intimidate or convince anyone. This serves to show merely that the Yugoslav leadership wants to further exacerbate the relations with Albania.

We want to stress that the book «The Titoites» is not a propaganda pamphlet, but a complete, authentic and truthful historical document on the Albanian-Yugoslav relations from the time of the war until today. The historical truths it contains and the concrete events it describes cannot be wiped aside with reckless, typically Titoite political phrase-mongering. This testifies to the fact that the Yugoslav leaders lack both the sincerity and seriousness, the wisdom and the courage to own up, even though in silence, the mistakes they have made. Had it been otherwise, before it came to draft this document, it ought to have reflected over what it has done against socialist Albania and the Albanians in Yugoslavia and draw reasonable conclusions which would really have opened the way for normal relations between the two countries and would have helped pacify the situation in Kosovo.

The Yugoslav leadership, so full of itself, continues to think that the world opinion will see the relations between Yugoslavia and Albania and the socialist development of our country through the spectacles of Belgrade. It is difficult, if ever, to find anyone anywhere, who is honest and objective, to believe in the Yugoslav lies that Albania allegedly ferments trouble in the Balkans and that with its policy it allegedly threatens not only security in the region of the Balkans, but also general peace in Europe and in the world. This is absurd. If Albania were an element that ferments trouble, as the Yugoslav leaders claim loudly, then why does it not do the same towards Greece, Italy or Turkey? Our neighbours have never presented any
ANIAN POLICY V LEADERSHIP

claim to the contrary, have never had any doubts about us. With them we maintain relations of good neighbourliness, which are continuously consolidated on the basis of understanding and goodwill, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of one another. This is not the case with regard to Yugoslavia, the relations with which have always been replete with continuous problems and complications.

The progressive world reflects over this reality, and the book «The Titoites» provides explanations based on documents. Those who read this book clearly see that we are not responsible for the tense relations that exist between our two countries. Albania has not a special policy against Federative Yugoslavia, as the leaders in Belgrade claim. The relations are such due to the fact that for years on end the Yugoslav side has committed hostile acts, concocted plots and intrigues and carried out endless attacks against Albania, which are described with great detail and accuracy in the book «The Titoites». Historical facts show that the Yugoslav leadership has returned our friendship with treason, has returned our sincerity with perfidy.

All this anti-Albanian campaign of the Yugoslav leadership today endeavours to cover up these censurable acts of its and continues pivoting round a propaganda invention, according to which Albania attacks Yugoslavia in order to distract attention from its own internal situation, which is allegedly seriously grave. But the whole world knows the present situation of Yugoslavia and knows the situation in Albania, as well, which is very calm and can very easily make the comparison. With the noise they make, the Yugoslav chiefs want to present things as if the internal situation in Albania is unsound, but with this they reveal that they are agrieved over the enemies we purged in Albania, something which proves that these enemies of our people were the secret agents of the Yugoslavs.

Last year in Belgrade appeared two books under the pompous titles «Albania of Enver Hoxha» and «After the Discovery of Enver Hoxha», books which had the great ambition of explaining the Albanian events to the world. We did not worry our heads about them, because we were clear that no one in any country, or even in Yugoslavia, gives any credit to the stale concoctions of the Yugoslavs against Albania. The fact is that these books had remained unsold despite the reduction of the price from 5,000 to 4,000 dinars, as an editorial of the TANJUG reported. But, although these books made no impact whatsoever anywhere, they became renowned in another aspect: over all these years they have been the only commodity in Yugoslavia in which any price reduction has been made.

Another argument of the Titoites, which has become stale and with which they think they denigrate us, is the epithet they apply to us, calling ours a «Stalinist» state. Indeed, with this they honour us, because we have never denied Stalin, who is one of the great classics of Marxism-Leninism. It is 30 years now since Stalin has died, therefore he is not responsible for that grave economic crisis, for that great political and ideological confusion, for that great struggle for power amongst the various nationalist clans, which are taking place in Yugoslavia. These situations in Yugoslavia were not caused by Stalin, but by Titoism. Meanwhile, «Stalinist Albania», which carries out the teachings and ideas of Marxism-Leninism, advances steadily on the road of socialism, develops its economy non-stop, keeps raising the well-being and the cultural level of its working people, strengthens and consolidates its freedom, independence and sovereignty.

History cannot be distorted and written as the Yugoslav revisionists, and others of their ilk, want it. Stalin did not attack Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, nor did he build up military bases or station missiles in any country of the world. It is others who have done this, after Stalin's death, when they came to power through dark plots. It is they who have landed the world into an extremely serious situation, led it to the brink of the abyss of a third nuclear world war.

The honest people and the peoples of the world draw their conclusions from the history, and the work and figure of Stalin emerge in all their splendour. The mud that has been thrown at him is now falling back on the faces of their authors, who are renegades.

We are fully convinced that had the Soviet Union pursued the line of Stalin, today it would not have been turned into an imperialist superpower that threatens the peoples and the world, would not have been as it is today. It came to this precisely because the Khrushchevite leadership departed from Lenin and Stalin, because it abandoned the spirit of the October Revolution, because it replaced proletarian internationalism with the chauvinism and neo-colonialism of the great power.

The Yugoslavs say over and over again that socialist Albania is isolated, that it allegedly avoids international collaboration, that it is closed in itself and such other theses characteristic of a base and ungrounded propaganda. These are made for ulterior intentions to denigrate the just policy of the Albanian state. The whole world can see that Albania is not isolated, as the Yugoslav propaganda makes out, and it is not our intention to prove this fact which is recognized by everyone. We only want to say that the Yugoslavs' concern for Albania's «isolation» is aimed at exerting some pressure on us.
and put us on the sinister Yugoslav road of taking credits and loans from the imperialists and social-imperialists, of opening the doors of our country to everyone — the capitalists of the West and the East. But Albania is an independent country and does not receive credits and loans, or enter the whirlpool of international palaver which is dominated by the dictate of the two imperialist superpowers. It relies on its own forces for the development of the economy and culture and for its defence. Albania does not receive credits also because they are the blood and toil of the people, the proletariat plundered by imperialism, while the Yugoslav revisionists, who live on the crumbs of world imperialism, are in fact feeding themselves from the blood and toil of the peoples and are kept alive thanks to endless loans they receive from the enemies of the peoples. Yugoslavia is a dependent country which is sold out to foreigners.

The Yugoslav leadership is so megalomaniacal that it has come to convince itself, encouraged by its numerous creditors whom it serves, that it has created the image of Yugoslavia as a non-aligned country that supports the peoples. However, the expedients it employs to attain its goal are becoming more and more ineffective and sterile.

The so-called non-aligned world sees for itself that Yugoslavia is a pawn totally aligned with the superpowers, and as the occasion or circumstances change, sometimes sides with American imperialism, sometimes with Soviet social-imperialism, but never with the peoples and the small states. Indeed, in order to enjoy the favour of the superpowers, to secure direct contacts and make various manoeuvres with Washington and Moscow, the Titoites are playing the game of factions within their own leadership encouraging the American and the Soviet lobby. For their part the American banks and all the banks of the NATO member countries hasten to pour billions of dollars into an economically bankrupt country like Yugoslavia, in order to save it from total economic and political bankruptcy. At a time when they have not food enough for themselves, the Soviets and the other Eastern countries buy from Yugoslavia goods that find no other market, for rubles. Hence, both sides are paying not for the fine utterances of the Yugoslav leaders in meetings and conferences, but for the overt and covert services they make to their hegemonic and expansionist policy. Socialist Albania has exposed and will continue to combat and expose this false and deceptive policy of the Yugoslavs.

With its policy Albania is engaged in the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism for freedom and peace in the world. Yugoslavia fights us just because we fight the superpowers that oppress the peoples and prop up a bankrupt regime like the Titoite regime is.

In international meetings and conferences, the Yugoslavs resort to theoretical formulas of "how the world should be built", giving advice about "how the stations and nations should come to terms with the superpowers", giving ready-made prescriptions of "how to solve this or that conflict", forecasting the forthcoming events, making offers, intervening, etc but achieving no result whatsoever. But the world is a witness of phenomena that oppose the policy of equilibrium the Yugoslavs recommend the others to follow towards the superpowers. It is a fact that the non-aligned countries no longer listen to and respect Yugoslavia. The demagogy and the undermining activity of the Titoite leaders has assumed such proportions that no diplomatic politeness can tolerate. The Yugoslavs have become very particular about their jugglers' "ability", and regardless of the disdain and contempt with which honest people regard them, the Titoite emissaries make so bold as to think that Belgrade has become the third centre of world power next to the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

The peoples and revolutionary forces are now operating in the streets and public squares, and not in meetings and conferences. They clash with ever increasing vigour with the forces of the bourgeois and reactionary order. This is a blow precisely at the defeatist, pacifist spirit of compromise which the Yugoslav revisionists, also, propagate. Although the world sees that socialist Albania is concerned over every event the Titoites accuse us Albanians of failing to participate in so-called international meetings which are held for the sake of publicity and where only idle talk goes on. We give our assessments and take our stand which, unfortunately for the Yugoslavs, are always in support of the peoples and against the imperialist and reactionary forces, in favour of freedom and independence of the peoples and against national and social oppression, against imperialist war and for genuine peace and security. All the world has forgotten the Helsinki chart which the Yugoslavs use every now and then, because it brought nothing to the security of Europe which is threatened by the superpowers.

In the Yugoslav propaganda, in the speeches of the Yugoslav leaders and in many of their official documents, they repeat over and over again their claim that Albania is allegedly interferes in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav leaders go so far as to claim that different states of the world should exert pressure on Albania which "is attacking the serene Yugoslavia." But apart from word they are incapable of producing any fact to prove such a thing, because there is no interference whatsoever on the part of Albania in their internal affairs.

The Yugoslavs want us to cease the political-ideological polemics against the pseudo-socialist regime of Yugoslavia and let them attack "Stalinist Albania" as they like. We will never stop the polemics, but we want to stress that they, too, have never stopped their propaganda and agitation against the state power and the policy of our socialist state. They use precisely this as an argument of our interference in their internal affairs, but they forget that there is no end to their interference over 40 years in our internal affairs and not only through polemics, but with plots and intrigues, to overthrow our socialist regime.

The entire policy and activity of the Party of Labour and of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never been aimed at the instability or disintegration of Yugoslavia. If this exists and if it will ever happen, the causes should be sought in the Yugoslav leadership itself, in its internal and external policy.

We reiterate that we do not wish for such a situation. As for the independence of Yugoslavia, its stability, no danger has ever existed either from socialist Albania, or from the Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia. The world realizes and will realize that Albania and the Albanians in Yugoslavia have always acted positively concerning the consolidation and security of Yugoslavia, in its defence from the real foreign enemies, therefore, their clamour about Albania's interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia is both absurd and ill-intentioned.

It is a slander to accuse us of being answerable for the tragic events of Kosovo. On the contrary, it is the Great-
Serb chauvinist policy that led to that situation and continues to build up the tension against the Albanians. The Kosovars and other Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia are completely right to demand, on the basis of the Constitution, the status of the Republic they are denied of, and, socialist Albania will support them as it has supported them in their just demands within the Constitution of the Yugoslav Federation. We have always considered and consider that the demands of our brothers living in Yugoslavia are right and reasonable and that the fulfilment of these demands contributes to cohesion and normal coexistence of the different peoples who live in the Yugoslav state. We will oppose the Great-Serb oppression, the stick and the shedding of the Albanian blood in torrents, we will be opposed to the crowding of jails with Albanian youths, we will defend those whom the Kosovars defend, their rights to justice and equality in all fields.

It is common knowledge that on this problem socialist Albania has suggested the most correct, wisest and most appropriate solution of the conflicts that have broken out in Kosovo for no fault of the Albanians. As Comrade Enver Hoxha declared in the report to the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, we have been and are of the opinion that the Yugoslav authorities should consider the demands of the Albanians of Kosovo seriously, should talk with them calmly on terms of equality, frankly and sincerely and should find out those solutions that will be acceptable for the Kosovars. Otherwise, if terror and persecutions against the Albanians and the national oppression in Kosovo are not stopped, and the Kosovars still are denied their rights, the situation in Kosovo will not be stabilized and the Yugoslav authorities will be responsible for this, Albania cannot be blamed.

The insinuation like that the Yugoslav note contains, claiming that Kosovo and other Albanian territories are called «our territories» in Albania, is of no political advantage to the Yugoslavs. We have spoken and speak up for the Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia and nothing else. The world knows how to read and understand correctly our official statements and numerous documents which testify that Albania has no territorial claims towards anyone and the Albanians in Yugoslavia have not demanded to unite with Albania. Only the Yugoslavs, who have an uneasy conscience and are blinded by chauvinism, read them upside down, or as it suits them, because they consider just the injustices done to the Albanians and, in order to cover them up they blame Albania.

Belgrade claims now that Albania is not ready to conduct cultural exchanges with Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, too, because Albania failed to respond to the proposal by the Yugoslav side to sign a cultural agreement. These are speculations which are not aimed at the real development of cultural exchanges with Kosovo, but at finding more excuses to attack the Albanian culture and traditions in this region.

We have developed cultural exchanges with the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, which have been normally conducted with the full approval of the Yugoslav government and in conformity with the official protocols adopted and signed by the two sides. Following the events in Kosovo in 1981, the Yugoslav propaganda made a great noise to prove that the professors of the University of Tirana, who frequently delivered lectures at the Prishtina University, our artistic ensembles that performed on the stages of Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, the books exchanged between different institutions, in a word, the whole practice of cultural exchanges between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Kosovo province and the other Republics of Yugoslavia, were to blame. No one does this. The culture of every country, every people, is that created by the Serb chauvinists or anyone else. Moreover, it is our task to defend our culture and to condemn the chauvinists. The culture of every country and every people is the most reliable guide to the recognition of the divergences and the differences of each country and each people.

What is it they want us to do? Do they want us to send our artists and creators so that we be accused of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia? Or that the spectators and admirers of the Albanian art be imprisoned? We cannot change our history, our songs, our culture to the liking of the Serb chauvinists or anyone else. No one does this. The culture of every country, every people, is that created through centuries and materialized in books, monuments, in its language and civilization. Therefore, the Yugoslav approach is insincere, its aims are sinister and done for ulterior purposes.

In conclusion, we would like to say that the Yugoslav note is a fresh evidence of the anti-Albanian policy of the Titoite leadership and of its evil aims of stepping up its hostile line against Albania. But it must be added that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is not affected by the insults, slanders, concoctions and plots, nor is it intimidated by threats. The threats do not work here.

Any other road can hardly be found.