

**ABOUT  
THE EVENTS  
IN KOSOVA**

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— *Articles from «Zëri i popullit»  
and other press organs —*

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This publication contains articles published in «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, as well as other organs, in connection with the events in Kosova in the spring of this year.

On March 11 and 26, as well as in the first days of April, mass demonstrations in which students, workers, peasants, school pupils and various other working people took part were held in Prishtina and other towns and inhabited centres of Kosova. The demonstrations were held because of the bad living conditions, unemployment, and the grave economic situation of the region. Apart from economic demands, the demonstrators made political demands for greater freedom, for democratic rights as well for the granting of the status of a republic within the Yugoslav Federation to Kosova.

The response of the Yugoslav leadership to the lawful demands of the people of Kosova was repression with fire and steel. Many police and army units were sent to Kosova from Serbia and other regions of the Federation. To suppress the peaceful demonstrations the armed forces made extensive use not only of tear gas bombs and clubs but also of firearms and tanks. In Prishtina, Podujeva and other towns of Kosova the streets were running with blood. Hundreds of people were wounded and killed. Several thousands were arrested. The savage terror of the

Great-Serb chauvinists erupted all over the region. A state of emergency was proclaimed. House-to-house searches were carried out, public gatherings were prohibited and the University of Prishtina and all the schools were closed. The military patrols and searches of people in the streets, the shutting off of the region from the other parts of the country and to foreigners turned Kosova into a military encampment. Although the broad masses of the people took part in the demonstrations and their demands were completely lawful, those who participated in them were described as «enemies», counterrevolutionaries», and «Albanian irredentists».

The Yugoslav, leaders accused the PSR of Albania of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, although during all this time they have not been able to produce even one fact in this direction, a thing which has been stressed by the world press. Leading Serbian personalities in particular, and certain organs of the press which are run by them, set up a furious propaganda campaign against our country full of the most monstrous slanders and lies, distorted the character of the relations between our two countries and even went so far as open provocations.

In these articles from «Zëri i popullit» and other organs, the reader will find the correct, principled stand of the Party of Labour of Albania towards the events in Kosova, the causes of these events, and the truth about the Albanian-Yugoslav relations.

## **WHY WERE POLICE VIOLENCE AND TANKS USED AGAINST THE ALBANIANS OF KOSOVA?**

The Yugoslav press, radio and TV have set up an extraordinary clamour of misinformation about the reasons which impelled the working people and students of Kosova to come out in demonstrations. What immediately catches one's attention in the speeches of the leading figures and the endless articles which fill the pages of the Yugoslav newspapers, especially those of Belgrade, is their marked chauvinist overtones and the total lack of any realistic analysis or objective attitude towards the tragic events in Kosova. Not only the shades of Ranković, but also the old ghosts of the Karageorgevićs have been aroused. Now they are operating with clubs and tanks, hitting hard at the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, to suppress and subjugate them and strangle their voice.

Regardless of what is said and written in Yugoslavia, the true causes of the demonstrations in Kosova, their content, the demands which are raised in them, cannot be covered over with misleading phraseology, however noisy, as the headquarters in Belgrade are trying to do. Any objective person, any unbiased observer, can see

and immediately understand that the basic causes of the recent events in Kosova are the great backwardness of this region, the poverty and suffering of its people, and the lack of democratic freedoms and political rights. The demonstrations have erupted as the result of a intolerable situation which has been going on for tens of years and the increasingly gloomy prospects of ever emerging from this situation.

According to figures published in the Yugoslav press, the per capita income in Kosova is about 6 times less than in Slovenia, 5 times less than in Croatia, and 3.5 times less than in Serbia. In recent years, the growth rate of industrial production in Kosova 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 Kosova and Yugoslavia in search of work, besides the 70 thousand others, most of them qualified workers, who are unemployed in Kosova.

The leaders of Yugoslavia and Kosova know and admit these facts. In a speech delivered in Prishtina, V. Djuranović, Chairman of the Executive Council of Yugoslavia, said: «The development of Kosova 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 Kosova and other parts of the country is growing wider... Economic investments in Kosova are 43 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 (December 1980), M. Bakalli, Chairman of the leading body of the League of Communists of Kosova, said: «The aims of reducing the differences in the level of development of Kosova, compared with the average of the country, have not been achieved. On the contrary, the differences have become even more pronounced... As a result, instead of the rate of development of the region being 60 per cent above that of the whole country, as planned, the rate of development of Kosova has been 46.9 per cent below the average of the country. This tendency for these differences to increase,» he said «has been going on since 1947. This process of the widening of the gap,» said M. Bakalli, «has reached its critical limits.»

From this situation it is clear why the people of Kosova are dissatisfied and why they came out in demonstrations to express this dissatisfaction in what they considered the best way and the form which they found most appropriate.

Belgrade is now fuming and thundering against the students of Kosova, but what did these students do, and what did they demand? The Yugoslav leaders personally and the press communiqués have admitted publicly and officially that in the demonstrations of March 11 in Prishtina, the students expressed their dissatisfaction over the economic 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 several occasions to both the local and central authorities. Likewise, the work-

ing people of Kosova have frequently complained about the backwardness of the region and pointed out the need for urgent 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 generate billions of kilowatts, the molten lead flows in rivers in Trepće, the chrome, nickel, and magnesite ores are stacked in mountains, trainloads of wheat are transported from Kosova and the fine flavoured meat of Kosova is sold on all the markets of Europe. Why then is Kosova not progressing? These are the questions which the students and people of Kosova posed to the Yugoslav leaders and they received bullets in reply.

The Yugoslav leaders say that in Yugoslavia the nations and nationalities, the workers and various collectives are self-governing, that they decide for themselves about the economic development of enterprises, villages, cities, republics, etc. Here we do not wish to enter into ideological polemics over their theories and practices, but we would like to ask a simple question: In that so-called socialist self-governing country, the Socialist Federative 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 Yugoslavia

are developing, while this is not occurring in Kosova? It seems that someone is hindering the development of Kosova, and the leadership of the Federation must know who this is, since it admits that Kosova is potentially 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 in Prishtina, apart from protesting about their difficult economic situation, also demanded more freedoms and democratic rights and the establishment of the status of a Federal Republic for Kosova. In this direction, too, a question arises: On the basis of the so-called self-governing democracy, do the peoples of Yugoslavia have the right to demand such things?

On April 3, Dušan Dragosavać, Secretary of the Presidium of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, said in his speech about the events of Kosova: «Experience has shown that we have always suffered damage when we have allowed moments of historic importance to us to slip by.» This «valuable» advice which he gives is not only appropriate for the leadership of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, but is also a reminder to the People's Socialist Republic 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 his 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 repetition of the bitter past.

In this same speech, Dušan Dragosavać 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 Vidić, Chairman of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, also stresses the same thing when, after venting his spleen and pouring out his resentment on Kosova, he says: «The autonomous socialist regions have complete independence and equality in the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.» That is to say, «complete independence and equality,» but under the wing of Serbia!

These assertions by Yugoslav leaders show that even after the National Liberation War of the peoples of Yugoslavia the past history was not forgotten: Kosova remained an «autonomous region» of the Republic of Serbia and the Albanian population, compact in both nationality and territory, was split up between three republics of the Yugoslav Federation. Why did this occur? It is up to Dragosavać, Vidić and company to explain this ideologically, politically, geographically and economically. If such an analysis is made, then it will emerge how worthless are such assertions as those of Dragosavać, 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 justly 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 lasting and perfect solution to this and

there will be no problems between nationalities.» Clearly, he is admitting that «a lasting and perfect solution» to this very complicated problem of nationalities has not been found. Hence the conclusion must be reached that the peoples who comprise Yugoslavia must make efforts to improve the solution of these problems. Thus it is up to the peoples of Yugoslavia to find better solutions to these problems democratically within the framework of the SFR of Yugoslavia.

Now the Albanian inhabitants of Kosova, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population there, are demanding within the constitutional norms and also in the streets, that the region of Kosova should be liberated from the tutelage of Serbia, and that it be given the status of a republic within the SFR of Yugoslavia.

What crime have the people of Kosova committed with this demand, which was thus described by the leadership of the Yugoslav Federation and several main leaders of the region of Kosova? They have not committed any crime. On the contrary, these lawful 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 Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia been allowed to express their opinions freely and democratically about the status which the region in which they live should have. Other persons have decided this for them. And when, after many peaceful requests, they demand in loud voices, so that the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia can hear, that Kosova is given 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 Kosova students of allegedly acting like the gangsters of Chicago and putting little children in the front of the demonstration. Others may have such despicable ways, 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 ones. This claim implies that if there had not been a great crowd of school pupils the Serbian police would have mowed the 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 Federative Republic of Yugoslavia itself, but rush in to describe them as «hostile, counter-revolutionary demands which ruin the stability and destroy Yugoslavia»? Do not the Albanians of Kosova 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 Kosova demand would 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 resentment and 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 is jeopardizing 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 cloud 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. To find them one must probe deeper into the subjective and objective reasons and the policy pursued by the Yugoslav leadership.

The demonstrations and just demands of the Albanian students and 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 the 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 poverty and unemployment, matters should be talked over calmly and reasonably and not with ill-intentioned pre-judgments. These people ought to enjoy full rights and full equality with the other peoples within the Federation of Yugoslavia.

Every proposal and just demand of the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia, which does not please and upsets the federal or the regional leadership, is unhesitatingly described as «hostile, Albanian-chauvinist, irredentists, etc.» Likewise, any protest against injustices which have been and are being done to 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 Yugoslavs mean, when it is applied to the Albanians? The word «nationalist» comes from the word *natio*, 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 them, then the words nation and national-

ity, 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, scientific socialism, the theory of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, provides a correct solution to national problems.

In the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia things have gone so far that in the Republic of Bosnja-Hercegovina, in Kosova and other places where Albanians live, a «Moslem nationality» has been invented. It is said that the «Moslem nationality» is something specific to Yugoslavia. Surprisingly, however, 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. Čubrilović, former political adviser to the monarchic regime, former minister of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and now an academician of Yugoslavia, addressed to the royal government of Stojadinović in 1937.

If one reads this memorandum, one can understand better why any action of the Albanians of Kosova, within the federal Constitution and laws, is immediately described as «Albanian chauvinism», why it is very easy to describe them as «irredentist», in order to put them into prisons and concentration camps. To have the right to accuse as irredentist a whole people and nation of more than 2 million inhabitants, like the part of the Albanian nation which lives

on 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, as is claimed, why then should there be irridentism?

Before there is talk of so-called irridentism, the past history, the economic and cultural backwardness, the mass unemployment and forced emigration of Albanians, which constitutes one of the most massive emigrations from Yugoslavia to foreign countries, must be explained. The situation of Kosova cannot be explained through the «world crisis», as certain Yugoslav leaders, allegedly theoreticians, of the Federation and 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 indicate the opposite of that of which the Albanians of Yugoslavia are accused. The Albanians have never oppressed or exploited other peoples. Never have they attacked and 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 People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who constitute one people and one nation. Chauvinism must be sought precisely among those 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, Ymer Prizreni, Azem and Shote Galica, Çerçiz Topulli and Selam Salaria, the brothers and co-fighters of Hajdar Dushi, Hysni Kapo, Miladin Popović, Emin Duraku, and thousands of heroic Albanian, Montenegrin, 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? 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. 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 our 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 itself 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 others about «moderation, the peaceful solution of conflicts, and human rights and the 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 wound will not be healed, but will become much deeper. We do not want this to occur, and we are ready to give sincere assistance with all the forces of our noble hearts and minds to preserve the 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 with them, as we do with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, on the basis of agreements concluded jointly between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

This is required in the interests 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 Kosova, we are not interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. But we are raising our voice, and we

have the right to raise it, when injustices are done to our brothers, when violence and repression are used against them, when such slogans as Albanian chauvinism, irridentism etc. are used to discredit the Albanian youth and people of Kosova. 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 imposed 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 progressive people, should understand this clearly.

«Zëri i popullit»,  
*April 8, 1981*

## **WHO INCITES HOSTILITY AMONGST THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA?**

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 siege, 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 of 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 counterrevolutionaries, 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 unsolved 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 Kosova. 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 Kosova (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 impulse 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 of the economic development of Kosova 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 Kosova. 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 «étatist-bureaucratic, Stalinist» Albania! The youth of Kosova 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 «Zëri i popullit» have greater right than anyone else to express their opinion about the situation in Kosova, about the murders and savage tortures which are committed by the UDB and the Serbian army against the Albanians of Kosova. This is not the first time that such things have been done in Kosova. 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 Kosova,» 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 clamour 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 Kosova. One of his Albanian lackeys, from the leadership in Kosova, 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 Kosova. But the best informed about these things are the people of Kosova 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 of those 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 Kosova, 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 Kosova. 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 Kosova, 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 Kosova 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 demonstrations why then did Belgrade send 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 ruses, to deceive the workers, peasants, students and honest intelligentsia, 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-weighed article of «Zëri i popullit» or this frenzied campaign which the leadership of Yugoslavia has built up against the Albanian population of Kosova?

Did the Yugoslav leadership expect the Albanian press to say nothing about the tragedy which that leadership caused in Kosova, 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 Kosova? Why is it that we did not «incite hostility» or «concoct slanders» a year or even a month before the disturbances occurred in Kosova?

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 is 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 Federative 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-Slovenian spokesmen and their Albanian lackeys in Kosova 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 Kosova who attacked the people, let the people of Kosova 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 Federative Executive Council, Djuranović, 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 by 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 «irridentism.» What gives rise to and where is the source of

the great allergy to Albanians on the part of 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 Kosova 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 were 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 Yugoslav accuse us of interfering in their internal affairs. We have not interfered and are not interfering in these internal affairs of theirs which, we think, can be solved justly only through self-determination, through understand-

ing, 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 Vukmanović Tempo, «Aspects of the Macedonian Question» by Lazar Koliševsky 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 Bulgaria» of San Stefano 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 Koliševsky, 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 ever stronger irrespective of where he lives. This is a process which nobody can stop.»

How are we to describe these opinions, Messrs. Dolanc, Dragosavać, Vidić and others, who accuse the Albanians of Kosova and socialist Albania of being «chauvinist and irredentist»?

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 right 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. There 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, war-mongering 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, Messrs. theoreticians 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 Prishtina. 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 Cetnici and Croat Ustaše, and defeated them physically. The nationalist 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 «socialism,» unity and fraternity» and «equal rights of the peoples.»

The heroic struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia could not fail to arouse justifiable 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 ten-fold.

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 clans has been and is being waged fiercely. Tito posed as a moderator, but he was a supporter of Croat-Slovenian hegemony. His clan lived in great luxury, took the lion's share of the income of Yugoslavia, consumed as much as it wanted from 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 Federative 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 chessboard 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 Kosova on the Albanian people of Kosova and went on to accuse

socialist Albania and along with it the Ustaše, Četnici 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 Kosova. 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 where 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 curtly that «Kosova will never become a republic.» Kosova 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 Federative 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

«étatist-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 peoples' 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 Kosova, 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 irridentism,» 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 Kosova, 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 article 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 Kosova. 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.

«Zëri i popullit»,  
April 23, 1981

## **THE STATUS OF A REPUBLIC FOR KOSOVA IS A JUST DEMAND**

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 organizations 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-Albanian chauvinism is sweeping Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav leaders are completing with one another in oratory to cover up the real causes of the demonstrations and revolts of the Albanian population 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 Kosova, 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 3 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 Kosova would prevail among the Yugoslav leadership, that the lofty interests 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 Communists were swept by a furious wave of chauvinism, not only against the Albanians of Kosova, but also against the Party of Labour and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, against their correct line and policy towards Yugoslavia. 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 Kosova, because we told the truth about thousands of people being killed, wounded and arrested there! Did the Yugoslav leaders expect us to send them our congratulations on these crimes and atrocities? We are said to have interfered because we said in our articles that the people of Kosova have the right to demand the status of a Federal Republic. But this is a legitimate demand, a demand of the people of Kosova, 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 Kosova cannot be a republic. One after the other, they merely repeat that the demand of Kosova to become a Federative 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 personalities 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 the many protests through diplomatic channels and the armed opposition of the Albanian people, a large part of its north-eastern territory, Kosova and other Albanian-inhabited regions, was annexed to the Kingdoms of Serbia and 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 had 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 masses of the people will strive with all their might, has to be the urgent solution of the national question in conformity with the principle of the democratic right of self-determination. . .»

In another article, also published in «Proletar» at the end of December 1942, under the title «The National Question in Yugoslavia in the Light of the National Liberation War,» which is considered as a programmatic document of the CPY on the national question, Tito pointed out that, «The Communist Party of Yugoslavia has not renounced and never will renounce its principle, which was established by our great leaders and teachers Lenin-Stalin, the principle that every people has the right of self-determination up to the right of secession. . . The question of Macedonia, the question of Kosova and Metohia, the question of Montenegro, the question of Serbia, the question of Croatia, the question of Slovenia, the question of Bosnia and Hercegovina will be easily solved to everybody's satisfaction. Only in this way will the people themselves solve it, and each people wins this right rifle in hand, in the present National Liberation War.»

In «The Theses on the National Question in Kosova and Metohia,» presented by Moša Pi-jade, one of the main leaders of the CPY, at the 5th National Conference held in Zagreb in October 1940, we read, «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 12-14, 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 years 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-Herzegovina 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 hirelings, 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 Hoxha, Xhavit Nimani, Ymer Pula, Milan Mičković. Ljubomir Canić, Veliša Mičković 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 March 28, 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.

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\* The Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia.

«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 PLA, File M. Popović.) But the Yugoslav leadership turned a deaf ear to this internationalist communist, this son of Montenegro, and proceeded on its course.

When Yugoslavia was liberated, the Al-

banians 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 52nd 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 Conference? 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 PLA, File «Visit of the Albanian delegation the 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 Ser-

bia. 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

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\* The Yugoslav Secret Service.

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 Kosova and Metohia to be united with Federal Serbia.

But on June 30, 1945, forgetting what it had censured on April 8, the newspaper «Borba» in one of its materials published the last part of the speech of Dušan Mugoša, in which he revealed that Kosova had made no demand and taken no decision to be annexed to Serbia. Dušan Mugoša had said: «We have not taken this decision in our Convention yet, because military rule is still in force in Kosova and Metohia. At the first opportunity, as soon as the military rule in Kosova and Metohia 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 Kosova.

What, then did Kosova 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, Kosova remained in this status up till 1968.

The people of Kosova 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 Kosova once again raised the question of their national rights and put forward their demand of the status of a republic for Kosova. This demand was presented openly and publicly at the meetings of political activists held in the communes of Prishtina, Gjinal etc. The Kosova 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 Kosova-Metohia also presented this demand to Tito at the beginning of November 1968. Tito opposed this lawful demand of the Albanians of Kosova 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 Kosova 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 Kosova. 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-determina-

tion 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 bilinguality and the national flag, and established the University of Prishtina. 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, Kosova remained, as always, under the tutelage of Serbia.

From what has been said, it emerges that the demand of the Albanians of Kosova 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 Prishtina and other cities, and is not a problem stirred up by socialist Albania. The people of Kosova 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 Kosova 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 Kosova. Precisely because the just demands of the people of Kosova, such as the demand for the republic, are not to the liking of

the bourgeoisie, they are called irredentist, counter-revolutionary, chauvinist etc.

The demonstrations in Prishtina, 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 Kosova 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 Kosova secret? Why are they not making this analysis at their current meetings? They have a reason. And the reason is that any analysis of the constitutional problem of Kosova will lead to the conclusion that the Albanians have not 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 Kosova. The problem of Kosova 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 Yugoslav nor we have made ideological concessions to each other, but we have agreed on matters of common interest and have disagreed over 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 Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. This is not true, because you have waged the ideological struggle openly.

You claim that you been «big-hearted» for the sake of continuing 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 Kosova and assail the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, amongst others, many authorized voices were heard to say that «Federative 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 Federative 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 pretention is not only naive 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 étatist, 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, Durrës and Shëngjin 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 Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, the Repub-

lic 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 unwavering 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 Federativ Republic of Yugoslavia?

We have declared and we declare again officially and publicly that if the Socialist Federative 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 irridentism, and nationalists? Of course, by leveling 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 Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, we want it strengthened, but not at the expense of the Albanians of Kosova. 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 Kosova, 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 Četnici 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 dishonouring its wives and daughters, 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 Albania 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 «interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia,» «subversive or-

ganization 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 incite 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 Republics 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 Federative Republic of Yugoslavia has given its approval to both the Autonomous Regions of Kosova and the two Federative 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 irridentism. 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 incitement or interference on our part, as «interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, incitement of great-Albanian chauvinism, territorial claims and irridentism.» It described these relations, which had long been developing in broad daylight and not in dark corners, as the basic inspiration of Albanian nationalism, imported from Tirana by our scientists, professors, academicians, singers and dancers. This slanderous and hostile opinion has never been expressed, either as criticism or as reproof, by the Yugoslav side.

On the contrary, we want to emphasize that top personalities of the Albanian leadership of the Federation and the Region, who displayed the greatest ferocity against the demonstrators in Prishtina and elsewhere, have always taken our people of art and culture who went to Ko-

sova as examples and have publicly praised and thanked them for their behaviour.

The Yugoslav leadership forgets that the Albanian nation is one, irrespective of the fact that one part lives in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the other in three parts of the Federative Yugoslavia. It has the one history, culture and language, has its common heroes, poets, painters, musicians and artists. This is its great heritage, which it preserves, cultivates and develops. These are the main features of a nation.

Do the Yugoslavs think that these features of the Albanian nationality should die out, should be described as signs and phenomena of «an outdated romantic nationalism and a reprehensible chauvinism?»

Can the exchange of opinions between people from socialist Albania and the Albanians living in Yugoslavia on the enrichment of the Albanian language, the genesis of the Albanian people, the history of their ancestors, the social and natural sciences be considered an incitement of Albanian chauvinism and irridentism? Can our folk songs and dances performed in Yugoslavia be considered incitement of chauvinism and irridentism? This is our heritage, the 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 every-

where. 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 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 to, 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 Federative 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, counter-revolutionaries, chauvin-

ists, etc., should not dismember the University of Prishtina on the pretext that there is over-production 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 Kosova, but the removal of a certain Mahmut Bakalli\* and the promotion of a Mahmut Çakalli\*\* will not calm it. Kosova will return to calm if the state of siege is lifted, the Serbian army and punitive police are withdrawn, if the situation is normalized, 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 Kosova for a Republic carefully and fairly, must solve its economic problems correctly. This is the only way to restore calm in Kosova, only in this way will it be a friend of other republics, within the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

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\* grocer.

\*\* jackal.

Kosova 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 Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, the Great-Serb Milovan Gilas, in his latest writings has revealed the reasons for this injustice, which regrettably the present Yugoslav leadership has never disavowed.

The demand of Kosova to be granted the status of a Federative 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 Kosova 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 Kosova love and trust. They can and must close the great gulf which was opened through no fault of the Albanian people of Kosova.

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 Kosova, 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 Kosova 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 Kosova will come out and it will be terrible and have consequences.

Mr. Stane Dolanc, in the interview he gave foreign journalists about the events in Kosova, said among other things, «The People's Socialist Republic of Albania does not have a finger in these events.» Mr. Dolanc 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 Kosova?

Let the Yugoslav leadership discover this, Mr. Minić and Mr. Vidić, but what was concocted was a monstrosity, 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 Kosova, condemned the people of Kosova, condemned the Albanians of Yugoslavia, condemned the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as aiders 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 Federative 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. Minić, Vidić, Stambolić. Their speeches are characterized by unrestrained ferocity, by Great-Serb chauvinism against the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia and against the People's Social-

ist 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 Kosova. The people of Kosova hate these knavish «leaders».

In all the meetings of the high state and party forums of the Socialist Federative 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 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 Kosova 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 *personae 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 Herljević, who while accusing the Albanian diplomatic representations in various countries and in Bel-

grade of having incited the events in Kosova, 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.

Herljević'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 Federative 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 interests 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 Kosova, 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, Mr. 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 Mr. 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 Čubrilović, 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 Mr. 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 Kosova, 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 Mr. Stambolić. This is true, but these relations have been upset only between the Serbs and the Alb-

anians, 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, Mr. 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.»

«Delenda 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 with what has Albania won her freedom? 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 Marxist-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 Četnici. 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 Kosova 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 demagoguery.

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 struggles 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 feelings.

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 and 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,» even «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, to 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 Kosova 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 to 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.

«Zëri i popullit»  
*May 17, 1981*

## **THE VOICE OF SCIENCE AND THE WIND OF CHAUVINISM**

Recently we read the announcement that certain leading organs and individuals of the SFR of Yugoslavia have demanded that all the agreements of cooperation between educational, scientific and cultural institutions of Kosova and Albania be cancelled on the pretext that through these relations our professors, scientists, singers and dancers have allegedly interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, have aimed at inciting Great Albanian chauvinism and irridentism etc.

For several years, since the signing of the initial agreement of cooperation between the University of Tirana and that of Prishtina in 1970, we, like many other workers in education and science, have had the special honour and pleasure to deliver lectures of university or post-university level on themes of natural, technical, linguistic, historical and other sciences in the different faculties of the University of Prishtina. Invited by the institutions of Kosova, we have likewise had the special honour and pleasure to deliver a series of reports and papers at scientific symposiums or conferences, which, together with those of our Kosova colleagues and other scholars in Yugoslavia,

have thrown light on different aspects of the history, language and culture of the Albanian people. Joint research work and studies in the fields of dialectology, folklore, ethnography, archaeology, hydrometeorology etc., have developed in a similar direction.

This cooperation, which has steadily extended with the good will and approval of both sides, has been close, sincere and fraternal, a cooperation between colleagues trying to help one another for the further development of educational and scientific work. These relations have always been open and as clear as the light of day. They have served to acquaint both sides with each other's achievements in the fields of higher education. science and culture, have been advantageous to both sides and have always been characterized by exemplary conduct and correctness. In this cooperation, there has never been anything evil or sinister, either against Kosova or against the Yugoslav Federation. It is not only we who know and say this, but the leaders of Kosova and Yugoslavia themselves are well aware of it and have said so officially on many occasions, while their press has often written about it. Indeed we can say that such cooperations has assisted to strengthen not only the fraternal feelings between us and the Albanians of Kosova, but also the friendship and good neighbourly relations between our people and the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Therefore we reject with profound indignation any insinuation which certain personalities in Yugoslavia and the policeman Herbvić, in particular, dare to make against us Albanian professors and scholars that we have allegedly tried to incite feelings of hostility and hatred

between the peoples, to destroy the Federation etc. etc.

Our lectures, papers and reports have not had any kind of political character, but have always had a purely scientific content and aims. How can the professor incite nationalism, chauvinism, hatred etc. when he is explaining the component parts or types of sentence in the Albanian language or the heliocentricity of our planetary system, the quantum theory or the theorems of mathematics, the laws of physics, human anatomy, the theories of Newton, Laplace, Darwin, Einstein etc., the structure of cells or the properties of oxygen and nitrogen? Such lectures can only arouse the desire to penetrate into the secrets of science, to equip one's self with knowledge and culture, to gain a thorough knowledge of yesterday's and today's achievements in these fields and put them in the service of life and well-being of mankind. This is precisely the source of the admiration and respect which the university students, both undergraduates and graduates, and the working people of science of Kosova have for our lectures and scientific papers.

We and our colleagues of Kosova have exchanged our knowledge and experience as between brothers. With open hearts, we have made available to them all our achievements with their good points and defects, and likewise we have been sincerely pleased to avail ourselves of the valuable achievements of our brothers of Kosova in the field of science and culture. And from this, both we and Albanian science and culture generally, have benefited greatly. Suffice it to mention here, as examples, the important contribution which the Kosova scholars made to

the «Congress of Orthography» which solved one of the major problems of our national language and culture, their valuable work in shedding light on the brilliant epoch of the Albanian National Renaissance, their many publications containing a wealth of folk legends and local dialects of Kosova, their publications on onomastics, their fruitful efforts on technical and scientific terminology in a series of fields and branches etc. We have made joint efforts to learn more about the history of the Albanian people, one of the most ancient peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, to increase our all-round knowledge of the material and spiritual culture, the language, customs and habits, the great values of the Albanian nation, which had been left in obscurity in the past. And our common achievements have not only led to progress, in Albanological sciences, but have also served to shed light on and solve some of the fundamental problems of Balkanology.

With pleasure and admiration we have closely followed the persistent and very fruitful efforts of the University of Prishtina, and other higher schools and research institutes there to train new generations of experts in many fields of knowledge, and we have seen how the ranks of the members of chairs and scientific sectors have increased and strengthened. Right from the start we were struck by the great thirst for knowledge and culture, the ardent desire of the undergraduate and postgraduate students of Kosova to master science and technique. And with this fire in their hearts, which has characterized the whole Albanian people through the centuries, the scholars of Kosova have made giant strides forward. Their scientific works have long since gone beyond the

borders of Kosova and have been added, as new and valuable contributions, to Balkan and European science. We have seen our colleagues from Kosova as active participants in scientific symposiums and conferences in Prishtina, Tirana and in other countries, at international scientific conferences and congresses. They have distinguished themselves for their scientific correctness and accuracy, the seriousness and the scientific level of their papers and reports. In general, at these international forums, the new Albanian science has been highly evaluated.

The level and rate of development of scientific research work and studies both in the PSR of Albania or at the University of Prishtina and other scientific and educational institutions of Kosova, have shown consistently that the Albanians too, who were oppressed and kept in ignorance for centuries, are completely capable of mastering contemporary science even at its highest peaks, that lying dormant in the bosom of this people were immense creative abilities which today have burst forth and are seeking broad roads of development.

The cooperation between the PSR of Albania and Kosova in the fields of education, science and culture gives these abilities the most powerful support. Precisely for this reason we condemn the efforts being made to interrupt such a fruitful cooperation. Nowhere in the civilized world is such a thing occurring. Today, exchanges in the field of science and culture are becoming a common method of work between different countries of the European continent and other more distant continents, let alone between members of the same nation. They are not undertaken for political

purposes but for scientific purposes, for reciprocal knowledge of the cultures of peoples, to bring them closer together and build friendship between them. The Albanian professors and scholars, who have delivered lectures and scientific papers in Kosova, have also been invited to deliver such lectures in many countries of Europe, where they have been welcomed and listened to with respect and gratitude. Likewise, on a number of occasions, students and scholars from different countries have come to Albania to hear these lectures. Amongst them there have been Serbs, Croats, Macedonians etc. The works of our scholars have been published in several countries. Everywhere they have been considered simply as scientific contributions and in no instance has even a single word been said that they «incite chauvinism» etc.

Science has a profound humane content. Science and humanism cannot be separated. This means that science and chauvinism are incompatible, because chauvinism is anti-humanism. Chauvinism requires that the big oppress the small, the strong the weak, that the peoples hate and despise one another. It leads to racism. Science, on the contrary, has always been a bridge to good understanding, rapprochement and fraternity between peoples. This is how we Albanian teachers and scholars have always understood our mission: to serve the development of our people and the exchange of spiritual values between peoples, to develop their knowledge of one another and their friendship to the best of our abilities.

Albanian science and culture have never had a chauvinistic content. This fact results from our whole tradition, from the very history of the

Albanian people who have fought during the centuries only in defence of their freedom and independence and for social justice. These are the lofty ideals that inspire present-day Albanian science which is guided by Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is one of its most fundamental distinctive features.

Only those who are opposed to science, who do not want the flowering of education, science and culture of other peoples, try to smother science, to make it an instrument which can be adapted to the attainment of their various political aims, as their ambitions and the occasion require. In such circumstances, science is transformed into anti-science. It is clear that, in general, such efforts are directed against the dissemination of the achievements of science and culture amongst the broad masses, against the development of science itself, as a mighty force which impels human progress. In particular, it is not difficult to understand that behind the demands for the prohibition of the cooperation between the educational and scientific institutions of Kosova and the PSR of Albania, as well as behind the order to close or dissolve the University of Prishtina, lurk the aims of the Great-Serb chauvinist circles which not only want to damage these relations but also aim to impair the development of Albanian national culture in general and the development of science and culture in Kosova, in particular. This is a new wind of chauvinism and obscurantism which wants Albanian science and culture in Kosova to wither and die.

We hope that this will not last long, that the efforts to hinder the development of the culture

of the Albanians of Kosova will fail. We scholars of the PSR of Albania will follow the scientific progress of our Kosova colleagues with special attention and will make their achievements known to our people, who value them greatly and always rejoice over them. We shall always keep our doors open to the teachers, students and scholars of Kosova and welcome their participation in all our scientific and cultural activities, as we have done up till now. Likewise, we will always be ready to maintain and further extend our collaboration with the University of Prishtina and the scientific institutions of Kosova.

On this occasion we want to stress that the lectures we have delivered at the University of Prishtina have not been written especially for the students of Kosova. They are the normal lectures we deliver in explaining the subjects we teach at the University of Tirana or which we publish in the university texts or in the scientific press of our country. Indeed, at present we are working to assist our students all over the country, especially those who are doing university level or post-graduate studies part-time, with a regular cycle of radio and television lectures on various subjects. This is the right way, the logical way to carry knowledge to the working masses, to speed up and improve the training and qualification of the new specialists.

The century in which we are living has been called the century of the technical-scientific revolution. Peoples of all continents have taken a stand and have combined their efforts for existence with the struggle to master the advanced knowledge and culture which mankind has created. Any attempt to raise obstacles, which hinder

scientific and cultural exchanges between members of the same nation and peoples, runs counter to the whole movement of progressive phenomena. Knowledge cannot be confined within artificial walls — even walls of lead. Knowledge, culture and art have always broken through the darkness. Mankind, the people need them in order to advance. They are seeking them ardently and know how to find them wherever they are.

Prof. Sotir Kuneshka, Prof. Stefanaq Pollo, Prof. Androkli Kostallari, Prof. Petraq Pilika, Prof. Pëllumb Bitri, Doc. Aleko Minga, Doc. Hajredin Shtino, Doc. Petrit Shkëndi, Doc. Hysen Agolli, Doc. Viron Kola.

«Zëri i popullit»  
May 26, 1981

## **ALBANIAN CULTURE — THE TARGET OF ATTACKS BY GREAT - SERB CHAUVINISM**

In the bitter atmosphere of angry recriminations created in Yugoslavia by Serbian chauvinism following the events of Kosova, part of the campaign has been directed against Albanian culture, against the Albanian literature, arts and national heritage in general, which have been proclaimed incitement to disturbances, revolt and irridentism in Kosova.

In the long history of Albanian culture through the centuries, there has been no other occasion on which an attack of such proportions and fury, the barbarity of which is rivalled only by its ignorance, has been undertaken against it.

The whole of Albanian culture, old and new, has been slandered, it has been blamed for disturbing the peace in Yugoslavia, described as filled with historicism, «national romanticism», with «dead ideals and ideas», with myths, heroes and idols which are extremely harmful to the unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia (the only thing left unsaid is that they were created precisely for this purpose). It has been claimed that this whole tradition nurtures chauvinism and irridentism, since it incites feelings which, according to them, are negative, such as the cult of national

sacrifice, that this culture and literature make the young people of Kosova «look to the outdated national heroes» (who are these heroes, Scanderbeg or the Frashëri brothers?), that «the enemy is even using parts of national costumes», etc., etc., to continue with the statement of Dusan Ristić, that, «the cult of national sacrifice is harmful to the youth in particular. . . , but in certain circumstances the mythologism of the nation leads to the prejudgment that all sacrifices for the Homeland are patriotic». Things have even reached the stage where the Chairman of the Communist League of Serbia, Vlaškalić has declared that, «the struggle against the Albanian national consciousness, especially amongst the youth who have been misled. must not be sectarian or bureaucratic, but permanent, daily and backed by Marxist arguments.»

This and dozens of similar statements have filled the pages of the press and the ether in Yugoslavia. In short, as the world press writes, «Open attacks have been made against the Albanian national culture and consciousness. . . The whole of Albanian culture is being attacked.»

The main reproach levelled against this culture, history, literature and art is that they are too heavily charged with national consciousness, hence, they must be emptied of it, that they have too much history in them, hence they must be stripped of this, too, that they inspire outdated sentiments such as sacrifices for the Homeland, which must be rejected, that they mention «idols of the past» which must be abandoned or replaced with «new idols» because, as such, they are reactionary and dangerous to Yugoslavia, therefore they must be reshaped to make them acceptable.

In short, this is a culture with a strong national basis and a strong national memory, but which must lose its identity and weaken its memory so that it will no longer be called reactionary, chauvinist or irredentist. This is being proposed for Albanian culture in general and this invitation, or, more correctly, this threat, is directed at the culture being created in Kosova in particular. It is not difficult to understand the impatience to divorce the culture which is being developed in Kosova from the culture in Albania, to break all links between them, to denationalize and wipe out the memory of the culture, literature and art of Kosova.

The invitation is as sinister as it is absurd. Will the people of culture in Kosova, the writers, historians, scientists and artists accept it? Will they agree to lose their national consciousness, as Vlaškalić is openly calling on them to do, to forget parts of their history lest they are accused of having fallen into historicism, to abandon «the national idols» lest they are accused of being «romantic nationalists», to abandon the «national myths» lest they are accused of being irredentists, in short, to exchange the memories and images offered by a history and culture going back thousands of years for the memories of the short period of forty years of life in the Yugoslav community, as certain individuals propose? Time will provide the answer to this, but it will hardly be comforting to the chauvinists.

Let us return to the accusations levelled against the Albanian culture as the inciter of the revolt in Kosova. This is the first time in its history that this culture has been accused of

Great-Albanian chauvinism. Such a charge has never been made, even in the darkest days when Albanian culture, its literature and arts, were taking part directly in the struggle for independence and the separation of Albania from the Ottoman Empire. All sorts of attacks have been made on Albanian culture, its literature and art by critics, old and new, who have not been in the least well disposed towards it, nevertheless, the fact that the accusation of Great Albanian chauvinism is never found in all this arsenal shows that no trace of it has existed. And this is how the truth stands. The long centuries of national struggle and drama neither made Albanian culture savage nor dehumanized it, and this is one of its most admirable qualities. No message of chauvinism can be found in this culture, no spirit of hostility towards other peoples. On the contrary, many signals of friendship and understanding are found in it. This fundamental trait of Albanian culture has its source in the Albanian's concept of life, philosophy and ethnics. Even in the harshest and most primitive codes, such as the Canon Laws, excessive reaction against evil has always been condemned, while making this self-restraint the foundation stone of ethnics in life: (the blood of men is equal, one life pays for another). While individualizing punishment, these codes have sternly condemned collective killings, massacres and especially genocide, which were rigorously excluded from the life of the Albanian. As a result of this self-restraint of the Albanian people even when time after time they found themselves caught up in the maelstroms of chauvinist attacks, they have never been swept by hysteria, by fury, so that they responded to chauvinism with

chauvinism. Their response has been stern but correct.

Certain people may use high-flown, although unsubstantiated terms, such as «romantic nationalism». But truth is found in the cultural evidence, in the oral art, in the works of writers, philosophers and poets of our country. The men of the Albanian Renaissance, one of the most brilliant groups in the history of the Balkans, made the exclusion of chauvinism one of its criteria. In order to reconfirm his illuminist ideals and his message of freedom, the great poet, Naim Frashëri, who stood in the centre of this pleiad, wrote part of his poetic works in the languages of other Balkan peoples. His brother, Sami Frashëri, did battle with the Turkish occupiers like all the others, did his utmost against the Ottoman Empire for the sake of the freedom of Albania, nevertheless, being such a militant, did not hinder him from making his valuable contribution to the culture of the Turkish people lovingly, without prejudice or the slightest chauvinism. Such are idols, by no means outdated, indeed still extremely necessary, which the Albanian cultural tradition boasts.

Have there been exceptions to this rule? Yes, there has been one exception, the reactionary and chauvinist poet, Gjergj Fishta. And his chauvinism was precisely anti-Serb-Montenegrin. But what did Albanian culture do with this poet? It always regarded him as «alien» and in 1944 new Albania banned his works. Many times since 1948 our relations with Yugoslavia have become tense but our culture has never once called into service the anti-Serb chauvinism of Gjergj Fishta and has no intension of ever doing so. Meanwhile a criminal academician like Čubrilović, the author of the

infamous doctrine advocating genocide against the Albanians of Kosova, has been covered with diplomas and honours in present-day Yugoslavia.

The socialist culture, the literature and arts of new Albania inherited and further enriched the wonderful tradition of anti-chauvinism. But, while having not the slightest trace of chauvinism, Albanian culture, literature and arts, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have always considered the strengthening of the national identity as a normal, honourable and natural mission, not exclusively for Albanian culture, but for every culture, literature and art everywhere in the world, including the culture of the other nations of the SFR of Yugoslavia. No one will ever find anger or concern in the Albanian culture caused by a stressing of the national identity of any other culture, of any Balkan people, nor will one find attacks on the heroes and idols of other peoples or against the messages transmitted by their art. For us the stressing of the national identity has always been a positive phenomenon and, on the contrary, the weakening of this identity, its replacement with cosmopolitanism and denationalization have been combatted and have been described as reactionary in whatever form they have been expressed.

It is precisely this national identity of Albanian literature and art and the whole of Albanian culture which has come under attack recently from all the tribunes of Serb chauvinism in Yugoslavia. And the events in Kosova had to occur for the Albanian culture and literature to suddenly emerge as chauvinist and inflammatory. The

author of these lines is precisely one of the writers who has often dealt in his literary work with those motifs which are now described in Yugoslavia as so harmful. These works, amongst others have been published in all the languages of the peoples of the SFR of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav literary critics have spoken of them in positive and admiring terms, for which the author has been grateful to them. They have never found any sign of «romantic nationalism» or any irredentists message in them, just as the foreign critics of today and yesterday have found none in Albanian literature in general. This being the case, how then could this literature suddenly become chauvinist and irredentist? For chauvinism, however, such a method of procedure is normal. Just as it threatens other peoples, it likewise threatens and tramples underfoot the healthiest opinion, the advanced literary, artistic and philosophical thinking of its own people.

Like all Albanian culture, the literature and arts that have been created in Kosova have always been pure and never charged with chauvinist ideas or motifs. On the other hand, in their contacts with their colleagues in Kosova, in the dozens of articles they have written about the books by Kosova writers that have been published in Albania, in the meetings and symposiums organized in Albania or Yugoslavia, devoted to the development of literature in Kosova, in their reports, studies or interviews, the writers of the PSR of Albania have never, on any occasion, incited or suggested tendentious overloading with national elements, let alone with Great-Albanian chauvinist and irredentist motifs. And this is not only for the simple reason that such ideas are alien

and unacceptable to our authors, but also out of the respect we have always had for the dignity of the writers and artists of Kosova, a respect that has never permitted us to display the slightest sign of paternalism towards them.

In the climate of the «witch hunt», the Serbian chauvinist will try in vain to find facts about incitement to irridentism by the Kosova writers and artists. However this will simply make this search even more ridiculous than it is already.

Chauvinism is blind to logic. The chauvinist assumes that his own internal hatred and ire are adequate arguments to convince others. In their arrogant campaign against the Albanian culture the chauvinists could not refrain from launching theses that the glorification of the tradition of one nation (here the reference is always to the Albanian nation) damages the other nations. According to them, Albanian literature, historiography and all Albanian culture must be extremely careful to avoid irritating, hurting and insulting the other nations by mentioning outstanding Albanian events and personalities («idols of the past»). Can it be that, according to this sinister logic, the Albanians must forget that they, together with the Greeks, are the most ancient peoples of the Balkans, because such a thing might insult those who came later, the Slavs, that motifs common to Homer and Aeschylus are to be found in the roots of Albanian culture, and this is by no means an exaltation of Albanian nationalists, but a discovery made by outstanding European scientists and Albanologists, that the history of the Balkans begins not in the 14th century, which it pleases the Serb chauvinists to mention frequently in order to prove the alleged usurption

of Kosova by the Albanians, but many centuries earlier, long before the Slavs arrived in the Balkan peninsula.

Of course, to use the antiquity of your own nation and culture in order to denigrate the other nations is as unworthy as it is infantile. Each nation and each national culture has its own merits in the great treasury of world culture, merits which do not depend on their age alone. On the other hand, however, to seek to falsify the truth allegedly in the name of the unity and understanding between nations, this is even more unworthy and infantile.

During their long history of co-existence, the Balkan peoples, contrary to the chauvinist psychoses incited by reactionary castes and regimes, have always had a good inclination towards one another. This inclination has confirmed itself in the cultural relations through the centuries, in the exchange of spiritual wealth, legends and rapsodies of amazing beauty. The Albanian people have never been harmed or insulted, by the magnificence of the culture of their neighbours — the Greek people, in the course of thousands of years. On the contrary, they have always loved and respected the ancient Greek culture, its personalities, its greatest achievements and its idols. Even at times of tense relations with the Greek state, it has never crossed the mind of anyone in Albania that the brilliance of the neighbouring culture would harm Albania. The broad knowledge of the Greek literature and art, the study of them along with the study of the national literature are ample proof of this. The Albanian people did not break this fine old custom with the neighbours who came later, the Slavs, either. No

one can find any evidence of opposition to their culture in our literature. And irrespective of what is occurring, such things will not be found in the future, either.

It is already clear to all that the frenzied campaign undertaken against the Albanian culture, literature and art has only one aim: to find any pretext to cut off all contacts between the Albanian culture which is developing in Albania and that developing in Kosova, to close the doors to Albanian culture, books and art, and in this way to finally isolate the Albanians of Kosova from everything that is created in Albania. The open calls such as that of Ristić: «We need no books from Albania!», the delirious demands for a breach, interruption and isolation have filled the chauvinist press. And this act, without precedent in our century, is being undertaken by those who, up till now, have called themselves champions of the exchange of cultures and ideas, champions of non-isolation and champions of the policy of open doors. According to them, every kind of culture has the right to enter Yugoslavia, culture from every corner of the globe. But from now on, only the culture of the neighbours through the centuries, the Albanian people, has not right of entry there. And the chauvinists imagine that the Albanians of Kosova will agree to this!

However, the chauvinists forget that there are some things in this world that do not change as readily as they may dream. The nations and national cultures have links going back centuries, especially those of the Balkans. The Balkan Peninsula is an ancient arena on which the national experiences have been subjected to tragic

and majestic tests. The unity of the Albanian national culture, one of the oldest in the peninsula, has also withstood these tests. That is why the efforts of the chauvinists, or a few Ristic's and other non-entities who seek to change the order of things that has been decided in the course of millenniums by means of some ridiculous meetings, seem so pathetic.

Ismail Kadare

«Zëri i popullit», *May 29, 1981*

## **THE EVENTS IN KOSOVA AND THE SECRET SOVIET-GREAT-SERB COLLABORATION**

The independent, government and Party press of all countries has given extensive coverage to the tragic events in Kosova caused by the Great-Serb clan in Belgrade. Judgements have been given and stands adopted in this or that way. Even the United States, which is not noted for its sympathy towards the Albanians of the PSR of Albania, expressed its opinion and stand, not only through the press, but also through the Department of State. It tried to present itself as unbiased, as if it considered the events in Kosova as Yugoslavia's internal business, a problem which does not affect «American interests».

Only the Soviet revisionists remained silent, as if nothing had happened in what they regard as a zone «close to the borders of the Soviet Union» over which on other occasions they display an exaggerated sensitivity.

In short, the whole world spoke, reported, commented, while the Soviets and their stooges kept their mouths shut. Why?

The impression which the Soviets want to create is that they are maintaining a neutral stand, that they are not saying anything for fear of being accused of bias or intervention. With their «silence»

they want to show the world that the Soviets are not the kind to meddle in the internal affairs or other countries, as they are constantly being accused of doing. By remaining silent they seem to be saying: «Let the Albanians and Yugoslavs settle their own affairs!».

This stand of the Soviets is a bluff, but a poorly disguised bluff. When their interests require they intervene in the internal affairs of others, not only with words but also with their army. The present chiefs in the Kremlin have repeatedly shown that they are by no means distinguished for their tact and correct behaviour in international relations.

The present-day Soviet policy must be judged not from its tactical stands, but from its hegemonic, expansionist, strategic objectives, to which all its actions, whether diplomatic silence or the rumble of tanks, pacifist slogans or undercover conspiracies, are subordinated. The Russian bear may close its eyes and seem to be immobile and drowsy, but this is precisely the time when it is watching and waiting for its prey to come close enough to be caught and gobbled up.

The Soviets, for whom the Balkans is an area under their permanent surveillance, a field of their special imperialist political, military and strategic interests, are extremely interested in the aggravation of relations between Yugoslavia and Albania, if possible to the point of rupture. They are interested in having the peoples of Yugoslavia feuding with the Albanians, because this would prepare the ground for the Soviets to intervene in our internal affairs.

The aggravation of relations between our two

countries would bring the Soviets a series of advantages, which they could never attain in normal conditions and situations. First of all, this aggravation further weakens the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, which is falling apart as a result of profound national, economic, political and state contradictions. This also harms the PSR of Albania, which is an unyielding bastion against Soviet imperialism, American imperialism and world reaction.

Another benefit the Soviets would gain from a Yugoslav-Albanian quarrel is that it would seriously shake the existing stability established in the Balkan Peninsula. The disturbance of this stability threatens Greece and Italy, the south-eastern flank of NATO, the main rival of the Soviets, with troubles and insecurity, and this would be most welcome and greatly in the interests of the strategic plans of Moscow.

At the same time, it is already clear that there is someone in Yugoslavia who is working for the Soviet interests, who is more and more bringing grist to the Soviet mill. There are forces there, which for their own selfish national-chauvinist and bureaucratic-hegemonic interests, are united with the Soviets and ready to sacrifice the lofty interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as jeopardize those of the neighbouring peoples. In our country, Albania, the Soviets have no basis on which they can rely, because the Albanian people long ago uprooted and crushed those who might have helped them, such as B. Balluku and A. Këllezi, whom several Yugoslav leaders have proclaimed as their friends. Before the people's court, these traitors admitted their double links and revealed the conspiratorial plans

which their inspirers hatched up against Albania and other peoples of the Balkans.

In the whole secret game which the Soviets are playing at present around Yugoslavia they are supporting and inciting the Great-Serb clan of Belgrade against the Albanians of Yugoslavia and against the PSR of Albania. They are saying nothing about what is occurring in Kosova because they want the Great-Serb clan to operate there without any hindrance, to go to the limit in its adventure, to play all its cards and reach the point from which there can be no turning back, when they are left with only one option — to fall completely into the lap of the Soviets. Moscow has calculated that the Serbian «iron fist», which is striking Kosova at present, will be raised against Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia tomorrow. When this time comes, and it is already obvious that it will not be long delayed, the Serbian clan will be in dire need of the aid of the Soviets. And this time they will know how to act and what to demand. We have seen how much this aid costs, in Czechoslovakia with Gustav Husak or in Afghanistan with Babrak Karmel.

The Soviet silence over the events in Kosova is a direct support for the Great-Serb clan, an aid for the strengthening of Serbia and an encouragement to impose its hegemony on the rival Croatian-Slovenian clan, which is pro-Western and pro-American.

Fifteen years ago Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote the article, «Yugoslavia at the Crossroads», published in «Zëri i popullit» of August 2, 1966, which dealt with the struggle between these clans and its development in the future (See volume 33

of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, pp. 243-253, Alb. ed.).

Now the ideological platforms and the political objectives of these two clans have assumed a clear-cut form and the struggle to achieve them has begun.

The Great-Serb clan, which aims at establishing its hegemony and domination over all the federal republics, is in favour of bureaucratic centralism and unitarianism, which it regards as the main means of realizing these objectives. Meanwhile, the Croat-Slovenian clan is in favour of the so-called Titoite «self-administration», which ensures it a certain degree of administrative, economic, and even political independence from Belgrade and represents some sort of protection against the ever-present menace of Serbian hegemonic aspirations.

Up till now, the system of «self-determination» has not been to the advantage of Serbia; it has left the Great-Serb clan economically weak. On the other hand, the most outstanding representatives of Serbian chauvinism, Ranković and company, were liquidated. Later, a second Serbian group, that of Nikezić-Popović was also liquidated. The Croat-Slovenian personalities began to breath and move freely on the Yugoslav political scene. Kardelj drafted the new Yugoslav Constitution, which sanctioned «self-administration» by law, and wrote a series of theoretical works on «self-administration» to leave it to his compatriots as a weapon in their ideological and political struggle with the powerful Serbian clans.

Following the death of Tito, who kept the balance between the republics and curbed the

great appetites of the Serbs, the clans which have fallen and those which are still on their feet in Serbia are seeking revenge against the Croat-Slovenian clan. Ranković himself has begun to leave the Dalmatian coast more frequently and to appear in Belgrade, to prolong talks with his friends in the «Atso Devetka» and «Beogradski Podrum» cafés.

Everyone knows that the Soviet revisionists supported this Titoite prince in his time, encouraged his lust for power and advertized him as the only person who should replace Tito during his lifetime or after his death. At a meeting in Moscow, Khrushchev once told the Albanian leaders that the most positive person in Yugoslavia, from the Soviets' viewpoint, was Ranković. In vindication of their esteem and trust in him they related how, during a drinking bout with the «Soviet comrades» in Moscow, he had sung the Soviet national anthem.

This stand of the Soviet towards Ranković was also expressed publicly on the occasion of a speech he delivered on July 4, 1960 at Sremska Mitrovitsa of Serbia, in which he attacked social ist Albania in the presence of the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors. The Party of Labour and the Albanian Government condemned the benevolent stands of the Soviets and Bulgarians towards Ranković through official notes at that time. Comrade Enver Hoxha revealed this at the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1960. In his speech he stated that the calumnies, attacks and «words of Ranković would have had no importance for us, had the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors in

Belgrade, who attended the meeting, not sat listening to them with greatest serenity, without making the slightest protest, . . . In his letter in reply to the CC of the PLA, Zhivkov had the audacity to reject our protest and describe the speech of the bandit Ranković as positive.»

It is possible that, for various reasons, the Soviets may not now pin their hopes on Ranković who may be played out. But they are pinning all their hopes on those who are for his ideology and policy.

The Soviets have been, are, and always will be on the side of the Great-Serbs. Their interests bring them together. This is once again the case with the present events in Kosova. Both the Soviet revisionists and the Great-Serbs are avowed enemies of the Albanians, whether of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia or of the PSR of Albania. Since the Albanians are a stabilizing factor in the Yugoslav Federation, both the Russians and the Great-Serbs are interested in suppressing them. The genocide which occurred in Kosova, for which the Great-Serbs are the culprits, and their anti-Albanian campaign weaken the Federation in general and open the way to Serbian domination and Soviet intervention. Of course the attack on the Albanian factor, which is opposed to the Great-Serbs and the Soviet Union, the weakening of the Yugoslav Federation in general, would strengthen the Great-Bulgarian claims in regard to Macedonia. These Great-Bulgarian ambitions will grow stronger or weaker depending on the weakening or strengthening of Soviet influence in Yugoslavia. The Soviets have the Bulgarians and their pretensions

towards Macedonia completely in their hands and use them as a pawn which they move in conformity with the changing situations.

The Soviet-Great Serb plot is extremely dangerous for Yugoslavia and peace and security in the Balkans. If the peoples of Yugoslavia are not made aware of this, it will become a very great menace.

The argument of the Great-Serbs that the creation of the Republic of Kosova within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation and in close friendship and cooperation with the other republics would destroy the Federation is baseless. On the contrary, the «Republic of Kosova» would strengthen the status quo of the Federation, strengthen the position of the other republics within it, strengthen the genuine and just unity and fraternity among the nations and nationalities that live within the Yugoslav state. The only things it would destroy are the hegemonic plans of the Great-Serbs and the strategic plans of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Despite all that has occurred between us, we advise the peoples of Yugoslavia that they should be vigilant towards the «silent» Soviet subversion and towards those who, to conceal their collusion with the Soviets, accuse Albania that by defending the right of the people of Kosova, it is interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, and threatening its sovereignty and integrity.

It is time that the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia and all the progressive peoples recognized clearly that the stands and acts of the Great-Serbs towards Kosova and Albania, stands and acts which are followed with sympathy and

supported by Soviet social-imperialism, are endangering not only the future of the Yugoslav Federation but also the peace and security of the Balkans and Europe.

«Zëri i popullit»  
*June 5, 1981*

## **WHO IS OPPOSED TO CULTURAL COLLABORATION BETWEEN ALBANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA?**

The Yugoslav press, a number of personalities and leading organs of Yugoslavia are attacking Albania over the agreements for collaboration between the cultural, literary and artistic institutions of Kosova and our country and are demanding the breaking off of these agreements.

They are raising all sorts of arguments to justify the interruption of the collaboration and exchanges in the field of art and literature between Albania and Kosova, but they are all without foundation and misrepresent the reality.

For instance, it is said that these exchanges have been carried on only with Kosova and that the Albanian side has not wanted any collaboration with the other parts of Yugoslavia. In support of this they claim that Albania refused to sign a cultural agreement with Yugoslavia in July 1971. How does the truth stand? In the talks which were held at that time, the Yugoslav side insisted that in the agreements there should be no explicit mention of cultural collaboration with Kosova, claiming that this was automatically implied. For its part, the Albanian side sought to have it written in the agreement that the cul-

tural collaboration should be developed with the whole Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and with Kosova in particular. This was a natural and logical demand. However, the Yugoslav side did not accept it, and the agreement was not concluded.

Since there was no cultural convention between the SFR of Yugoslavia and PSR of Albania a series of agreements were concluded with the cultural-educational institutions of Kosova as well as with those of Macedonia and Montenegro, which have been applied normally, and the desire of both sides has been that they should be extended and deepened further.

If our exchanges have been more intensive with Kosova, first, and then, with Macedonia and Montenegro, this is natural and understandable. This comes about not only because the people of Kosova are our brothers with whom we have many links which it is not necessary to go into here, but also because our cultural links with Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia are bound to have priority because of geographical closeness, historical links and traditions and a thousand other bonds which exist between our and their peoples who have lived side by side for centuries and given and taken from one another. When there is good will, sincerity, feelings of friendship and respect for the neighbouring people and their culture, the ways of collaboration are easily found, both when signed inter-state agreements exist and when there is no such agreement. However, it is the lack of good will in Belgrade and other aims which impel them to allege that for more than ten years the Yugoslav government has known nothing about the fact that

twelve agreements had been signed between the educational and cultural institutions of Albania and the Yugoslav republics, that these agreements were allegedly one-sided, etc., etc. Is it possible that we could conclude these agreements in secrecy? Have two people, one from Tirana and one from Prishtina, Skoplje or Titograd, met secretly in some cellar and put their signatures on paper?

Speaking about these agreements and protocols, the newspaper «Politika» of May 29 this year writes, «We have not been informed about many matters.» Let us remind the newspaper «Politika» that on November 4, 1979, it published the following news item from TANJUG, «The agreement on collaboration in the field of literature and art between the Writers' Association of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova and the Writers and Artists' League of the PSR of Albania has been signed in Prishtina.» This news was published in all the newspapers and was reported in the Yugoslav radio and TV news bulletins.

Even when these agreements were signed in Tirana, TANJUG reported the news through the Yugoslav press, because everything was done officially. Thus, on December 3, 1980, on the occasion of the signing of the protocol between Radio-TV of Prishtina and that of the PSR of Albania, TANJUG reported: «The Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana, Branko Komatina, took part in the ceremony of the signing of this document.» As far as we know, TANJUG and the ambassador belong to the Federation and not just to Kosova. To continue, — on March 5, 1980 TANJUG published a comment of the Belgrade

magazine «On the International Questions,» which makes this assessment of the agreements: «The existing forms of the Yugoslav-Albanian collaboration are characterized by trust, which is a favourable condition for the further successful development of this collaboration.»

Now let us ask: Do the Yugoslav officials really mean what they say when they claim that «we have not been informed»? We cannot imagine that these officials do not read their own press!

In the same article of May 29 this year, in order to increase the mystery over the signing of the agreements, the newspaper «Politika» introduces the question of language: «The texts of some of these agreements are only in the Albanian language and are signed only as such.» We are obliged to ask: Are the Great-Serb chauvinists preparing to annul the right of the people of Kosova to speak and write in the Albanian language?

However, we must tell «Politika»: If you consider the twelve agreements to be wrong and that the Albanians have tricked you, you must also accept that Tito was wrong when, during his last visit to Kosova, he examined the relations of Kosova with Albania and approved them. Not only was he in favour of the agreements concluded, but he followed the development of these relations through close supporters of his from Kosova.

During his visit to Kosova in October 1979, Tito stated: «Our relations with neighbouring Albania, especially in the fields of trade, education and culture, have been developed with great success, through the efforts of both sides and in

conformity with the mutual interests. This is a valuable contribution to all relations and stability in this region. I am convinced that this in the essential interests of all the peoples of this part of Europe as well as of wider circles.» (TANJUG, October 16, 1979).

Had Tito seen that there was «irridentism» «nationalism» and «chauvinism» in the relations of Kosova with Albania, as you are claiming now, we are convinced that he would not have permitted these agreements, because he was no less anti-Albanian than you.

Hence the accusations which you are making about the cultural and educational agreements and exchanges are without foundation and unjust, as are your accusations that the cadres of Kosova have allegedly acted without your knowledge and behind your backs. The facts show clearly that the agreements were made with the knowledge and approval of Belgrade and Tito. If you have other accounts to settle with Tito, that is another matter, but don't try to make Kosova pay for it.

In this article I shall dwell in particular on how the collaboration between the Writers and Artists' League of Albania and the literary and artistic associations of Kosova was achieved and how it has developed.

The cultural agreements on literature and the arts, like all the others, were concluded in conformity with the norms and regulations which exist in Albania and Yugoslavia, without any imposition or deception. Both for us and our colleagues of Kosova the signing of them was a great joy, because our collaboration was taking place through official channels and official documents were signed, although even prior to this

the works of writers, painters, sculptors and composers of the two sides were published, displayed and performed, both in Albania and in Kosova. In Albania during the last five years alone, 30 books have been published: volumes of poetry, short stories, novels and anthologies, including the work of 50 writers of Kosova, not to mention that during 1981 seven other such volumes will be published. Exhibitions by painters and sculptors from Kosova have been opened, the opera «The Girl of Kaçanik» has been performed and the works of composers from Kosova have been played and warmly welcomed by our audiences for their high artistic level.

All the writers and artists of socialist Albania are enthusiastic about the achievements of literature and art in Kosova, about the emergence and development of a whole pleiad of poets, prose writers, composers, painters, artists, critics, and scholars, whose works have enriched their national culture and made their contribution to the literature and art of the peoples of the Balkans. On the other hand, many works from our literature have been published in Kosova and our figurative arts have become known there.

Our cultural exchanges extended to other regions of Yugoslavia as well, even though an over-all cultural agreement has not been signed yet. Thus an exhibition of figurative arts of Albania has been opened in Belgrade and Skoplje and the central press of Yugoslavia has written about them. Our country has taken part in film festivals and festivals of artistic ensembles in Ljubljana and Ohrid. On the other hand, poetry and novels by our authors have been translated and published in the Serbo-Croat and Macedon-

ian languages. The newspapers and magazines «Knjizhevne Novine», «Knjizhevnost», «Politika», etc. have published some of our poems and stories. Belgrade television has broadcast Albanian films. Everything that has been published, exhibited and performed has been selected by Yugoslav expert commissions and editorial boards which have been well acquainted with our culture and arts and we have acted in the same way.

The agreements between the Writers and Artists' League of Albania and the Writers' Association of Kosova says that this association undertakes to assist the spread of Albanian literature among the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Writers and Artists' League of Albania will assist peoples to make it known to the Albanians. In the short time since the signing of this agreement, we have published works by the Croatian and Slovenian poets, Ivan Kovačić and Karel Destovnik, along with verses of Paul Eluard, Brecht, Vaptsarov, Newman, Machados and Attila Jozsef. As can be seen, we have not confined ourselves to relations between Albania and Kosova alone, as «Politika» claims, but we have wanted and have tried to extend these relations to the whole of Yugoslavia. In these conditions, how has it come about that one fine morning this collaboration turned out to be one-sided?

Now we come to another argument of those in Belgrade who say that this collaboration should be stopped because Albanian art is irreddentist, has a nationalist and chauvinist content and as such should be locked up, banned and burned.

Albanian literature and art, guided by the Party of Labour and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have never had a chauvinist content. They have not been created in the circles of royal courts which have had ambitions to invade other countries and command other peoples, but have been born amidst tragic events, amidst threats and menaces from foreigners, amidst efforts for the defence of the national territory, honour and dignity, amidst struggles for freedom and social progress. This is not the place for theoretical explanations. It is known that culture is a summing up of all the material and spiritual values which a people have created in the social and historical process. In our country, this historical and social process has not proceeded on the road of the occupation of other territories and countries, therefore, it could not have the chauvinist spirit. We could not deliberately create a culture and literature to attack Yugoslavia. To do this we would have had to be supranatural! Our arts and culture have always been humane and have aroused genuine humanitarian feelings. How does it come about that the French, Italians, British, Greeks, Turks, Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Arabs and others have not noticed this alleged nationalism and chauvinism when they have translated, performed, and exhibited works of Albanian art?

We are able to distinguish in which literature there is chauvinism. And we have read some books and articles such as those of Čubrilović, Dobrica Cesić or Mihailo Lalić. Speaking of this writer. I want to point out that in 1976, two years before the commemoration of the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren, he hastened to

publish in Belgrade the historical novel «Zatočnici», allegedly to throw light on the Albanians and their uprising. In the whole of Balkan literature it would be hard to find a novel more nationalistic, more chauvinist and racist than this! As far as we know, this writer has not been jailed and the Yugoslav critics have not said a word about his chauvinism, nationalism or irridentism. On the contrary, they have been unsparing in their praise and glorification of him as a great Yugoslav writer! In this novel he insults the Albanian people in the most banal terms and slings mud at the whole history, struggles and uprisings of the Albanians, especially in the period from the Albanian League of Prizren to 1914. This writer, who poses as a communist and a humanitarian, speaking through his beloved hero says about the Albanian insurgents of Plava, Dukagjin, Gashi and Reka: «Looking at them, I thought, 'How primitive and tough they are in nature and how lacking in imagination!», and he continues: «A human dung heap,» «their necks hung slack as a sow's tits». He opens his novel with the following barrage: «Immediately after the Congress of Berlin of 1878, when Plava and Gucia should have been handed over to Montenegro, the Turks set to work all the tailors in Peja, Prishtina, Mitrovica, Ferizaj, Prizren, Gjakova and the villages of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, right up to Gjilan and Tetova, to sew Albanian trousers and vests, in this way dressing the regular army in Albanian national costumes awaiting General Mark Milan and the Montenegrins in front of Plava. In the region of Nokshiq they captured some of them, cut the heads off 240 Montenegrins and kept them on posts from the beginning of winter right

through to spring in order to show how great was the resistance of the Albanian League.»

Here there is not merely chauvinism, but racist hatred for the Albanians. Our literature has not one word insulting the other peoples. How can it, then, incite to irredentism and Great-Albanian nationalism, as Belgrade is now alleging? Are we supposed to call the glorious heroes of the Albanian Renaissance and those immortal fighters who fell for the freedom and rights of their Homeland «primitive and tough in nature», «lacking in imagination», «a human dung heap»? If we were to describe them in this language, then, of course, we would not be «romantic» and there would be no insistence on breaking the agreements! And they would not keep our books under lock and key, either. We mentioned this, because in Ulqin, as Radio Titograd reported on May 23 this year, they have done a valiant deed with the books sent by our National Library. According to the radio, «these books have not been made available, or to put it more precisely, have been locked away.» Why have they taken the pains to find keys—let those who are not «lacking in imagination» (as we are, according to Lalić) bring them out in the square and burn them. . . . It would not be the first time in history that books have been burned.

Hundreds of books published in Yugoslavia, not only in the Albanian language but in the languages of other nations, come to our libraries. A good number of them come without being ordered, and this is international practice. The National Library in Tirana, the Library of the Academy of Sciences, of the University, etc. receive considerable quantities of books and journals from the Yugoslav libraries in the form of exchange,

Far from being worried about this practice, we have considered it useful. We have not «locked away» the Yugoslav books even though many of them are unacceptable to us ideologically. Moreover, we have never returned them with the note «refused», as the Yugoslav authorities do with any Albanian book sent to Yugoslav libraries. If the authors of «Politika» and those who stand behind them want some details we need go back no further than May 15, 1981. Narodna Biblioteka Srbije, with a note signed by its vice director, Zelko Škalamana sent our National Library 18 books, amongst which one by Kardelj.

Under the agreements, a much greater number of people of literature and the arts have come to Albania than have gone there from our side. Amongst them there have been Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Turks and others. Together with Albanians, they have sung on our stages, have exhibited their pictures and sculptures, have taken part in the day of Albanian poetry and other ceremonies. We have welcomed them all with affection and respect.

Official personalities, our colleagues and the man in the street have good opinions about these activities and about the correct behaviour of our writers and artists, just as we have had and still have about the creative artists from Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro that have come to our country. All this collaboration, from the publications to the performances of artistic ensembles, from the exhibitions of figurative arts to theatrical performances, from the visits to various meetings, has assisted the development of the literature and arts of both sides and has played a

tangible role in giving them greater freshness and raising their artistic level.

It is quite apparent that the accusations about an allegedly irredentist content of the arts and literature created in the PSR of Albania and about the one-sided collaboration have been made deliberately to hasten the breaking of agreements in the field of literature and arts between Albania and Kosova and Yugoslavia as a whole, as well as to hinder the progress of the Albanian literature and arts which are created in Kosova.

Nevertheless, the true artistic and literary values of peoples find the way to the hearts and minds of mankind even without protocols. This does not depend on the signing of papers, although we do not deny the importance of these documents. In our century even the shepherd in the mountain pastures with a transistor not much bigger than a match box hears what is going on in the world, hears what literature is being created at the opposite pole. Our century is the century of extensive cultural, educational, technical and other exchanges between nations and states. This is a tendency which serves the progress of the peoples, makes them known to one another and brings them together. Agreements are reached, protocols are signed, books are exchanged, meetings of people of arts and science, conferences, symposiums etc. are organized everywhere, especially between neighbouring countries. In the Balkans, the birth-place of the most ancient literature with the greatest tradition, scores of activities take place every year and we cannot think of any instance in which someone has risen to insist on breaking the agreements for fear of irredentism and nationalism. This happened for the first time in the spring of

1981, on the part of Yugoslavia, which, moreover, has not ceased to claim that it is an «open country» that it is for cultural exchanges with all countries, for the confrontation of ideas and other such big talk.

That is why we are rightly indignant when we hear angry voices demanding the restriction or prohibition of the exchange of the literature, arts and other spiritual values of our people with Kosova and the other regions of Yugoslavia. Those who demand such a thing assume a grave responsibility.

Dritëro Agolli

Chairman of the Writers and Artists'  
League of Albania

«Zëri i popullit»,  
*June 7, 1981*

## **THE REAL PIEDMONT, THE YUGOSLAV «PIEDMONT» AND THE «GREAT ALBANIAN PIEDMONT»**

In the Yugoslav press, in the context of the unrestrained anti-Albanian campaign, which has erupted following the events in Kosova, frequent references are being made to a so-called «Great-Albanian Piedmont.» As usual, in all this deafening chorus, the Belgrade newspaper «Politika» has assumed a leading role, which it will not give up.

In the minds of the venal journalists, who have received order to launch every sort of attack on Albania, especially on its foreign policy, the purpose of this slogan is to smear our country, to conceal the real causes and those who are responsible for the new tragedy in Kosova, to cause diversion and to attribute to our socialist state aims and a role which it has never had.

Evoking history is not always sufficient to explain and gain understanding of what is occurring before our eyes. The events of the day cannot be forced into any ready-made historical mould. Nevertheless, since certain parallels referring to the past have been drawn and circulated, we accept the challenge and consider it necessary to have our say. This is not the place to go into lengthy debates about certain well-known themes and

problems of general and specific history and certainly it is not our intention to make any new contribution to this field. However, when various Yugoslav personalities, up to the top levels, followed by a legion of professional slanders and falsifiers, are trying to distort the real problems which have emerged in the relations between Albania and Yugoslavia in this phase, confusing them with all kinds of mystifications and a load of abusive digressions, it is in order to reopen the ledgers and to dot the i's so that certain concepts will be more clear.

In the speeches and articles of inveterate Great-Serb chauvinists, as well as those of their neophyte disciples, Piedmont of Italy has assumed a meaning derogatory to the highest degree. It is used as a synonym for a definite trend in the field of the foreign policy of a state, as a trend which is allegedly inspired by false nationalism and patriotism, by the so-called «national romanticism» which has gone by with its own century, as a trend which seeks provocation and adventurism in relations with other states. All this volley of terms is aimed at present-day socialist Albania, which is accused of «nostalgia for the 19th century».

Putting aside the essence of the problem for a moment, the first question which arises is: Is it true that in the history of Italy of last century Piedmont has that meaning and character which the spokesmen of Great-Serb chauvinism imply? Have they the right to twist it whichever way they like, to deride it and even ridicule it? Can they introduce so readily into the jargons of abusive slander against Albania that Piedmont which

is linked with one of the most brilliant pages in the history of the Italian people?

We Albanians of different generations have had bitter experience of the official policy of Italy, which has brought much suffering and many misfortunes to our people. Nevertheless, we have learned to appreciate and respect the values of other peoples, big or small. This is especially necessary for us, revolutionary Marxists. And in reality, any examination of the history of Italy, which has to do with its unification into a single state in the 19th century, cannot fail to arouse feelings of respect and profound admiration. In this process the role of Piedmont was of first-rate importance.

In that great progressive movement which is called the Italian Risorgimento, Piedmont, in the northwestern corner of Italy, even though it was a monarchy ruled by the feudal aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie, was a base and a nucleus. The great struggle for the liberation and unification of the regions of Italy, fragmented and divided among the Habsburgs, the Bourbons, the Pope and many local rulers, continued for more than half a century, from the 20's to the 70's of the 19th century. In practice, Italy in that period was a remnant of feudal fragmentation. During this whole period Piedmont served objectively as a support for every political, diplomatic, or military action with the aim of the unification of Italy and was the pivot around which the different provinces in the north and the south united in a single entity. From a broader viewpoint, the unification of Italy was one of the greatest and most progressive revolutionary processes in Europe in the 19th century, following the French Revolution. Piedmont, with

all its good points and shortcomings, was a leading headquarters.

This process also had its protagonists, its heroes. It is they who, in the language of the Great-Serb propaganda today, are called the «idols of the past», those who «poison the spirit of the youth,» and who therefore must be brought down from the pedestal on which history has placed them. Let us point out in passing that this is a biased nationalism, because we see no sign of the removal from the Serbian pantheon of Stefan Dušan, the Obrenovićs, the Karageorgevićs, Garašanin, Pašić, etc.

It is significant that it is not the monarchs, «Carlo-Alberto» or «Victor-Emanuel II» who occupy the place of honour in the pleiad of outstanding figures of the Italian Risorgimento, but a revolutionary republican and ideologist such as Mazzini, a military leader from the ranks of the people such as Garibaldi, and a statesman and diplomat such as Cavour. In themselves, these names represent the different contradictory aspects, the sometimes divergent methods of the struggle for the unification of Italy. Nevertheless, the three constitute a unity, that of the liberation from foreign bondage and the creation of a united state of the Italian nation.

The importance and repercussions of the Italian liberation movement in the 19th century went far beyond the bounds of the Apennine Peninsula. Such a powerful movement of a profoundly liberation character on which the broad popular masses put their seal so indelibly, could not remain and, in fact, did not remain an isolated Italian phenomenon. The Italian Risorgimento had visible repercussions and influences on an inter-

national scale. The very fact of the participation of Garibaldi in the liberation struggles of the peoples of Latin America (which brought him fame as the «hero of two worlds») seems to underline and materialize the idea that the Risorgimento was a component part of the universal movement for progress and people's liberation throughout the world.

We have no reason to conceal, on the contrary, we must say without reservation that the programs of the national movements on our peninsula found in the Italian Risorgimento inspiration and models for the struggle for liberation from the yoke of Turkey. Not only our geographical proximity, but also the similarity of the problems made this quite natural. As is known, at that time there was no independent Albania — it was part of the Turkish Empire. In the Balkans, however, there were independent states like Greece and autonomous states like Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, to which Bulgaria was added in 1878. In their foreign policy programs, all of them had the unification of their compatriots in the respective states as their main objective. Hence, there was an Italian Piedmont, but there were also Balkan «Piedmonts». So far there is no reason to reproach over this. On the contrary, the demands for the unification of compatriots in the context of the movement for complete national liberation were reasonable and legitimate.

In fact, at this period all the states of the Balkans had assumed the role of Piedmont, to a greater or lesser extent, in reaction both to the Turkish Empire and to Austro-Hungary. But slowly the expansionist excesses of the leading circles gained supremacy. The ideal of Balkan

solidarity in the joint struggle for the liberation of all nations of the Balkans gave way to the pressure of chauvinist tendencies to the detriment of one another, which turned into a serious problem in the history of the whole peninsula with consequences which continue into our century.

It is an indisputable historical fact that Serbian expansionism was especially prominent in this direction. From this viewpoint the Serbia of the 19th century cannot be identified with the Italian Piedmont. The term «Serbian Piedmont» can be used only in the figurative or conventional sense. However, as it is used, it goes beyond the bounds of the national program and more and more assumes an expansionist function. The Italian Piedmont fought for the unity of a homogenous nation against the Habsburgs, the Papal state and against other factors which kept Italy divided. «The Serbian Piedmont,» however, gradually assumed the role of the embryo of a new domination, of a great unitarian state, which was to include not only the Serbs, but also other ethnic groups under the aegis of Serbia. As early as the 40's of the last century, the Serbian prime minister Garašanin had drafted a memorandum on foreign policy — «Nacertanie», which in time became crystallized as an ambitious program of occupations for the creation of a Yugoslav monarchy, which apart from Serbia would include the regions of other southern Slavs such as Croatia, Bosnia, Slovenia, down to Bulgaria, and even territories with non-Slav populations such as Kosovo («ancient Serbia» in the Great-Serb vocabulary) and Northern Albania.

The expansionist essence of this program emerges very clearly if one bears in mind the

fact that the southern Slavs do not constitute a unity. From the time they first appeared in the Balkan Peninsula, in the 6th century of the present era, they have been exposed to different external influences, have been divided between Western and Oriental civilizations, and step by step, have evolved into separate peoples and nations. This also explains why later, in the period of the awakening of nations in Europe and the Balkans, there was not and could not be a common national movement with the objective of the creation of a unified pan-Slav state. Neither at the dawn of its existence as an independent state, nor later, has Serbia ever been the bearer and representative of such a program. During the second half of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century the Serbian politicians, from the princes of the monarchy down to Pašić, have had as their political platform the achievement of Serbian hegemony in a great, almost imperial state on the pattern of Austro-Hungary. At two different stages, at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and especially in the period of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, they achieved great territorial gains, in particular, including within the borders of Serbia territories inhabited by nearly half the Albanian population.

Of course, this does not mean that in the period of the Balkan awakening there were no movements of the southern Slavs, both for their liberation from foreign bondage and for their unification in a composite state formation. There were two tendencies confronting one another: on the one hand, Great-Serbian unitarianism and, on the other hand, Yugoslav federalism. At the end of the First World War it seemed as if a compromise solution had been found when, with the

disintegration of Austro-Hungary, Croatia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, and Slovenia were united with Serbia at the end of 1919 in the so-called «Serb-Croat-Slovenian state», which ten years later, in 1929, took the name of Yugoslavia.

However, like every formula built on the basis of the capitalist order, this was nothing but a façade behind which the politicians of Belgrade, headed by Pašić, achieved sometimes through parliamentary manoeuvres, sometimes through direct terror, the old idea of Serbian hegemony in the «new» allegedly tripartite state. Without going into details, two significant facts adequately characterized the extreme forms of the antagonism between the two currents in the political life of Yugoslavia in the period between the two wars: the murder of the Croat leader, Radić, in parliament in 1928, followed by the murder of King Alexander in Marseilles in 1934. From this it emerges clearly that the essence of the state power in Yugoslavia up to the outbreak of the Second World War was a savage Great-Serb dictatorship, which combined social bondage over the working people with national oppression of the nations of «other origin». From this it emerges clearly how directly opposite are the real Piedmont, with its missions of unification of Italy on a homogenous national basis, on one hand, and «Piedmont» in its new Yugoslav version, with its plan for the creation of a multinational state which was necessary to assert the idea of Great Serbia, on the other.

It cannot be denied that post-war Yugoslavia set out on its course with fresh hopes for the nations and nationalities which were included within its federal boundaries. There was talk

about the fraternization and unification of peoples and nations and the Yugoslav Federation was advertized as the ideal form for the solution of the national question. But it was soon seen that the socialist principles were not going to be made the basis on which the national question was to be solved. The Great-Serb idea marked its first victory when the people of Kosova were denied the right of self-determination up to secession. Contrary to what Tito himself had promised before and after the war, the appetite of Great-Serb chauvinism was whetted and it tried to include Albania itself, as the 7th republic. It gained a new lease of life through the policy of Ranković, which became predominant in the Federation. In this Tito saw the danger of the break-up of the Federation and hastened to establish order by means of a precarious balance between various antagonistic currents and clans. Less than a year had passed after his death when it became apparent how unstable and fragile were the structures he left behind him. The Great-Serb current became active again: especially now, following the events in Kosova, it is making a come-back with a greater drive for repression and centralization than ever before, because it is clear that what is occurring in Kosova has to do not only with this region, but with the whole of Yugoslavia. There the long-standing struggle between Great-Serb centralism and federalism is being expressed anew and, in the final analysis, the future existence of Yugoslavia as a federation will depend on the outcome of this struggle.

After all this, what remains to be said about the «Great-Albanian Piedmont,» which the propagandists of Belgrade are using as a bogey which is allegedly endangering the Yugoslav Federation?

It is an historical fraud, deliberately invented, to obscure the objective reality and turn the truth upside down. It is doubly absurd and without foundation:

first, nobody doubts that the Albanian national movement has also had its own territorial program because there is no national movement without a territorial program. This has been officially recognized world-wide since the last quarter of the 19th century when it became a diplomatic problem, hence long before the independent Albanian state was created in 1912. It is an incontestable fact that it has always been on the defensive. All its efforts have been concentrated on preserving the integrity of the Albanian territories which were coveted by the neighbouring states;

second. in 1913, by decision of the Great Powers, independent Albania suffered a major amputation. Both then and later, Albanian opinion denounced this as a great injustice inflicted on the Albanian people. The Albanian socialist state was to denounce this even more firmly in our time. Nevertheless our side has proclaimed repeatedly and it has been stressed in the analysis which «Zëri i popullit» made of the recent events in Kosova, that socialist Albania has never made any territorial claims against Yugoslavia. What we demand is that Kosova should be treated as an equal in the federation, that the Albanian population should not be regarded as an «inferior race,» which already «has more than it deserves.» This is our right which no one can deny. And socialist Albania will always exert this right in any situation.

Then, what meaning has the expression the

«Great-Albanian Piedmont?» What do they want to achieve with this catchword? They cannot humiliate us with it. They are merely distorting the truth.

«Zëri i popullit»,  
*June 9, 1981*

## **THE ECONOMIC EMIGRANTS FROM KOSOVA HAVE BEEN AND WILL REMAIN INSEPARABLE FROM THEIR COUNTRY AND PEOPLE**

We hear from foreign radio stations that at the University of Boston, a seminar was held about the Albanians of America at which a certain Professor Nikolla Pano spoke. What did this so-called professor say in the Boston seminar? Among other things he said that, «One of the most important factors in the continuity of the Albanian communities in America has been the arrival of new emigrants after the Second World War. New blood was added to the Albanian community.» This second generation of Albanians in America, as the so-called professor described it, was made up of members or leaders of «political parties» such as the Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti. It is of no importance to this professor that these new emigrants were feudals and oppressors who exploited to the bone those thousands of Albanians, the associates of the professor's parents, when they took the long road of emigration, leaving in their Homeland their mothers, fathers, wives, children, along with their hearts and their thoughts which always remained there. It is of no importance to him that these newcomers were traitors to

the Homeland who put it up for auction and then became the most zealous assistants of the fascist invaders in torturing and killing their brothers, sisters and cousins and burning the homes which the emigrants left in their native land.

It is a great merit of the Albanian colony in the United States and the Albanian colonies in other countries that they never accepted this «second generation» into their ranks and always regarded them with scorn.

Apparently, however, the purpose of the Boston seminar was not merely to find a solution to the problem of the reconciliation between the economic emigrants in America and the members of the Balli Kombëtar and traitors who fled Albania, but also to operate in the direction of the new Albanian emigrants from Kosova and other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, to lure them to America in large numbers and integrate them into that mafia of Ballist-Zogist-Ustaše gangsters which operates in America.

«The new generation of Albanians in America,» says this demagogue, «is gradually adapting itself to the new environment. Many Albanians have opened their own businesses and an ever greater number of the youth are continuing their studies in the higher schools. Now we can speak about the development of a middle class among the Albanians who emigrated from Yugoslavia.»

What dirty lies worthy of hucksters trying to sell their defective or counterfeit goods!

Such is the role of Nikolla Pano and company who, as the sly dealers they are, are now calling on the Albanians to leave their Albanian regions and come to America. He is echoing (and possibly paid by) those Serbian circles who for

years, using every means up to terror, have been urging the Albanians of Kosova and Montenegro to emigrate to whatever country they can, just so long as they leave the country of their birth, the land which they have drenched with their blood and sweat and their ancestral homes. This so-called professor makes his call for emigration precisely at the time when there is concern in Yugoslavia over the departure of some Serbs from Kosova for other parts of Yugoslavia and evidence is being sought about their numbers and even about high-level officials who live in Dedinje or New Belgrade. However, nobody is worried and there are no demands for evidence about those hundreds and thousands of Albanians who have been forcibly expelled to Turkey or about those tens of thousands of others who have gone to America, of whom advertizing agents such as Nikolla Pano are appealing to go there in ever greater numbers, alleging that they are in «paradise» there.

Through their so-called symposiums, these professors, who have nothing in common with genuine people of science and culture, these so-called Albanians, who are agents for the bying and selling of Albanians, as if they were flocks of sheep, are trying, under the cloak of men of science, to encourage the emigration of Albanians from Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. They want to make the Albanians leave their homes, like their brothers from Albania in the past, to settle in America and spend all their lives chasing a mirage. The so-called Albanian, Nikolla Pano, is nothing but an anti-Albanian who wants to turn the proud Albanians of Kosova into street cleaners, dish-washers, servants

and porters in the American cities, into emigrants who will toil their lives away and always remain poor. However, we are confident that the brave and wide-awake Albanians of Kosova will never be trapped by the advertizers and charlatans in Boston like Nikolla Pano, nor yield to the pressure and diabolical machinations of the Serbian chauvinists to drive them from their homes, from the land of their birth and their honour. They know better than anyone else that «you can't take your homeland with you.»

The economic emigrants from Kosova, both those who have gone to the United States of America and those who are working in other countries of Europe and elsewhere, are patriots of their own country. They have never been separated from their Homeland and their people and their hearts always long to return as quickly as possible to the beloved country of their birth. They know that only in their own country can they feel at home. By working the land there, by making the country prosper, they will find happiness together with their families, their children, their friends and all their compatriots. Their country always needs its own sons.

The Panos and other renegades from the Albanian people are trying to make the former emigrants from Albania and the new ones from Kosova, whom misfortune has driven to a foreign land, far from their own country and so different from the place and environment they are used to, not only the victims of capitalist exploitation but also the victims of deception and manipulation by reactionary and fascist Albanian, Croat and other emigrants, who have been and are sworn enemies of the Albanian people.

Our brothers in America, the former economic emigrants from Albania and the new economic emigrants from Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia, have looked with scorn on the enemies and other traitors of the past and have driven them from the ranks of their colonies and no doubt they will do so again with those individuals like Nikolla Pano and company, who are trying to deceive them and use them for their sinister purposes against Albania and the Albanian people. The Albanians of America and those of other colonies will know how to guard against these false Albanians and phoney scientists by unmasking them and presenting them as they are — enemies in the service of foreigners.

The Albanians in America, old-established and newcomers, are not like Nikolla Pano and will never become like him.

«Bashkimi»,  
*June 10, 1981*

## **TITOITE YUGOSLAVIA, THE SICK MAN OF THE BALKANS, INCITES HOSTILITY BETWEEN ALBANIA AND GREECE**

In its attempts to hide its responsibility for the grave situation it has created in the region of Kosova and to pave the way for the Serb-Russian plot, the Great-Serb clan in intensifying its attacks and slanders on the PSR of Albania from day to day. A few days ago it took a new step in its attempts at diversion, this time against our policy of good neighbourly relations with Greece. On June 4, 1981 the TANJUG agency reported that, «through its diplomatic missions in Washington and at the United Nations headquarters in New York, as well as through different scientific and university institutions in the USA, Tirana has distributed a political map of 'Greater Albania', in which it includes territories of Greek Epirus, from Preveza to Follorina, including the cities of Janina, Igumenitsa, Konitsa, etc. which it calls 'the regions of Çamëria occupied by Greece'». TANJUG added that the deputy to the Greek Parliament, Virginia Tsuderos, member of the Greek Democratic Socialist Party, has addressed a question in regard to this to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mitsotakis, and that the newspaper «Akro-

polis» has published a commentary against «Albanian expansionism» and the «persecution of the Greek minority in Albania», etc.

Their savage hatred for the Albanians and socialist Albania, their rabid chauvinist logic has led the Great-Serbs and the «experts» of the UDB to such lengths as to link the setting of this «brilliant discovery», which goes beyond the bounds of absurdity, with imaginary Albanian diplomatic missions, when it is known that our country does not have diplomatic relations with the USA and, consequently, has no kind of diplomatic mission in Washington, while in New York the people of our mission at the United Nations are not permitted to take a single step outside Manhattan.

This intrigue by the Great-Serb clan and its secret service, which has been hatched up on the basis of mediavel methods, is one of the filthiest, but also one of the most dangerous. It is the doing of the Yugoslav secret police, the agents of which operate in the diplomatic representations of Yugoslavia in Washington, New York and other American cities. It is these agents who, with the authorization of official circles of Yugoslavia and in co-ordination and collaboration with the blackest Great-Greek chauvinist reaction in the USA, have organized this anti-Albanian and anti-Greek fiction.

In this article it is by no means our intention to enter into polemics with Mrs Tsuderis who, according to TANJUG, has allegedly addressed a question to Mr Mitsotakis. She has the right to ask not one, but a hundred and one questions in the Greek Parliament in regard to this concoction and provocation by the Yugo-

slavs. At the same time, we do not wish to enter into polemics with those organs of the Greek press over their absurd claims about the borders of our Homeland, about territories which they call «Northern Epirus», and which TANJUG quotes for its own purposes in order to give its dangerous and ugly intrigue against Albania the colour of truth. We do not want to enter into polemics, because healthy Greek opinion already knows that the history of the so-called question of «Northern Epirus» has long been a dead letter and, as such, has no future. There is not the slightest chance that it can be used as an apple of discord between our two countries by the short-sighted Great-Serb chauvinist politicians in Yugoslavia and their espionage organs, which concocted the «brilliant» discovery of the mysterious map of «Greater Albania», which they themselves inspired and distributed.

The attempts of TANJUG to accuse us of chauvinist actions against neighbouring Greece are truly an adventurous, although short-lived scheme, which will have ignominious consequences for its authors. In our days, nobody with any brains should undertake such stupid actions. Indeed, we want to point out that even Great-Greek reaction itself, whether in Greece or in the United States of America, which has never ceased its slanders and smears against the Albanians and Albania, which has accused us of every sort of crime against the Greek minority in the PSR of Albania and has printed various maps to define where «the borders of Northern Epirus extend to», has never published any map to say that the Albanians have territorial claims against Greece, are demanding Arta, Preveza,

Janina down to Follorina or even further south, as TANJUG makes out. Moreover, no Greek newspaper or any Greek government has ever mentioned such a question, because, for our part, we have no such pretensions and have never raised this question.

But one fine morning, quite without shame, after the tragic events which the Yugoslav chauvinists caused in Kosova where the secret police and Serbian army committed genocide against the Albanians, for the third or fourth time, they concocted the tale that we Albanians have distributed in Washington and New York, at the United Nations, a «map» in which Çamëria is allegedly included within the borders of the PSR of Albania!

What are the Great-Serb clique of Belgrade and the satanic Yugoslav UDB aiming at with this «brilliant discovery»? Their aim is to ruin the fine friendship which exists between socialist Albania and democratic Greece, something which would be to the advantage of the Great-Serbs and their secret Soviet allies. The Great-Serbs hatched up this provocation in order to cover up their recent crimes in Kosova and to «prove» that the «Albanians are interfering in the internal affairs not only of Yugoslavia, but also of Greece and have territorial claims against Greece as well» and, to round off their case, they draw the conclusion that «the Albanians are nationalists, chauvinists, irredentists», etc. On our part, we have no alternative but to advise the disoriented Great-Serb leadership and its secret police that they ought to extend their imaginary «Great Albanian chauvinism» to Turkey, too, accompanied, of course, with black and white or coloured

maps because many Albanians live there also, and why not, even to Italy, since 5 centuries ago, the Arbëreshi emigrated there. Hence you might as well draw maps of these countries, too, and distribute them in the streets of the cities of the USA or some other country.

But we tell the Great-Serbs that the friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people, which goes back centuries, has been among the best and the most sincere. The Albanian people and the Greek people have fought together in the past and in the modern times. The blood which our two peoples have shed in the fight for freedom and independence against common enemies has cemented the foundations of their friendship. The Greek people do not forget that in their revolution of 1821, the Albanians fought to the end, shoulder to shoulder with their Greek brothers, when others, including the Serbs and the Russians, betrayed them and left them in the lurch. This old and solid friendship between our people and the Greek people was further tempered in the common struggle against the Italian fascists and German nazis. The struggle of our people to safeguard their national independence, freedom and sovereignty has always helped to defend the freedom and independence of Greece and its people, at the same time. It is vain for you and your allies, for your diabolical and sinister aims, to try to ruin this friendship which is being rebuilt today. Such a friendship has never existed with the Great-Serbs. Why? Because they have always been perfidious chauvinists and oppressors. The new Great-Serbs, who have tried before this to hatch up intrigues against Albania together with the extreme Greek reaction, have followed the same course. It is a

known fact that Tito and former King Paul of Greece, meeting in Corfù in 1956, discussed the possibility of partitioning Albania. The allies of the Great-Serbs, the Soviet revisionists, have pursued the same line, too. It is known that in 1960, in a conversation he had with the son of Eleutherios Venizelos, Khrushchev encouraged Northern Epirot reaction in its territorial claims towards Albania and spoke about a non-existent minority in Korça. The Albanian people have exposed and condemned these dangerous plots against their Homeland.

Our people have condemned the savage and inhuman behaviour of Tsaldaris, that Anti-Albanian chauvinist, who after the Second World War, expelled the people of Çamëria from their land and drove them to Albania. But it is fair to say that, despite his anti-Albanian sentiments, he did not shoot the people of Çamëria down with machine-guns, or crush them with tanks, as the Great-Serbs have done and are doing with the Albanians who live in Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia. In order to hide your inhuman, bloody crimes in Kosova, you gentlemen of Belgrade are so shameless as to pay some «Northern-Epirote» chauvinist journalist to speak and write about «the crimes and genocide committed against the Greek minority in Albania, the imprisonment of nearly half the minority population», and other slanders of this kind.

Your slanders and concoctions about the question of the map and the position of the Greek minority in Albania do not worry us. With such intrigues, slanders and provocations you merely expose yourselves and reveal your anti-Albanian and anti-Greek purposes. Therefore, as you see,

we are publicizing your «discoveries» so that the Greek people, the Albanian people and the Greek minority in Albania will recognize you for what you are.

You pretend to be concerned about the «life and fate» of the Greek minority in the PSR of Albania. Since you want to know about their life and fate let us tell you.

The Greek minority enjoys all the rights that the other citizens of our Republic enjoy. These rights have been sanctioned in the Constitution of the PSR of Albania and are implemented to the letter. There is no discrimination whatever in the political, economic and social fields against the members of the Greek minority. They have been guaranteed the right to use and cultivate their native language freely, to preserve and develop their culture, folklore and traditions and they have been provided with all the conditions for this. Schools of various categories exist in all the villages of the Greek minority and the lessons in the elementary schools are given in the Greek language. A newspaper is printed and many books are published in the Greek language for the minority. In the meeting which Comrade Enver Hoxha had with the population of Dropull in Grapsh village on March 22, 1978, he said: «As a Marxist-Leninist, I say that the Greek language, the mother tongue of the minority population, must be preserved and developed. Proletarian internationalism demands this, the Party of Labour of Albania demands it, because it is your mother tongue, your children must learn it, you must not forget it.»

Every girl or boy from the minority population who completes secondary or higher schooling,

and there are hundreds and thousands of them, has a job guaranteed even before graduation, not just in the minority region but in every part of Albania. The leading cadres in all the state organs in the minority zones, the chairmen of agricultural cooperatives, the secretaries and members of the bureaus of the Party, the judges, teachers, agronomists, doctors and other specialists, are sons and daughters of minority families. The Albanians and the minority people fought and made sacrifices together, and they triumphed together. The Albanians had suffered greatly, but the minority population had suffered even more, therefore the Party and the state thought that they should be assisted first, and that is what was done. In the plains of Dropull and Vurgu, where the bulk of the minority population lives, great investments have been made and they have had a direct influence on the improvement of the life of the people. The minority villages are among the most prosperous in Albania. New houses have been built everywhere, there is electric light, piped water, kindergartens, creches, hospitals and out-patient clinics, houses and hearths of culture, a broad network of shops everywhere.

Greek citizens of every rank and occupation, politicians, people working in art and culture have visited socialist Albania. They have visited the minority villages, have talked freely with the people, gone to their homes to share their meals, have sung and danced with them and have always written with great admiration about the Albanian people and about what they have seen and heard in Albania and among the minority population. Therefore, when they hear your monstrous slan-

ders, they will certainly be filled with righteous indignation.

Whether the Yugoslavs and their allies like it or not, the relations between Albania and Greece have strengthened and will grow even stronger. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «We have always loved the Greek people, because they are honest people, wise people, who have fought for their freedom and independence. . . The present Greek Government is for the improvement of relations with Albania and we are improving them. This has always met with understanding on the part of the Albanian people and the Albanian Government. We have commercial and cultural exchanges with Greece. We are neighbours, no evil can come to Greece from our side and the Greek people know this. The sentiments of the Greek people and of the Albanian people are in accord, each wishes the other well, naturally, each in its own country, each attending to its own affairs.»

On this basis of friendship and good neighbourliness, progress has been made in the relations between our two countries. We note with satisfaction that this is also the desire of the Greek people, of the Greek Government authorities. In a statement made in Parliament early in March 1981, the Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs of the Greek Republic, Rendis, said, «The relations between Greece and Albania are marvellous and our Government is predisposed to develop them further. The Government of friendly Albanian is similarly predisposed.» This is the reality and this reality cannot be damaged by the filthy concoctions of Belgrade.

We indignantly and categorically reject the

vile invention about the so-called map of «Greater Albania» and consider it to be a continuation of many other ill-intentioned concoctions of the Great-Serbs. We have never engaged in publishing and distributing such maps. Such a practice has no part in the principled and open Marxist-Leninist policy of the State and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Such provocative practices are part and parcel of your policy, gentlemen of Belgrade, of your friends and patrons, and you are well aware of this. The «New Albania» magazine, which is published in Tirana, has never printed in its pages any map such as TANJUG claims. Complete files of this magazine can be found everywhere and anybody can check up for himself that this is true.

«Zëri i popullit»  
*June 11, 1981*

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN ALBANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

In the recent months, the Belgrade newspapers «Politika» and «NIN», both mouthpieces of the Great-Serb clan, have made slanders against socialist Albania, their main theme acting on the principle, «If you sling enough mud, some of it will stick»!

In previous leading articles we have explained why all this sickening clamour against Albania is being raised in Belgrade. And we shall continue to explain it further, because the roots of this slanderous campaign go deep; they are linked with the sinister Russian-Great-Serb plan against Yugoslavia, Albania and peace in the Balkans and Europe.

As part of this campaign, even the nature and content of the trade exchanges between Albania and Yugoslavia are being distorted.

On May 28 this year, the newspaper «Politika» published an article entitled: «From the File of Yugoslav-Albanian Relations». Two days later the essence of this article was published in the magazine «NIN». In this article many accusations are made against Albania in regard to its

relations with Yugoslavia in various fields, including the field of trade exchanges.

«Politika» in its sensational article tries to prove «the generosity of the self-administrative Yugoslav state» towards socialist Albania, in order to create the impression amongst the public that «Yugoslavia has been very patient and tolerant towards Albania for 32 years on end»; that after the breaking off of relations between China and Albania in 1978, «only a non-aligned country like Yugoslavia could understand the full gravity of the (economic) position of Albania»; that Albania has always sought «special conditions» in its relations with Yugoslavia; that Albania has used the channels of communication «Yugoslavia created for it purely out of kindness» for selfish aims, etc.

In 1978, when revisionist China cut off all its aid and credits for Albania as well as commercial relations with it, it is true that Albania was faced with difficulties, but they were not unforeseen. At that moment, we had suddenly to switch about half of the volume of our foreign trade, which until then we had carried on with China, to other world markets. And socialist Albania did this without having to revise its 6th Five-year Plan, without having to ask anybody for aid or to be «generous» in his trade relations with Albania.

Naturally, the volume of trade which we had conducted with China had to be and was channelled both to the markets on which we had sold and bought until then (1978) outside China, and to new markets. This led to the expansion of our trade with Yugoslavia, which as is known, underwent a positive development in these last 2-3 years also due to the material possibilities created for the expansion of our exports as a result of the successful imple-

mentation of the 6th Five-year plan. This trade was expanded, also, due to the fact that the Yugoslav economy, in the grip of the economic crisis, had great need to export its commodities. We surmounted the difficulties created for us by the Chinese with our own toil and sweat, and not through the «generosity» of the Great-Serbs, who are proving themselves «generous» only in their slanders against socialist Albania.

Albania has always been correct in its trade relations with Yugoslavia, has carried on trade with Yugoslavia and is ready to continue to do so, considering this to the advantage of both Albania and Yugoslavia. Trade is trade, it is never one-sided and is always carried out on the basis of reciprocity. In our trade with other countries, we have never sought privileges and we follow the principle of covering our imports with our exports, so that we are never left with a negative balance against our trading partners. Our country has commercial exchanges with more than 50 countries and hundreds of regions and firms all over the world. Up till now none of them has complained of lack of correctness from the Albanian side.

Since Belgrade has opened the ledgers of its trade with Albania to the public, then we, too, should be permitted to open our ledgers and reckon the account.

1. The newspaper «Politika» says that «the Belgrade-Tirana route is a source of continuous losses to the JAT airline, but despite this they continue to subsidize it». What is the truth of the matter? The Yugoslav side itself proposed the establishment of this route, not the Albanian side. We welcomed the Yugoslav proposal. Of course, the Yugoslav side did not open this route without

carefully calculating the economic and political benefits from it. It opened the route to serve not only Albanian passengers, but also Yugoslav passengers travelling to and from Tirana. According to our calculations, the Yugoslav civil aviation company makes profits and not losses from this route. Our passengers have never travelled gratis. Everything has been paid for.

2. «Politika» also presents as evidence of Yugoslav «generosity» towards Albania the statement that «Yugoslavia has waived any claim to compensation for 700 hectares of Yugoslav territory inundated as a result of the creation of the lake for the Fierza hydro-power station on the Drin river (in Albania).» This is a big lie. Yugoslavia has given Albania nothing in regard to the Fierza hydro-power station, and Albania has never asked for «gifts» from Yugoslavia.

In this connection, everything was settled on the basis of the agreement concluded between the two sides at the Second Special Meeting of the Albanian-Yugoslav Commission on Water Conservancy, as recorded in the protocol of 1962, approved by the Governments of the two countries. Under this protocol, it is accepted and approved that an area of about 700 hectares, together with the river bed itself, in the area of the White Drin in Yugoslav territory, would be inundated and, the common and mutual obligation was assumed that «each side, in its own territory» would take the necessary measures to cope with the damage before the creation of the lake.

While this settlement involved no compensation of the Yugoslav side from the Albanian side for the area of land inundated in Yugoslav territory, it was not a one-sided settlement to the

advantage of Albania alone, as «Politika» claims, out to the advantage of both sides. This emerges clearly if the other questions dealt with in the protocol of 1962 are also taken into consideration.

Besides the question of the water level of the Fierza Lake, the protocol of 1962 also includes the joint settlement of 13 other water conservancy problems between the two countries. Of these, 11 were requested by the Yugoslav side. The Albanian side gave its approval to these 11 requests of the Yugoslav side, amongst which were the questions of diverting the upper part of the Radika river from the basin of the Black Drin (which is a common river) in the direction of the Vardar (which belongs to Yugoslavia) from which the Yugoslav side ensured the irrigation of 50,000 hectares of arable land in the plains of Polog and Skoplje, as well as the construction of 3 hydro-power stations in Yugoslav territory (at Verben, Vrutok and Koven). From the diversion of this water the Albanian side lost about 250 million kWh of electric power per year with an annual value of about 9 million dollars at present prices, from the hydro-power stations that would be built on the Drin river in our territory:

The protocol of 1962 did not provide direct compensation over individual questions because there was mutual compensation for both sides from the overall solution of all the problems which were raised and decided at that meeting. The only exception to this is the settlement of the overall problem of the waters of the Shkodra Lake, the Drin and Buna Rivers, on which it was decided that the necessary studies must first be made, and it was explicitly stressed that the expenditure (for the solution of this problem) would

be met by both sides according to the respective advantages accruing to each.

Apart from this, from the construction of the Fierza hydro-power station in Albania, the Yugoslav side has had a series of other indirect advantages, because, with the construction of the Fierza hydro-power station, the regulation of the flow of the Drin limits the fluctuations in the level of the Shkodra Lake, reducing its high level in winter and raising its level in the period of the summer, from which the Yugoslav side has gained land in the region around the Shkodra Lake, etc. All the calculations show clearly that the gains of the Yugoslav side in the area of the Shkodra Lake from the construction of the Fierza hydro-power station are greater than the loss it has incurred in the White Drin area, without taking into consideration its great gains from the joint solution of the other problems through the protocol of 1962, as was mentioned above.

3. «Politika» complains that «Albania pays transit charges for 500 trucks passing through (Yugoslavia), and pays nothing for any traffic in excess of this number. On the other hand, our (Yugoslav) transporters do not make use of the transit route through Albania». But this, gentlemen of the Belgrade Politika», is on the basis of a joint agreement concluded between the two countries. If this agreement does not suit you now, that is another matter.

The trade exchanges between Albania and Yugoslavia, are all based on government agreements duly signed between the two sides. We have conducted trade with the republics and the autonomous regions of Yugoslavia on the basis of these official documents and within the frame-

work of the Yugoslav Federation. The Albanian side has always been correct in the execution of the agreements and protocols signed.

If we glance over the figures of the trade exchanges between the two sides for the period 1976-1981, it emerges that obligations have been fulfilled better by our side than by the Yugoslav side. Consequently, the balance of trade exchanges has been in our favour every year and never in favour of the Yugoslav side, so much so that for 1981, up till May 31 this year, our active balance with the Yugoslavs amounts to about 10 million dollars above the permissible technical limit, and for the Albanian economy, this is no small sum.

In regard to prices in the trade between the two countries, it has been noticed that many Yugoslav firms, proceeding from the tendencies fostered by «self-administration», have aimed to carrying on trade with us on unequal terms, by selling their goods at prices above those on the world market. The agreement on the trade exchanges concluded between the two countries says that prices for the goods to be delivered under this agreement will be set in keeping with the prices on the main world markets. However, the Yugoslav firms do not apply this clause. They have always tried to carry on unequal trade with us.

Hence the offered price for edible oil in 1980 was 23 per cent above that on the world market, and in 1981 about 67 per cent higher. In 1981, the prices at which Yugoslav firms offer their goods which Albania wants to import are higher than world prices, approximately as follows: profile iron 52 per cent, lubricating oils 40 per cent, copper sheet 72 per cent, copper strip 80 per cent,

bronze sheet 78 per cent, steel cables 200 per cent, etc.

The failure to carry out the obligations of the protocol and the contracts on the exchange of goods for 1981 is becoming more pronounced especially since the events in Kosova. The Yugoslav firms are delaying meeting sought by our representatives in Belgrade, do not agree that our representatives should go to firms in other cities of Yugoslavia, but tell them that the representatives of these firms will come to our Representation in Belgrade, and this is delayed or does not take place at all. This has seriously hindered the conclusion of contracts for this year, as well as the implementation of those already concluded.

The Yugoslav firms seek to impose on us low prices for our export goods. For instance, for electric power, the importance of which is known, the prices offered by the Yugoslav are 18 per cent lower than the 1981 price on the world market.

In complaining that Albania for «ulterior motives» has developed its relations in all channels only with Kosova, while the sector of trade relations between the two countries, which does not extend merely to Kosova, but also to the other republics of Yugoslavia, is the only exception to this, the newspaper «Politika» is telling a deliberate lie with evil intent. Do those people in Belgrade not know that there are many government agreements, which have existed for a long time now between Albania and Yugoslavia and that they are being applied in the interests of both sides? These agreements are: the Albanian-Yugoslav Agreement on Water Conservancy, including fishing, the Agreement for the Settlement of Border Incidents and for the Reconstruction, Re-

pair and Maintenance of Border Markers, the Agreement on Cooperation between the University of Tirana and the University of Skoplje, the Agreement between the University of Tirana and the University of Titograd, the Agreement on the Railway Connection between the Two Countries, etc. Why are these agreements not mentioned?

On the other hand, our country has taken part in film festivals and festivals of artistic ensembles in Ljubjana and Ohrid, which are not in Kosova, but in Slovenia and Macedonia respectively. Under a joint agreement the Week of Albanian Films, which were well received, was organised in Titograd. The exhibition of figurative arts of the PSR of Albania opened in Skoplje and Belgrade was a success and made a good impression on the public. Why does «Politika» cancel these things out with a stroke of its pencil?

In order to cover up the reality, «Politika» speaks in general terms, whereas we speak with concrete facts and figures.

We tell «Politika» and its inspirers, you have set out on a wrong and shameful road, which will take you nowhere. With what you have done and are doing in Kosova, with what you are doing against socialist Albania, you are serving Soviet social-imperialism very effectively and digging the grave for the Yugoslav Federation with your own hands. It is not the Albanians who want the destruction of the Yugoslav Federation; you yourselves are destroying it with your own hands, with your policy, and your daily actions. We want not the disintegration, but the stability of the Yugoslav Federation. We want good neighbourly relations and not enmity with Yugoslavia, we

want honest trade and normal relations with Yugoslavia, based on the principles of equality, non-interference and mutual benefit.

«Zëri i popullit»,  
*June 12, 1981*

## MYTHS AND THE REALITY

*The article we are publishing, entitled «Myths and the Reality», written by Professor Stefanaq Pollo, Director of the Institute of History, was sent to the French Newspaper «Le Monde» on June 4, in reply to the article entitled «From Serbian «Myths and the Reality», written by Professor Michel Aubin of the Sorbonne, published in the newspaper «Le Monde», April 5-6, 1981.*

In his article «From Serbian Myth to Albanian Nationalism» (Le Monde, April 5-6, 1981), Professor Michel Aubin of the Sorbonne tries to give an historical explanation of the recent events in Kosova, which, as he says, «... has had a very troubled past which it is not without value to know in order to understand the present better.»

This premise is correct, but the presentation of this past by M. Aubin is not accurate. In his whole treatment of problems linked with the history of Kosova our colleague of the Sorbonne adheres faithfully, indeed unduly so, to theses of the «romantic» Serbian historiography of the mid-19th century, which for a series of Yugoslav historians, especially the Serbs of our days, constitute an immortal and inviolable truth, a «taboo»

from which nothing must be deleted and to which nothing must be added.

In the history of the first half of the 19th century nationalist romanticism in the Balkans, and in Europe generally, was a phenomenon which sprang from the «Youthful ardour» for invasions of the bourgeoisie which had recently come to power; however, there was some sort of justification for this in the low level of knowledge of sources and of historical research in general at that period. Here lie the roots of those constructions so familiar to the Serbian historiography of the past and present — of those «myths», as Mr Aubin rightly calls them, such as the 19th century identification of Kosova with «Ancient Serbia,» «the ancient and uninterrupted» Serbian character of its population, its role as «the historical heart of Serbia,» etc., assertions which are presented as «indisputable postulates».

These are the theses from which our colleague of the Sorbonne has proceeded. We hope that he has done so because he has not known, rather than has not wanted to know, about the achievements of recent international historical science, including the achievements of Albanian science, as well as those of scientists from Yugoslavia itself.

A colossal wealth of information about the peoples of the Balkans and their ethnic stratifications on the eve of the Ottoman occupation, that is, before this occupation brought about conditions which could be blamed for ethnic changes, as occurred precisely in the case of Kosova, can be found in the Ottoman land registers of the 15th century. The publication of land registers of the peripheral Albanian districts by the Turkish histo-

rian, H. Inalcik, the Bosnian and Macedonian historians, A. Handjić and A. Stojanovski, the Albanian historians, S. Pulaha and M. Ternava (the latter from Kosova), etc., etc. are important in this direction.

These Ottoman sources contribute to the exploding, once and for all, of one of the great «myths» and «taboos» of Great-Serb historiography — that of the ancient and permanent exclusively Serbian character of the population of Kosova, the thesis that Albanians were a foreign body which was introduced into Kosova under Ottoman aegis in order to destroy its Serbian character, especially after the two mass expulsions of Serbs following the uprisings of the 1690 and 1738, when the Turks installed in place of them an Islamic population, nomad shepherds, brought from all parts of Northern Albania. While there are other arguments which refute this construction, any basis for it has now been totally destroyed, because the land register of Kosova of 1455, analysed and published in the series of the Oriental Institute of Bosnia and Hercegovina, by the well-known Bosnian orientalist, Adem Handjić, shows clearly that in 1455, before the process of mass conversion to the Islamic religion commenced, the Albanian element was present in mass proportions as farmers extending to the easternmost parts of the Plain of Kosova, and as we shall show a little later, according to the data of A. Stojanovski, in the same mass proportions, in Eastern Macedonia at Kratovo. A scientific interpretation of the anthroponymy of these registers shows that, apart from ordinary Albanian names and surnames, the Albanians are present also under Serbian names and surnames, which have nothing at all to do with the nationality

to which they belong: in a number of cases the father has a Slavonic name and the son an Albanian name, or vice-versa; villages with Slavonic names and with inhabitants with Slavonic names are described as Albanian; the identification of the Orthodox Christians as Serbs has no foundation at all; under the pressure of the Serbian political and Church administration, the Albanians, as Orthodox Christians, had taken Slavonic names, just as in the analogous case when under the Ottoman political and religious pressure, they took Islamic names. In this direction the detailed analyses of the Turkologists S. Pulaha (Tirana) and M. Ternava (Prishtina), published in the scientific organs of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosova, have provided important results.

The fact that, with the establishment of the Ottoman domination in Kosova, the Islamic religion was spread amongst the Albanian population of Orthodox and Catholic belief, and not amongst the Serbian minority, shows that the authority of the Serbian Orthodox Church, of the Patriarch of Peja still operated among the latter, while for the Albanians it could no longer exercise this function, as an imposed foreign authority.

Likewise, neither the Orthodox Church during the Serbian domination nor the Islamic religion were able to assimilate the Albanians, because they encountered a mass population with long-established, distinct national characteristics (in fact, the Albanians are distinguished in the documents of the Serbian rulers as early as the 14th century). We have testimony that the Moslem population remained Albanian even in these conditions, from the apostolic visitors of Rome who periodically

travelled through the region of Kosova from the beginning of the 17th century; along with them, further eloquent testimony is provided again by the Ottoman registers which record the Albanian names of converts together with their new Islamic names. In this direction there are also facts, although fragmentary, provided by the Turkish scholars Hadji Kalfa and Evlia Celebi, who testify to the Albanian character of residents of towns of Kosova such as Vuçitern, at a time prior to the so-called displacement of the Serbs.

In these conditions, there are no grounds at all for talking of such a massive inflow of the Albanian population from the internal regions towards Kosova. Apart from the fact that such a movement would have left traces in the extremely detailed documentation of the Turkish administration, it is impossible for demographic reasons, too. The highland population of present-day Northern Albania, which according to the Ottoman registers, did not amount to more than 2,014 households in the 15th and the 16th century, was incapable of filling the territory of Kosova with inhabitants, when the sandjak of Prizren and Dukagjin alone had more than 20,800 households.

The penetrating anthropo-geographical observations of I. G. Hahn (1860), one of the founders of Balkanological studies draw attention to the paradox in statements alleging that the Albanians were invaders of the territories of Kosova; the real situation, when the Serbian enclaves are found in the Plain of Kosova, while they are completely absent in the mountainous zones, is clear testimony for this scholar that the Albanians constituted the ancient autochthonous population retreating before the newly arrived Serbs.

That the territories of Kosova are not inhabited by a mixture of people recently arrived from the various internal regions is confirmed by a study of the dialect spoken in these territories. The prominent Italian linguist, C. Tagliavini, has pointed out the unitary archaic character of this dialect, as a separate north-eastern unit, formed long ago in the framework of the subdivisions of the Albanian language; precisely because of its ancient peripheral character, this dialect, on the basis of well-known principles of a real linguistics, is more conservative in its retention of archaic features.

Finally, let us come to the so-called «mass displacements» of Serbs from Kosova, which is presented as the cause of the loss of its Serbian character. Austrian documents from the end of the 17th century show that before the outburst of uprisings and the Austrian expedition, Kosova was inhabited mainly by Albanians and that the Austrian command included these regions under the name of Albania, of which the centre was considered to be Prizren. It was precisely the Albanians who appealed first of all to the Emperor Leopold I, who joined up en masse with the Austrian troops (5,000 in Prishtina and 6,000 in Prizren) together with the Serbian fighters from regions traversed by the Imperial Army on the way from Sava to Kosova. The displacement of the Serbs from Kosova, which took place with the withdrawal of the Austrian armies, has been deliberately exaggerated by a historiography interested in presenting it in such proportions as to explain the «de-Serbization» of this region. However, it must not be forgotten that in this instance there was also an exodus of Albanian insurgents and to this day we find the last traces of them in Slavonia.



It is clear that the mass presence of the Albanians in Kosova in the 15th century, before the Ottoman occupation, raises the question: Is it possible that this population was not there earlier?

It is known that in the chrysobulls of the Serbian monarchs in connection with certain monasteries in Kosova there is mention of Albanians; if we take into account the small number of these documents, the percentage of instances of the mention of Albanians in the 14th century gains particular importance, the more so if we consider this fact in connection with the ample documentation about the Albanians in this territory in the middle of the 15th century.

The great paucity of written documents, even about Serbian history, of the period before the 13th century, compels the historian of Kosova to operate with historical sources of another type, different from the written documents — archaeological and linguistic materials.

In trying to trace back our course, we encounter a period which is obscure for the whole of the Balkans, a period which includes the early centuries of the Middle Ages. In these conditions, along with archaeology, language especially, gains priority as the main ethnic criterion, according to the well-known principle of linguistics that the history of the language is simultaneously the history of the people who speak it (F. Kluge).

Kosova, the territory of which is part of ancient Dardania, in general shared the fate of the whole territory of southern Illyria; under a venner of Romanization, among the lower strata

of the Illyrian provincial population there, a characteristic material and spiritual culture was retained, preserving the ancient characteristics inherited from the Late Iron Age, which developed in new socio-economic conditions in contact with the culture of the Byzantine Empire.

This culture of the Roman type, studied by the French Albanologist Degrand and the English Albanologist Durham, among others, and subjected to special studies by Albanian archaeologists, including the scholars from Kosova, M. Shukriu, constitutes clear evidence of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity and of the autochthony of the ancient inhabitants of the country, who clung to the Western Balkan regions, while now the Slavonic newcomers, the Serbs and Macedonian and Bulgarian Slavs were generally dominant (See the still very restricted excavations carried out by the archaeologists of Kosova at Verbnica, Romaia, Peja, Gjilan).

Apart from archaeological materials, the onomastic material of this period between antiquity and the Middle Ages also confirms the Illyrian-Albanian continuity. A series of outstanding scholars of our time, such as the Austrian and German linguists N. Jokl, and G. Weigand, and especially the notable Croatian linguists, H. Barić and P. Skok, have pointed out that in the ancient and mediaeval place-names of Dardania «the phonetic character shows that they are ancient names which the Southern Slavs have adopted through the Albanian language, because in these toponyms we can observe the phonetic changes which took place before the coming of the Southern Slavs to the historical territory of the Albanian language» (This is how H. Barić

formulates his important opinion in the publications of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia-Hercegovina and in his book «Introduction to the History of the Albanian Language,» Prishtina 1955). To delimit this ancient zone of the Albanian language, H. Barić gives a number of ancient place-names, «in which the phonetic character of the Albanian language has been able to maintain itself under the Slavonic veil.» Examples of such toponyms are Naisus-Nish, Shkupi-Skoplje, Astibos-Shtib, Scardus Mons-Shar. This list of Albanian place-names in regions partly Slavonic today has been further extended by the Albanian linguists E. Çabej (Tirana) and I. Ajeti (Prishtina).

These and other names have led the previously mentioned scholars, Weigand, Jokl and Barić, to formulate the opinion that one of the centres of the Formation of the Albanians and the Albanian language in precisely Dardania, where Albanian was able to develop as a formed language with its independent unity, uninfluenced at this stage by the Slavonic dialects which encircled it. For this reason H. Barić reaches the conclusion that «the intensive, intimate Slav-Albanian relations have, certainly, not occurred in the first centuries of the settlement of the Slavs, but mainly in the 13th and 14th centuries on account of socio-political circumstances which are known,» that is, of the occupation of Albanian territories by the Serbian state.

The thesis of the role of Dardania as an ancient territory of the Albanian language is reinforced also by the study of the German Romanists E. Gamillsheg, G. Reichenkron, M. Friedwanger, who explain the very intensive contacts

of Albanian with Rumanian precisely through the presence of Albanians in ancient times in the territory of Dardania. The opinion of the Dutch Slavist Van Wejk also leads in this direction. According to him, between the Serbs in the Northwest and the Bulgarians in the East, lay an intermediate zone, which the Rumanian academician, E. Petrović, also considers as an ancient territory of the Albanian language.

In these conditions the extension of the Serbian state during the 12th century in the direction of the territory of Kosova, which up till that time was part of the Byzantine possessions, was in no way a «liberation» of Serbian territories, but an occupation and annexation of territories of Kosova inhabited by Albanians, just like the act of 1913.

What has been said in no way denies the thesis of M. Aubin that Kosova was a political and church centre of the Serbian state in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the history of Europe this is neither the first nor the only instance of such an ethnic difference, between the ruling class, the military, state and church apparatus, and the autochthonous population comprised of the lower strata of the people. To equate this superstructure, brought about at a given historic period, with the autochthonous population, would mean, for example, to call the historical Lorraine of the Middle Ages in France a piece of the German «Lebensraum», precisely because the feudal ruling class there was German, and likewise we would have to call the whole of the Baltic and Polish «Ostland» German, because of the many centuries of domination by the «Teutonic Order»; finally to come back to the territory of Yugoslavia, we

would be obliged to consider Slovenia and all those territories of Croatia, Slavonia etc. where the ruling class, the church and the urban bourgeoisie were German, Austro-German territories.

Such myths are not only in profound contradiction with the results of science, but become dangerous when they are considered as «taboos» which are obligatory in dealing with history, and as «myths» become bearers and guides of policy.

Historiography is indebted to French «rationalism» for an important principle, the Cartesian principle of «methodical doubt», and for the principle of the positivist method of the struggle against myths and constructions with no factual basis. Without such a stand historical science could not respond to its tasks of the struggle for the truth against dogmas and myths, such as the theses of Great-Serb historiography about Kosova, of which Professor A. Aubin has become a defender, if not a victim.

«Drita»,  
*June, 28, 1981*

## WHAT ARE THE NAVAL FLEETS OF THE SUPERPOWERS AFTER IN THE YUGOSLAV PORTS?

In the last days of May, a group of ships from the Soviet fleet stationed in the Mediterranean was welcomed with all the usual honours to the Yugoslav port of Dubrovnik. This was the third visit of Soviet warships to Yugoslav ports during this year, while last year they made five such visits to four Yugoslav ports. The American fleet in the Mediterranean has also made a similar number of visits to the ports of Yugoslavia.

In an attempt to somewhat reduce the bad impression created by these visits to Yugoslav ports, the TANJUG agency reported on May 26 that the crews of the Soviet naval ships had gone to Dubrovnik allegedly «to visit the historical and cultural monuments of the city.»

However, people are not so ingenuous as that. The whole world knows that the Soviet navy ships have not come to the Mediterranean and the Adriatic to see the cultural monuments at the ports or to distribute jelly beans.

The naval fleets are bases, just like all the other military bases of the superpowers. They move on the seas with their eyes on the land. For

the marines on board them the sea is only a road to reach dry land.

The Yugoslavs have given themselves a high-sounding label, claiming that they are «outside blocs», but the fact is that they accept the mobile military bases of these blocs in their territorial waters and ports. Yugoslavia has expressed concern over the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Until quite recently, it was displaying concern also about a possible Soviet intervention in Poland. Now the question arises: Is this concern real or just a manoeuvre? Can you be worried about the window when you leave the door open? On the one hand, concern is expressed about Soviet interventions and invasions in foreign countries, while on the other hand the naval squadrons which have come to the Mediterranean for the same purposes are invited to the Yugoslav ports! Are the units of the Soviet navy in the Mediterranean not part of the same military forces which are keeping other countries under occupation?

The Yugoslav leaders display extreme vigilance and lodge serious official protests even over a child's balloon which the wind has carried from Tirana across the border, but at the same time are conducting sweet flirtations in their coastal cities with the occupiers of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. They accuse Albania of threatening peace in the Balkans and Europe, because it has published some articles in the «Zëri i popullit» in support of the completely lawful demands of the Albanians of Kosova, at a time when anybody of sound logic is asking the question: Why are they displaying such readiness to welcome the aircraft-carriers of Soviet social-imperialism, which have

come from thousands of kilometres away and dropped anchor so close to the shores of Albania? Or is this, too, an expression of «the non-aligned policy»?

The visits of Soviet naval squadrons to the Yugoslav ports have now become a military fact which is a direct threat to the security of the peoples living on the shores of the Adriatic, as well as to the whole of the Balkans, and to a considerable degree, also to Central Europe. In practice, a Soviet military base of great potential from the strategic and technical viewpoint has been created. No great military knowledge is needed to understand the role of this fleet in the Adriatic, both in times of peace and in case of a local or wider conflict. Likewise, it needs no special political knowledge to understand that the entry and stay of the Soviet fleet and the services which it finds in the Yugoslav ports are taking place on the basis of an agreement, signed and sealed between Moscow and Belgrade.

Throughout history the Adriatic has been a natural sea route for the caravans which linked Central Europe with the Orient. This is the explanation of the fact that in both the First and the Second World Wars the opening or closing of the Strait of Otranto was one of the greatest preoccupations of the Combatant powers. However, the importance of the Adriatic as one of the major sea routes to Europe has increased even more in our time when the bulk of the oil which is carried by pipeline to the markets of Austria, Germany and elsewhere is landed at the ports on the Italian coast. The attacks against these lifelines is in the forefront of the tasks with which the

Soviet admiralty has charged its fleet in the Mediterranean. In time of war, it could strike at the flow of oil to the West at the outlet of the Suez Canal or on the open sea, but it is easier to cut it off near the Italian coast, where its warships can operate from the shelter of the fjords of the Montenegrin coastline.

The blocking of the Strait of Otranto, the attack on and destruction of Italian ports and the attack on and occupation of Albanian ports, especially Vlora and Durrës, make up that great aggressive plan of the Soviet fleet in the Adriatic which the Great-Serb hegemonists are so generously assisting them to carry out.

However, it is not so much the advantages to the Soviets which flow from this agreement that one must be made known, because these advantages are quite obvious, but rather what sort of guarantees and what promises the Kremlin has made to its Serbian partners in the plot, what sort of secret agreements, what plans have been hatched up against the peoples of the zone of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

An outlet to the Adriatic was the great strategic dream of the Russian czars and the Serbian princes. This was one of the main bases which determined their relations and collaboration in the past. In fact the Serbian expansion towards the sea has been a constituent part of the Russian expansion towards warm seas. The aid and support which Russia has given Serbia at all times for its territorial expansion have transformed it into a powerful Russian bastion in the Balkans and a permanent threat to its Slavonic and

non-Slavonic neighbours in our peninsula. In order to hold its conquests and carry forward its territorial expansion it has always been obliged to seek the aid of the Czar of all Russia and the defender of all Orthodox Christians.

Of course, times have changed but the chauvinist mentality has not changed and the geopolitical concepts have not changed, either in Moscow or among the Serbian chauvinists in Belgrade.

The peoples of the world, who detest the idea of the outbreak of a world conflict and are struggling against it, cannot fail to follow with concern the genocide and persecution which the Great-Serbs are inflicting on the people of Kosovo and all the Albanians of Yugoslavia as well as their attacks and slanders against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The peoples of the world can see that these actions of the Great-Serbs, whose policy is apparently now predominant in the foreign policy of the SFR of Yugoslavia, are no ordinary events of «irridentists» and «counter-irredentists», of «revolutionaries» and «counter-revolutionaries». They are part and parcel of that secret plot the aim of which is to attack the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, an indomitable bastion against Soviet imperialist revisionism, as well as to attack the Albanians of Yugoslavia, who are not only an important factor for the stability of the Yugoslav Federation, but also a major obstacle to the Soviet-Bulgarian attack which puts in danger the peoples of Yugoslavia itself, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and other countries. The Yugoslav-Bulgarian polemic over the question of

Macedonia which sometimes flares up and sometimes dies down, also, is a trick to keep open the Vardar and Kosova corridor for the eventual Soviet attacks in the Balkans.

If we stop even for a moment to work out who in Yugoslavia could benefit from the presence of the Soviet fleet in the ports of Split, Dubrovnik, Kotor and Tivar, any logical reasoning must lead to the Serbian chauvinist circles, whether those in power, or those aspiring to power. At the present time these are the only circles that need some foreign military support to achieve their internal and external objectives.

Nobody doubted that after the death of Tito there would be a struggle for power between the republics of Serbia on the one hand, and Croatia-Slovenia on the other. Not only was it foreseen, but it was admitted to be inevitable. While the president was still alive each side was trying to assemble its forces and occupy its positions for the coming battles. As weapons for their defence the Croat-Slovenes pressed ahead with self-administration, created separate economies relatively independent of the centre, linked their capital with the West and struggled to get laws adopted and establish practices which ensured a certain internal and external economic independence. For its part, Serbia held on to its traditional fortresses, the army, the security service, the diplomatic service, and the central bureaucratic apparatus.

Powerless to prevent the development of these tendencies, Tito found no other course to prolong the existence of what he had created as long as possible, except to invent the so-called collective presidencies of the federation and the Central Committee of the LCY, forums in which

each of the representatives of the republics aims to grab as much as possible for himself and avoid conceding anything to the others.

In this struggle between these two big clans a factor of first-rate importance, when the Serb clan decides to seize power in Belgrade and to send its armies into Zagreb and Ljubjana, because it has already sent them into Prishtina, is the Soviet fleet, which at the crucial moment must be «visiting» Split, Dubrovnik and Tivar, with its marines in disciplined, regular formations sight-seeing, full of admiration and veneration around the Venetian-style towers of ancient Ragusa or the picturesque castles of the Montenegrin princes.

Of course, the American ships, which might assist the Croat-Slovene clan to resist this Serb advance, can also visit the Yugoslav ports. However, in this kind of game there are rules and details which must be borne in mind. First, the entrances to the Yugoslav ports and the ports themselves are too narrow to admit two flotillas simultaneously, quite apart from the fact that they do not accept invitations to be guests of their common friend at the same time. Second, and this is the main point, the time at which each «guest» will be invited to visit is decided by the staff of the Yugoslav army, which will also decide when to order its armies to march.

For a long time the composition of the Yugoslav army and especially of the officers in command, has been a source of squabbles between the Serbs and the Croat-Slovenes. Since its creation, in practice it has been under the command of the Serbs, although they may be Serbs who live in Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Vojvodina, and

Montenegrins. In order to preserve its Serbian character even the bulk of the cadets of the military schools have been selected from the Serbian regions. Despite all the pressures exerted by the Republics, to this day about 70 per cent of the officers of the Yugoslav army are of Serbian nationality.

When there is talk of the pro-Soviet forces in Yugoslavia every one understands the top ranks of the army, first of all, and after them, the various cadres of the Republic of Serbia. Ever since the time that Khrushchev came to power, indeed, even at the times of the greatest difficulties in Yugoslav-Soviet relations, such as the period of the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Serbian and Montenegrin generals have increased their contacts and links with the Soviet army. They have been strengthened, first of all, through purchases of Soviet weapons, which now make up the most important part of the equipment of the Yugoslav army. Today, 50 per cent of the Yugoslav aircraft, those which make up its main force, because the aircraft received earlier from America and the West are now obsolete, are of Soviet make. The overwhelming bulk of its tanks are also of the same make, not to mention its missiles and other modern anti-aircraft defence weapons which come from factories of the Urals. A considerable part of the naval and field artillery, also, is Soviet-produced. Likewise, many different types of weapons produced under licence in Yugoslavia are Soviet.

Apart from their exchanges of visits and experience with their Soviet colleagues, the Yugoslav generals frequently spend their holidays

in the sanatoriums of the Soviet army, in the Crimea and other health resorts.

The Croat-Slovenes have tried in various ways to restrain and stop this pro-Soviet orientation of the Serbian clan dominant in the army, but have not managed to change it at all.

All these obvious facts point out to two determining factors in the development of political events in Yugoslavia in the future. First, there is an agreement on collaboration and mutual aid in the military field between the Serb clan and the Soviet Union, which takes concrete form in the almost permanent presence of the Soviet navy in the Yugoslav ports, in the supplies of modern Soviet weapons for the Yugoslav army, and in the collaboration between the staffs of the two armies. Second, the Yugoslav army is Yugoslav only in name, whereas in fact it is the army of Serbia, and this has been proved in the events in Kosova. At present, it represents the only organized political force. The Communist League, the Socialist League, the Skupština, the Presidency and other social and state organizations play a second or third-rate role.

The collective presidencies, from top to bottom of the state and party hierarchy, are tossed and turned in so many cross currents that they cannot function and have no power. But there is no change of direction to be seen in the Serbian military staff and Serbian policy which if they are not completely dominant in Yugoslavia today, may become so tomorrow, with Soviet aid.

That farce which Belgrade is playing and advertizing so noisily about Yugoslavia's pursuing a policy outside blocs, and those feeble criti-

cisms made so politely about the Soviet danger are a fraud from start to finish. Their purpose is to hide the plot which has been hatched up and is becoming even thicker between the Great-Serb clan and the Soviet social-imperialists, which is aimed against the peoples of Yugoslavia, Albania, the Balkans and the whole of Europe.

«Zëri i popullit»,  
*June 1, 1981*

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