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AMONGST THE PEOPLES  
OF YUGOSLAVIA?**

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**KIBRISTA    SDSYALIST**  
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**SOCIALIST TRUTH IN CYPRUS**

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AMONGST THE PEOPLES  
OF YUGOSLAVIA?**

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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 be-

tween 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 re-

gion 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 for 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 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 Četniks 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 Federal Socialist 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 Carin-

thia. During the last visit he made to Austria, the chairman of the Federal Executive Council, Djuranić, demanded «the concrete solution of all problems which have to do with the rights and position of the Slovenian and Croatian national minorities» who live there. We did not and do not make any accusations against him, as a «counter-revolutionary,» «irredentist» or «chauvinist,» on account of this.

Defence of the rights of Slovenian and Croatian minorities, which are not being shot down by machine-gun bullets, or crushed under tank tracks, is considered normal for the Yugoslav government. But when the People's Socialist Republic of Albania interests itself in the Albanian language and education, the freedoms and rights and the economic situation, in the mass killings, jailings and tortures, which were committed against the Albanians in Yugoslavia, this is allegedly «chauvinism» and «irredentism.» What gives rise to and where is the source of the great allergy to 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 are the «key-stone of the wall» which keeps the Federation together. These «arguments» are unfounded from the historical viewpoint, from the economic and juridical viewpoint, from the viewpoint of the content of the Constitution of Yugoslavia, as well as from the practice applied with the other nations which are included in the Yugoslav state. However, they show that these regions have been made commodities to bargain over, and those who are ruling in Belgrade still consider them and treat them so. We did not invent «the Republic of Kosova» within the Yugoslav Federation, the people of Kosova demanded this.

Changes of status from region to republic etc are internal questions of the peoples of Yugoslavia, questions of the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia, who, on the basis of the Yugoslav Constitution itself, have the right to demand this. No one in the Federation has the right to prevent the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia from making these demands, and even less have they the right to attack them, to injure them, kill them and jail them.

Because we proclaim this truth, the Yugoslavs

accuse us of interfering in their internal affairs. We have not interfered and are not interfering in these internal affairs of theirs which, we think, can be solved justly only through self-determination, through understanding, through sincere discussions by all sides without passion.

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

Books with bombastic titles, with a strong smell of megalomania and unrestrained chauvinism have begun to come out in Yugoslavia, such as «The Struggle for the Balkans» by Svetozar Vukmanović Tempo, «Aspects of the Macedonian Question» by Lazar Kolishevsky, 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 Stephano which carries the borders of that country into Albania.

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

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

Titoism, this current hostile to Marxism-Leninism, has undermined the Federation. The anti-socialist system of self-administration has undermined it, the great debts into which Yugoslavia has sunk up to its neck and which have caused the inflation, the

great unemployment, the rise in prices, the inequality in the development of different republics and regions, the poverty of the working masses and the emigration of hundreds of thousands of people from their homes, have undermined it.

The Yugoslav officials accuse us of being «nationalists, chauvinists and so on.» They all but accuse us of being «pan-Slavists.» None of these things are part of our ideology. They are from anti-Marxist ideology, theories of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and revisionism.

You can carry out a revolution, and the Yugoslav leadership talks and theorizes about this every day, but you can also deviate from and betray the revolution. Modern revisionism, of any hue and under whatever disguise it is hidden, is the offspring of the capitalist bourgeoisie which fights the revolution, which distorts it and drowns it in blood. Like the bourgeoisie, modern revisionism does not unite the peoples but divides them.

What occurred in the Soviet Union? Khrushchev and his successors changed the direction of the great deed of the revolution, established capitalism, and rejected the policy of Lenin and Stalin on the national question. Now savage great-Russian chauvinism dominates the peoples of the Soviet Union, but at the same time, Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian na-

tionalism, and so on, have also raised their heads. Pan-Slavism dominates in the Soviet Union, which has turned from a socialist country into an aggressive, warmongering social-imperialist country? Brezhnev's theory of «limited sovereignty» is strangling all the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, members of Comecon, and the «socialist community,» which from fear of the Soviet armed strength, set their faces in a sickly grin so that their tears and sobs will pass unnoticed.

This is a terrible history and lesson for the peoples who want to live free and build socialism, just as terrible as the imperialist ideology and practice of the United States of America, which exploits not only the peoples who live in America but also other peoples of the world. Therefore, 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 Četniks and Croat Ustašes, 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 Federal Socialist 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 in Kosova and went on to accuse socialist Albania and along with it the Ustaše, Četniks 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 solu-

tion 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 Federal So-

cialist 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.