

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

**KOSOVA IS
ALBANIA**

Publisher's Note

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ENVER HOXHA

CONTENTS

ILIR HOXHA — Foreword	1
NEXHMIJE HOXHA — By way of an introduction.	8
Rising above old enmities	39
January 2, 1963. Conversation with a Kosovar patriot.....	46
July 23, 1966. Who is responsible for the crimes of genocide committed against the Albanian population of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, Montenegro and Macedonia.....	47
August 1, 1966. The issue of the Yugoslav Federation must be closely connected with the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia.....	49
September 19, 1966. Kosova is Albanian, remains Albanian and belongs to Albania.....	52
April 4, 1967. The Albanian population in Yugoslavia cannot be deceived by the Titoite clique ..	60
November 15, 1967. Titoite demagogy cannot cover the open wounds of Kosova.....	61
January 5, 1968. The detrimental stance of the leadership in Kosova	62
January 15, 1968. Kosovars are Albanians, they are our brothers	63
January 17, 1968. Homage in front of the monument of the National Heroine Shote Galica	69
March 6, 1968. A malicious anti-Albanian manoeuvre by the Titoites and their agents	70
April 16, 1968. Terrorism of the Albanian population — perpetual policy of the Titoite clique	72
December 5, 1968. Demonstrations of Albanians	

in Kosova.....	73
March 1, 1969. Conversation with Rexhep Duraku	77
June 26, 1969. Terror in Macedonia against Albanians	78
September 22, 1969. The situation in Yugoslavia and Tito's recent speeches	80
January 6, 1970. Let us vigilantly follow the development of events in Yugoslavia	83
February 11, 1970. Albanians in Kosova and Montenegro openly express their love for Albania.....	84
February 25, 1970. The chauvinistic actions of the Titoites against the Albanians of Kosova are intensifying.....	85
February 28, 1970. Let us greet the establishment of the University of Prishtina	86
February 28, 1970. The Titoites attempt to prevent the passage of our books to Kosova	87
May 30, 1970. Our policies and positions in state relations with Yugoslavia and in defence of our Kosovar brothers are principled, firm and unchanged	88
October 20, 1970. Study the demands of the delegation from the University of Prishtina.....	90
October 25, 1970. Kosovar professors are very pleased with their visits to our country	91
November 25, 1970. We will send a delegation from the Writers' and Artists' League to Kosova	92
July 25, 1970. On the spiritual state in Kosova.....	93
October 30, 1970. Success of our professors in Kosova.....	94
February 3, 1971. Let us defend the theses of the	

Kosovars regarding the constitutional changes..	95
April 3, 1971. Let us expand cultural exchanges, especially with Kosova	96
May 2, 1971. Internal Yugoslav crisis	97
May 13, 1971. Regarding a meeting of our repre- sentative in charge of affairs in Belgrade with Fadil Hoxha.....	98
May 23, 1971. How to help the Kosovars fight ven- geance, crime and degeneration of the youth	99
October 14, 1971. Our aid to Kosova — a political line of great national importance	100
December 18, 1971. Turmoil in Croatia and Kos- ova	101
December 23, 1971. The Yugoslav revisionist con- fusion has erupted openly	105
February 1, 1972. Why this interest of the Titoites in Kosova.....	107
February 16, 1972. What and how to discuss with Fadil Hoxha.....	113
February 19, 1972. Again for the meeting of our ambassador with Fadil Hoxha.....	118
July 4, 1972. The people of Kosova will never be friends with the Titoites.....	119
September 15, 1972. One blood, one nation, one genealogy, one language and one flag	122
October 13, 1972. Tito's harsh statements about the internal situation in Yugoslavia	124
October 24, 1972. What might happen in Yugo- slavia after Tito's death?	126
November 4, 1972. Yugoslavia is forever tainted...	129
November 20, 1972. The Albanian language is blooming and will continue to bloom.....	130

November 21, 1972. Kosovar scholars are enthusiastic about the proceedings of the Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language	131
November 22, 1972. The Serbs do not want Kosovars to attend our November celebrations	132
November 23, 1972. An Albanian with traditional courage	133
November 28, 1972. Conversation with Isa Boletini's daughter	134
July 17, 1973. The Yugoslav statements are nothing but schemes aimed at deception	135
October 19, 1974. A strong Kosova is a great help to us	140
January 21, 1975. Emin Duraku's father has passed away	144
April 1, 1975. Yugoslavia will become a country that will sow dangers and nightmares for us	145
September 23, 1975. How our interest in Kosova and the Kosovars should be.....	147
December 7, 1975. Triumphant and filled with glory in the bosom of mother earth.....	149
January 26, 1976. Warm letter from Kosovars living in Albania.....	151
February 9, 1976. The Yugoslavs bring Kosovar students and teachers to trial	152
April 30, 1976. Attention to the ethnic issue	153
July 14, 1976. Let us welcome with warmth the Kosova ensembles coming to our country	154
July 31, 1976. An action that achieved its good purpose.....	155
June 9, 1977. Deception of a Macedonian chauvinist magazine.....	156

June 20, 1977. Diabolical manoeuvres of the Yugoslav leaders	158
August 6, 1977. Chauvinist views of a Yugoslav ambassador.....	159
December 3, 1977. What will happen in Yugoslavia after Tito's death?	163
December 19, 1977. Letter from the 70-year-old daughter of Hasan Prishtina	169
June 6, 1978. Nothing can cover up the injustices done to the Albanian nation through the partitioning of its territory	171
June 10, 1978. The Albanian League of Prizren — a crucial moment in the heroic history of our people	173
June 13, 1978. The issue of the Albanian population residing in Yugoslavia	178
October 6, 1978. Blatant, dishonest and hostile actions of the Titoites towards our country.....	192
October 27, 1978. Regarding our relations with Kosova.....	197
April 12, 1979. An observation to be conveyed to the Titoites.....	200
April 27, 1979. A blatant display of wild chauvinism and visceral anti-Albanianism.....	202
June 27, 1979. Regarding activities in the direction of Kosova.....	205
July 8, 1979. The Titoites are afraid of the truth....	214
October 15, 1979. Why is Tito going to Kosova?...	221
May 4, 1980. Tito has died	222
May 10, 1980. The Tito monarchy comes to an end	223
May 23, 1980. The legacy of Tito	226

April 1, 1981. Powerful political demonstrations in Kosova.....	231
April 2, 1981. Deteriorating situation in Kosova...	232
April 3, 1981. New and powerful clashes in the cities of Kosova	233
April 4, 1981. The Titoites act ferociously against the Kosovar demonstrators	235
April 5, 1981. The Political Bureau discusses.....	236
April 7, 1981. What Mr. Dragosavac claims and denies.....	237
April 11, 1981. The Albanian has never endured slavery.....	242
April 17, 1981. The real reasons for the situation and the recent events in Titoite Yugoslavia.....	245
April 18, 1981. Note.....	254
April 22, 1981. Who incites hostility among the peoples of Yugoslavia?	255
April 26, 1981. The Yugoslav leadership has completely lost its way.....	256
May 8, 1981. How to counter and refute the Anti-Albanian accusations of the Titoites regarding the events in Kosova.....	260
May 12, 1981. Titoite intriguers, slanderers and known liars.....	270
May 13, 1981. Another meeting of the Political Bureau on events in Kosova	271
May 16, 1981. The demand to recognize Kosova as a republic is justified.....	272
May 21, 1981. Chauvinistic and obscurantist actions of the Great-Serbs towards cultural ties with Kosova.....	273
May 22, 1981. We must work for international	

public opinion to be in favour of the Kosovar issue.....	276
May 23, 1981. Provocation at the Yugoslav embassy	285
May 24, 1981. We will successfully confront the provocations of the revisionist enemies.....	286
May 27, 1981. Response to the Yugoslav revisionists' protests.....	288
May 31, 1981. On the Yugoslav embassy incident in Tirana.....	290
June 2, 1981. Kosovar emigrants, the Serbs label you terrorists	294
June 2, 1981. An immediate halt to reprisals and Serbian police terror in Kosova.....	297
June 2, 1981. The Helsinki Conference and the goals of the Yugoslav revisionists.....	299
June 3, 1981. The Treaty of San Stefano and the dangerous game of maps by the revisionist government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria ..	301
June 4, 1981. On the preparation of a theoretical-historical article in a sharp polemical form against baseless attacks by the bitter chauvinists of Belgrade	304
June 5, 1981. Yugoslavia, the sick man of the Balkans, manoeuvres to set the Peninsula on fire .	308
June 10, 1981. The Serbian chief of police speaks .	313
June 16, 1981. We will never allow the Yugoslav Titoites to kill and torture our Kosovar brothers	314
June 17, 1981. Current and future positions we should take on the issue of Kosova	317
July 2, 1981. Five mistakes of the Titoites regarding the issue of Kosova.....	321

July 2, 1981. The issue of Kosova and the Albanian territories in Yugoslavia	331
July 6, 1981. A Compromising Declaration by Dušan Dragosavac	340
August 7, 1981. “Republic of Kosova”	342
January 8, 1982. Our state’s policy towards Yugoslavia is clear, unchanging and decisive	345
May 25, 1982. An interview with Milovan Djilas .	348
October 1982. Albania cannot be touched and dismembered as in the past	349
January 21, 1983. A move by the Yugoslavs made at dawn	356
February 16, 1983. As always, we must carefully consider our every move regarding the trials in Kosova.....	358
November 24, 1983. We must be cautious in dealing with the Yugoslavs.....	361
January 3, 1984. On our relations with Yugoslavia.....	363
January 15, 1984. In our ideological line in relations with Yugoslavia, we make no changes.....	366
January 17, 1984. Through cultural relations, as they desire, the Titoites attempt to ease the situation.....	368
May 17, 1984. The Great-Serbs aim to colonize Kosova.....	370
June 13, 1984. The Yugoslavs seek to prevent us from restoring cultural relations with Kosova ..	372
June 26, 1984. The Kosovars are undefeated.....	374
December 6, 1984. A shameful act by the Yugoslavs	377
December 21, 1984. On the Titoite manoeuvres in	

relations with us	378
December 30, 1984. Panorama.....	379

FOREWORD

Ilir Hoxha

From the rich legacy of Enver Hoxha's work, especially from his Political Diary, I selected for this book some excerpts that are unknown to the general public, which relate to the problem of Kosova and other Albanian territories in the former Yugoslavia, who were unjustly separated from Albania by the Great Powers, and as a result of the persecution of the Albanian population living there. In selecting these materials for publication, with some editing, I aimed to give readers the most important parts clarifying the fundamental problem of the issue of Kosova which has erupted at the end of the century and became a worrisome international problem. This has led me to highlight some paragraphs that I have found to be especially relevant for the current moment.

Enver Hoxha, having known the history of the Albanian nation and people, who have suffered but not given in to the difficulties that have followed them through the centuries, built the strategy and policy that should still be pursued, both for the Albanian state and towards the Albanian brothers and their territories which were taken away from Albania and annexed to Yugoslavia.

Throughout his political life, Enver Hoxha raised his voice against the great injustice done to Albania and the Albanian people by keeping them divided as a territory and a people. He strongly denounced genocide, oppression, barbaric suppression, imprisonment and the killing of the Albanian population. He fought to defend the people of Kosova and other Albanians living in their own lands, their national rights, language, customs, traditions and to show them the true path towards the common dream of Albanians: the unification

of Kosova and other Albanian lands with their Homeland, Albania. To achieve this, Enver Hoxha made it clear: **“Kosova is Albanian, remains Albanian and belongs to Albania.”** (E.H., Political Diary, February 19, 1966). Often, when discussing the issue of Kosova and the Kosovar Albanians, and this happens even in the discussions and strategies of states interested in this issue, it is forgotten, not without purpose, that the problem of Albanians as a nation is a little deeper and more complicated than they try to present it. **“When we speak of Kosova and the Kosovars,”** Enver Hoxha points out, **“we do not only refer to it as a geographical region, but to the issue of all lands and all Albanians living within the current borders of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, adjacent to the borders of the Homeland, the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania... Our stance has been and remains that our brothers living in Yugoslavia, in Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia, are in their homelands, in Albanian lands... The Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute an ethnicity, a people formed over centuries, with their own history, language, culture, an autochthonous people who, as is known, were fragmented, separated from their Homeland and annexed to Yugoslavia by imperialist powers. This is something no one can hide. Any other interpretation of this problem and this issue is arbitrary; it is a distortion, a serious and harmful falsification of history... History shows that, alone and without any support from foreign powers, which they always faced, they resisted and fought successfully for the freedom of their nation and its unity. They fought to protect their independence as a sovereign state, their culture, and their natural and legal rights. Only through their struggle and the shedding of their blood did victory come.”** (E.H., Political Diary, July 2, 1981).

During the time he led the National Liberation War and later when he became the leader of the Albanian

state, Enver Hoxha fought for a free, independent and sovereign Albania. The Yugoslav leadership wanted to make Albania the seventh republic by uniting it with Kosova under the Federation of Yugoslavia. They wanted to make this happen as quickly as possible, without consolidating the Albania which had just emerged from the war, because they knew that there would come a time when the unfairly divided Albanians would demand this unification not as the Yugoslavs wanted it, but as they themselves wanted it, a unification with a free Albania, with the motherland. The first step was taken in the demonstrations of 1968 and later, more forcefully, in 1981, when the demand for a “Republic of Kosova” was made. This demand was met by the Great-Serb regime with tanks and the army, drowning it in the blood of young Kosovar men and women. According to Enver Hoxha, it was clear that the **“Yugoslavs are not interested in a republic of Kosova, as this is a stage in the unification of Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia, and then their unification with the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania.”** (E.H., Political Diary, July 6, 1981).

The break with Yugoslavia came precisely because Enver Hoxha saw that not only could the unification of Kosova with Albania, as he thought in an internationalist way, not be realized with the stance Yugoslavia was taking towards the Kosova issue, but Albania’s sovereignty itself was also at risk. Despite this break and the state provocations by the Yugoslavs, Enver Hoxha, with his far-sighted policy, ensured a certain level of normalcy in relations between the two states, which was in the interest of both Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia and stability in the Balkans and Europe. In his notes, he poses the question, **“What will happen after Tito?”** and answers, **“Everything will be destroyed because it was already destroyed; everything will go bankrupt because it was already bankrupt; everything**

will be unmasked because it was a bluff, the castle was built on sand.” (E.H., Political Diary, May 10, 1980). He further notes, **“After Tito, there can be no stability except temporary... Instability and rivalry will lead to the necessary creation of a single personality that will replace this ‘castle’ (power structure) built on sand.”** (E.H., Political Diary, May 23, 1980).

Unfortunately for the Albanians of Kosova and all others, an ultra-nationalist Serbian criminal named Slobodan Milošević emerged on the political scene of a crumbling Yugoslavia. The world witnessed with horror the genocide and biblical exodus accompanied by murder and massacres that the Albanians of Kosova endured. Enver Hoxha wrote in his Political Diary on October 24, 1972: **“If Serb hegemony is established, Yugoslavia will turn even worse than it is today, into a country with an openly fascist dictatorship, which will brutally suppress peoples and impose black terror.”** However, the great powers, after many attempts, seeing that it was impossible to maintain the Federation they themselves had created, fragmented it according to their interests. But the military machine remained in the hands of Serbia as it was during Tito’s time, remaining intact and even strengthened and modernized by Milošević for his dark plans of eliminating non-Serbian ethnicities. NATO began this destruction with the bombings it carried out, including in Kosova, where a considerable number of Serbian military and paramilitary forces had been gathered.

Having clear objectives and the policy that needed to be pursued, Enver Hoxha emphasized that: **“We have not wanted to and will not engage in armed conflict for the issue of reunification with the homeland of Albanian lands under Yugoslavia. In these situations, such an action cannot be realized. It would be wrong.”** (E.H., Political Diary, June 13, 1978). As a far-sighted politician, in the Political Diary, on August 6, 1977, he

noted: “The time will come when the people of Kosova will fight even better, more and stronger to win freedom, independence and sovereignty. Albanians living in their national territories in Yugoslavia will decide for themselves which state to join; the time will come for them to speak in their own words.”

And this time has come. The Kosovars are speaking their minds. Other Albanians in their lands in Macedonia and Montenegro will also be included in this issue, which is so important for the Albanian nation, as they are part of this nation just like the Kosovars. All Albanians living in the lands annexed by Albania and the former Yugoslavia will support the just war waged by the Kosova Liberation Army in all stages that it will carry out this war because this is a vital issue for them, as it is for us in Albania. But unfortunately, this decisive moment found Albania powerless and destroyed. There is no doubt that in this situation that Albania has fallen into, a leading role has been played by the anti-Albanian leadership of Belgrade with Milošević and his heinous weapon, the UDB, as well as the dark internal and external forces that were put at its service. All of this was done so that Albania could not come to the aid of martyr Kosova. However, this people, shattered by illusions and promises of democracy, showed its high virtues once again when it opened its doors to the brothers and sisters who were barbarically expelled from their homes, and they were not few, but around a million, and there was no other way for it to happen because they were brothers and sisters of the same blood.

I made this introduction because it is clear that the fate of Kosova is tied to Albania. Throughout his political life, Enver Hoxha emphasized that without a definitive and just solution to the issue of Kosova, there will be no peace in the Balkan region and beyond, as the known interests of major powers will always clash in this area, particularly towards Albania and Yugo-

slavia.

“For influential positions and perhaps more, up to the partitioning of current Yugoslavia, other capitalist-revisionist states that are part of NATO and the Warsaw Pact or outside them are also interested and actively involved,” warned Enver Hoxha in his Political Diary on October 24, 1972.

Enver Hoxha wrote about these contradictions: **“The Soviet Union is interested in Yugoslavia, especially from a strategic and military perspective. Whoever has Yugoslavia among the two major military groups in Europe has a strong strategic position against the other group. If NATO loses influence in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union gains this influence, then the Soviet Union separates Greece, endangers Austria, approaches Italy, and dominates in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. So, NATO suffers a significant strategic loss. However, will American imperialism allow this? I think it is difficult to allow it. Will American imperialism go to war if the Soviet Union deeply entrenches itself in Yugoslavia or militarily occupies it? I think NATO will not stay idle but, without reaching a general conflagration yet, there will be a fierce economic-political war to have Yugoslavia each on its side.”** (E.H., Political Diary, December 3, 1977).

Even today, with the conflict that is happening in Kosova, on the border with Albania, Russia is interested in saving what little remains of Yugoslavia, Serbia and preserving Montenegro together with them, in order to have the opportunity to access the Balkans and consequently the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. **“However, their entry into the Balkans faces difficulties because NATO, American imperialism and its satellites must sign their death sentence if they allow, peacefully or through military attack, Yugoslavia to fall under the sway of the Tsarist or new Russian empire.”** (E.H., Political Diary, June 13, 1978)

In the notes of Enver Hoxha we present in this book, the right path for solving the problem of Albanian lands and population, who unjustly live in their lands separated from Albania and annexed to Yugoslavia by the great powers, is emphasized. Any other solution would be temporary and would not end the problem. **“We ourselves, with our forces,”** says Enver Hoxha, **“will build this unity of the Albanian nation. Our forefathers have left us this sacred duty to fulfil. If our generation cannot fulfil it, we must prepare the ground for our sons and daughters to carry out this duty towards our beloved mother Albania when the need and time come.”** (E.H., Political Diary, June 13, 1978)

Tirana 1999

BY WAY OF AN INTRODUCTION

Nexhmije Hoxha

What is happening?! How did it come to be that the issue of Kosova has become the issue of the day for all the chancelleries of Europe, the highest institutions of the United States, the European Union and the Atlantic Alliance (NATO)? How did it come to take over television screens and front pages of world newspapers? Parliaments and congresses are being convened — heads of state, government leaders, foreign ministers and special envoys are travelling from capital to capital to talk face to face.

All these frantic movements of politicians, military personnel, displacement of war machines, non-stop bombings day and night over Serbia, “to save Kosova” from Milošević! —

Where did all this love and care for Kosova and the Kosovars come from? Kosova and all the Albanians who live in their lands in Yugoslavia have been there, born and rooted for thousands of years, long before the southern Slavs. It has been over a century since the great European powers left them outside the motherland. After World War II, the new Federation of Yugoslavia went further, dividing the Albanian ethnic group into three of its own republics with malicious intentions. The new Yugoslav state continued to treat them as minorities, as a second-class population, suppressing, persecuting them en masse with imprisonment, torture, murder, forcibly expelling them beyond its borders, and forcing young intellectuals and patriotic revolutionaries to emigrate in large numbers.

The great sons of Albania and Kosova, our immortal Renaissance figures, in the League of Prizren and in many national and international gatherings, tried to defend and seek the just solution of the national ques-

tion of Albania and Kosova. Unfortunately, the fiery words of these distinguished men, politicians, fighters and poets did not resonate with broad European public opinion, while Serbia, as in the time of the Karadjordjević monarchy and later in that of Titoite Yugoslavia, all historians, academics, journalists and politicians have written and published rivers of books with “studies” and “arguments” to convince themselves, the younger generations of their country and international opinion, that “Kosova has genes in Serbia for centuries,” that “it is the cradle of Serbian culture,” while Kosovars are said to have “arrived, pushed there, as Muslims,” during the Ottoman Empire rule.

During the period of the people’s state power, our scholars, historians, linguists and archaeologists conducted serious studies on Kosova as a territory and the Kosovar Albanians as a people. The Academy of Sciences organized several scientific conferences, with the participation of Kosova scholars, on topics such as ethnogenesis, the common literary language and other historical-scientific themes. For the Albanian public, these studies were made known through publications and propaganda, but they were not sufficiently publicized for wider audiences in Europe and beyond. They remained within a certain circle of Albanologists who were friends and admirers of Albania.

Now that the issue of Kosova, the appalling massacres and forced displacement of an entire population by Serbian police and military criminal gangs led by the main criminal Slobodan Milošević, have touched the hearts and consciences of millions of people around the world, all the conditions have been met and it has become imperative for the issue of Kosova to be clarified once and for all, from our positions of historical and scientific right. The engagement in these studies becomes even more urgent now that the issue of Kosova and the Albanian ethnicity in their own lands within Yugoslav-

ia will be raised again. It is necessary for the political representatives of Albania and Kosova to be clear and unanimous about the options they must present at the negotiating table with the major powers and the high Euro-Atlantic institutions, concerning the present and future of Kosova, its status — political, juridical-institutional, economic and military. Our politicians, both here and beyond our state borders, have a great historical responsibility to ensure the existence and future of the Albanian nation which is presently on the brink, where we have been pushed and have come with our own feet. In these circumstances of life or death, rare determination and Albanian courage is required on the front lines, wisdom and vigilance in the political background, but great determination, courage, wisdom and vigilance are needed also on the part of the Albanian politicians at the negotiating table, wherever they may take place and whoever may direct them.

In their past, Albania and Albanians had such men, brave and wise, who proudly defended the rights of their nation to be free and independent. At the head of the country shone Skanderbeg, and after him, although after centuries of darkness, emerged from the bosom of the intelligent people, distinguished sons, great patriots, such as the Frashëri brothers, Ismail Qemali, Bajram Curri and Avni Rustemi, many of whom were recognized by the world, like Fan Noli for his fiery speeches at the United Nations and his high culture, as well as Isa Boletini, a symbol of legendary Albanian fighters and an example of popular diplomatic firmness from which even our contemporary politicians can learn.

In the not-so-distant past, during World War II, the Albanian people placed their Commander, Enver Hoxha, at the head to lead them in the War for the Liberation of the Fatherland. After victory, they elected and worked alongside him for the establishment of a modern state and the construction of an emancipated

society that secured well-being, culture and true independence, dignity and sovereignty for the masses of Albania.

Only the wise policies pursued by Enver Hoxha during his 45 years at the head of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state made Albania a factor of peace and balance in the Balkans. This reality and role of Enver Hoxha may not be pleasing to some politicians, both inside and outside, but no one can deny it. During almost half a century of Enver Hoxha's regime, not a single incident or interstate conflict occurred in the Balkans, despite Albania being constantly provoked by neighbouring countries as well as by traditional and young "greedy" actors.

Considering that the issue of Kosova has become a matter for every Albanian and Kosovar family, a matter for the most important international states and institutions, our son, Ilir, undertook to extract some parts from Enver's *Works* that are directly related to Kosova. In these notes published in this book, one can see how carefully Enver Hoxha followed developments in Yugoslavia, in Kosova, and in the bordering areas inhabited by Albanians. He foresaw with farsightedness what would happen in Yugoslavia after Tito, and what is happening today with Kosova and the Kosovars, 20-30 years or more later.

At the beginning of this book, I want to dwell on some ideas and positions of Enver that have perhaps not been made known in the History of the Party of Labour of Albania and other publications.

It is known that, on the eve of the establishment of the Communist Party of Albania, Enver Hoxha and his communist group sought and established connections with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Why the communists of Yugoslavia and not with those of Italy and Greece, with whom the connection was easier and the recognition by the leaders of the communist parties

of these countries was not lacking? In the meantime, other communist groups that existed at that time in Albania made efforts to connect with the communist movement in Italy and Greece. What prompted Enver to turn to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? Did he not know the bitter history of the barbaric treatment of Albanians who were within the borders of Yugoslavia? On the contrary, he knew it very well.

The main reason, which has been talked about little or not at all publicly, that led Enver and his comrades to address the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was that half of the Albanian nation was in Yugoslavia, and in the conditions of the aggression of the Italian and German nazi-fascists, every effort had to be made to ensure that the resolution of the question of Kosova would be put on the right track. Both occupiers pursued a diabolical policy. They promised Kosova and the Kosovars, all Albanians living in their lands in Yugoslavia, independence and unification with Albania. This game of the nazi-fascists during the occupation of Yugoslavia was very dangerous for the future of Kosova. Enver Hoxha wrote letters, many articles and tracts to expose this act, to convince the deceived Kosovars and other Albanians in Yugoslavia that only by participating in the fight against the nazi-fascist occupiers, supporting the peoples of Yugoslavia and the partisan army, would they have the right to decide their own future. Otherwise, they would be suppressed, scorned and punished as collaborators of the occupiers.

Dozens of Kosovar communists and patriots left school in Albania, in Tirana, Elbasan, Shkodra and elsewhere, and went to Kosova, such as Fadil Hoxha, Xhevdet Doda, Emin Duraku, Xhavit and Elhami Nimanj, Ymer Pula, Hajdar Dushi and many others. Enver knew almost all of them personally and had been their comrade. But it was not this society that prompted Enver to maintain ties with these individuals during the

war. Almost all of these were placed at the forefront of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Movement in Kosova, and they generally fought well. Some of them became martyrs.

The dispatchment of two divisions of the Albanian National Liberation Army, by the Commander-in-Chief, Enver Hoxha, to reinforce the partisan brigades in Kosova gave a new impetus to the war in Kosova, Dibra, etc. Our partisan forces went further, even to the Sandžak, in pursuit of the German occupiers. In this fraternal war, over 300 partisans fell beyond the borders, and hundreds more remained disabled for life, with crippled limbs and serious injuries.

With the end of the war, the General Command of the Albanian National Liberation Army withdrew its forces within our state borders, leaving the Albanian fighters in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. But the Yugoslav leadership, with Tito at the head, began to implement old plans, keeping Kosova under control, relocating the armed Kosovar forces to other territories and then disarming them. In the name of a new mobilization, the new Yugoslav leadership rounded up thousands of young people and dispersed them throughout Yugoslavia, and it is still not known what happened to them. It is known, however, that 2,000 young Albanians were executed in Tivar, Montenegro. Violence spread throughout the Albanian lands, where in many places they defended themselves with weapons. Thus, behind the backs of the Yugoslav partisans, 40 Dibra men, who had gone out to maintain the peace of their city at night, were killed by Montenegrin partisans. Among them was my uncle.

However, the participation of Kosovar communists and other anti-fascist patriots in the armed struggle against the nazi-fascist occupiers, without falling into the trap of an alleged unification with Albania, was decisive and salvific.

It is another matter that Kosovars and Albanian communists were betrayed precisely by Yugoslav communists, whom, in the beginning, Enver had faith in as internationalist communists, and believed they should be against the known chauvinistic and racist attitudes of the Great-Serbs towards the Albanians. Such an internationalist communist was Enver's close comrade, the Montenegrin Miladin Popović, who was eliminated by UDB precisely because he was a friend of Albania and saw the issue of Kosova from an internationalist perspective.

During the three and a half years of the war and just as long after the Liberation, the official representatives, both party and state, of Titoite Yugoslavia, as well as missionaries from old and new Yugoslav intelligence agencies (OZNA, UDB and others), left no stone unturned to divide and weaken the Communist Party and the new partisan army, which had secured freedom and power for the people. They recruited their first agents in the top ranks of the Party, the Army and the state, pushing them to actions which harmed the national liberation line of the Party. They "advised" that the partisan brigades be called "proletarian," that the national liberation councils be called "soviets," that violence be used and then accused the Communist Party of being sectarian, leftist, terrorist and the main culprits for these "serious mistakes" was to be found with the General Secretary of the CPA. The plot organized by the Yugoslav representatives Velimir Stojnić and Nijaz Dizdarević, along with four members of the Party leadership at the Plenum of the Central Committee in Berat, on the eve of Liberation, failed. They could not sideline the General Secretary, who had just been elected as the Prime Minister of the Democratic Government by the National Anti-Fascist Liberation Council. Enver tried to defend the correct line of the Party, the struggle of the Albanian people and did not stop at the

unfounded personal accusations, but it was not the time to deal with them.

The Yugoslav leadership did not settle for intrigues and conspiracies within our country, but it is strange that even well-known intellectuals of the Yugoslav leadership, such as Edvard Kardelj and Milovan Djilas, in several consecutive meetings with Stalin, praised “your proletarian” quack, Koçi Xoxe, without even knowing him, and raised doubts about Enver Hoxha as a petty-bourgeois with Western culture. Why all this insistence on eliminating Enver Hoxha, if possible? They knew full well that with Enver Hoxha, they could not make Albania the 7th Republic they had proposed. A floor to be built above the Savings Bank (today ironically bombed by NATO) was even planned for the 7th Republic, Albania. The Yugoslav leadership knew what Enver Hoxha thought about Kosova during the war, which he expressed in articles, tracts and letters he wrote about Kosova. From his first meeting with J.B. Tito and during his visit to Yugoslavia in June 1946, Enver Hoxha told him, “Kosova and the other areas inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia belong to Albania and should be returned to it.” Tito’s response was, “I agree with your point of view, but for now, we cannot do this because the Serbs will not understand us.” Enver Hoxha replied, “If they don’t understand it today, they should understand it tomorrow.” Tito shut him up with a “for now.” Meanwhile, the pressure, blackmail and conspiracies by the Yugoslavs continued until they resorted to *la manu militaire* by sending two divisions to the border with Korça, ostensibly to protect us from aggression by Greece. Enver then said, “Stop!” It was no longer a matter of an attack on his person, it was an attack on our independent and sovereign Homeland, a serious threat to the achievements of our people, achieved with the blood of its 28,000 best sons. Enver’s protest received Stalin’s support. The rupture with

Yugoslavia came. Albania was saved from an “unfaithful” friend.

I do not believe that anyone today, in these days, still thinks with the mindset of that wild campaign which took place in the early years after the upheavals of 1990 in Albania when Enver Hoxha, under a barrage of falsehoods, was even accused of “selling out Kosova.” Levying such an accusation by speculators, tricksters and some street politicians who came to power was entirely absurd because Kosova was not the property of Enver Hoxha, which he neither bought nor could sell. It was a part of Albania and the Albanian people, which had its old and recent history determined by great powers in London, Berlin, Paris, Yalta, Potsdam, and later in Dayton and Rambouillet. Even after three months of bombing Serbia by the most potent economic and military power in the world, the USA and NATO, it cannot be said that the question of Kosova was resolved definitively. If it weren’t for the KLA’s armed resistance and the high spirit of patriotism and solidarity among the Albanian people, divided artificially and unjustly by imposed borders, things would not have progressed as they have.

Enver Hoxha was aware that his country was too small to stand face to face with larger or stronger states like the USSR, the countries of people’s democracy, neighbouring states, and so on. He needed help, friendship and understanding. However, to avoid political and diplomatic complications with these states and, at the same time, to withstand the revisionist pressures imposed on the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha relinquished the post of Prime Minister, retaining only that of the First Secretary of the Party to be more independent in his political and ideological positions. He chose and developed the strategy of unceasing ideological struggle, dealing mainly with the revisionist deviations of other parties, and avoiding confronta-

tions or frictions in state relations as much as possible.

History has verified the correctness of this strategy. Despite the long battle that Enver Hoxha waged against Tito and Titoism, no serious incidents occurred between our two states and in our borders. Even in the most challenging situations, no conflict arose.

Enver Hoxha carefully avoided every provocation by the Titoites and their agents, the UDB.

Dušan Mugoša, an old agent of OZNA and UDB, after the atrocities he committed in Albania during the National Liberation War, was promoted by his anti-Albanian staff to a position in Prishtina. He gathered and collaborated with various fascist Albanian collaborators who had fled and became wild enemies of Albania.

Throughout his life, Enver Hoxha never tired of exposing Tito and Titoism, as well as the political and ideological activities of the Yugoslav leadership, including self-administration, “non-alignment,” and so on. With the battle against Titoism, he kept vigilance against the threats to Kosova and all Albanians living in their lands in Yugoslavia. He defended their political, cultural and social rights. Most of the twelve books published with articles written “Against Revisionism” are related to Kosova, whose policy, especially regarding Kosova and Albanians in Yugoslavia, was closely followed day by day. Many of these were written by Enver Hoxha himself, even when they do not bear his signature. In the notes you will read in this book, you will also become familiar with his working method, especially in dealing with foreign policy. For many articles, he formulated the theses himself or gave oral instructions in a detailed manner. In cases where protest was necessary, he did not allow delays and was straightforward. In diplomatic discussions between officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and our ambassadors, he followed a different style, depending on

the situation. Still, he always defended the country's politics with dignity. Enver's notes, some of which are included in this book, are and remain a textbook for our diplomats. He provides almost the full text of the conversation, often using a common method: "for example, I (Enver Hoxha — N.H.) would say this... and that." In these notes, you will find how he thought to find points of contact even with Albanian officials in the Yugoslav leadership and in Kosova, despite their pro-Tito views. When he instructed on how to behave towards them, he also noted the counterpart's response: "But who should we say it to, Fadil Hoxha, who is a member of the Presidency of the SFRY?" "Yes, you can say it to Fadil Hoxha," Enver replied, "it is better for a Kosovar Albanian to be at the head of Kosova than a Serb.."

Enver Hoxha was a farsighted politician and a loyal son of his people, and he carried out every action according to the interests of his country. When in the 1960s, he decided to publicly denounce the revisionist deviations of Nikita Khrushchev and the Soviet interventions in Albania at the conference of 81 parties in Moscow, Enver Hoxha did not just think of relying on a major ally like China and Mao Zedong but also began to reflect on how to build relations with neighbouring countries and mainly with Yugoslavia. First, because Yugoslavia had the same Slavic origin and religion as Russia, and secondly, because within its borders, we had half of our Homeland and our people. Those were not peaceful years for Tito. They were alienating land and shedding Albanian blood in Yugoslavia, due to the oppression and brutal terror of the Great-Serb chauvinists under the command of Aleksandar Ranković.

The year 1968 was a year filled with protests all across Europe. Student demonstrations erupted in France, Germany and elsewhere, as well as bloody protests in Kosova and Macedonia. The shameful aggression of Soviet troops from Warsaw Pact coun-

tries against Czechoslovakia also took place. On one hand, Albania was threatened by the new superpower, the Soviet Union, with its arrogant theory of "limited sovereignty," and on the other hand, tensions were rising in Kosova, Tetova and elsewhere. The Yugoslav leadership accused the People's Republic of Albania of being the instigator. Enver Hoxha was concerned that the ultra-reactionary and nationalist Serbian forces, in order to preserve the interests of Great-Serbia, might turn to the Soviet Union and allow it to fulfil its old dream of reaching the Adriatic Sea through Kosova and Macedonia by occupying Albania, just as they did with Czechoslovakia. To confront these threats, Enver Hoxha stated in one of his speeches that Albania and the Albanian people were ready to fight alongside the people of Yugoslavia to defend our countries from a possible aggression by the Soviet Union.

Tito responded to this declaration through one of his ambassadors: "The Russians have requested to pass through Yugoslav territory to attack Albania. We will not allow any Soviet soldier to set foot on Yugoslav territory."

In this way, step by step, considering the new situations mentioned above, the premises were laid for both Albania and the Yugoslav Federation to reconsider their positions to establish mutual understanding in favour of both parties.

Enver Hoxha analysed Tito's positions and drew conclusions. Enver believed that Tito, as a Croatian nationalist, was very interested in having the Albanians in Kosova and other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia as a counterbalance to the Serbs because the Serbs had always oppressed and harmed the Albanians more. "Knowing this," emphasized Enver, "as an anti-Serb, anti-Russian figure, he thinks that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia is not only a compact mass, but now, with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania,

they constitute a considerable force....”

On the other hand, Tito believed now that Albania had broken away from the Soviet Union and was left alone, without the protection and assistance of its great friend, Yugoslavia could increase its influence over the Albanians in socialist Albania. Yugoslavia could promote its “achievements” of self-management and the “prosperity” created by billions of credits from international capital. Delegations began to exchange visits, and Albanians and Yugoslavs met with heartfelt scenes of reunion after many years of separation. Visitors came with their hands full of gifts, but our people, during the long sleepless evenings of intimate conversations, learned that their homes, appliances, cars and everything were acquired with loans.

Bije Vokshi told me: “Even children in Kosova cry in their mother’s womb. ‘*Kuku*,’* they say, ‘when will I pay off all these debts?’” Meanwhile, Enver Hoxha, in the new context of openness with Yugoslavia, thought to give a new aim of reaching such an understanding among the Albanians, on both sides of the border, that would secure the realization of the aspirations of all Albanians, their unity.

In 1970, Enver Hoxha delivered a speech in Tropoja that was, in fact, a platform for building new relations with Yugoslavia, with “the question of Kosova” and its rights at the centre. This speech had an impact not only on the general public opinion but also stirred the Yugoslav diplomatic office. Fadil Hoxha, who held senior positions in Kosova and the Yugoslav Federation, took part in an official ceremony at our embassy in Belgrade for the first time.

In this atmosphere, J.B. Tito reformulated the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was called the 1974 Constitution. In this con-

* Damn, (Alb. in the original).

stitution, Kosova was determined to be an Autonomous Province with the right to participate as a constituent member in the Presidency of the Yugoslav Federation. Of course, this was not what the people of Kosova and the Albanian people wanted, but it could serve as a starting point to move towards establishing freer human, cultural and broader fraternal relations between Albania and Kosova.

Enver's stance at the time, which he conveyed to the envoys of the Kosovar brothers, political personalities, scholars and cultural figures, was: "Maximize the rights granted to you by the 1974 Constitution. We will do the same on our part." Enver thought that "getting to know each other up close, the historical achievement of unification of the common language, moving in parallel tracks in education, science, art and culture would create that national-spiritual unity to later realize the age-old dream of our nation's unity."

It was precisely at this time that educational, scientific, artistic and cultural exchanges were revitalized, especially from our side, with Kosova. Educational and scientific cooperation between our universities, academies and scholars in various fields, particularly in the areas of linguistic, historical and cultural studies, contributed to the recognition and elevation of our common national culture. It also helped prepare a new army of intelligentsia with patriotic and contemporary training, a rekindling of national consciousness among the youth. The Albanian television and the singing and dancing ensembles added weight to the longings for the freedom of all Albanians living in Yugoslavia, unjustly separated from their Homeland.

In these new conditions, political figures from Yugoslavia began visiting Albania. Official or social representatives from Kosova started coming to Albania or sending their representatives to meet and consult with Enver. In this regard, they sent Bijë Vokshi to enquire

about Enver's opinion on whether it would be possible to establish an illegal communist party for the Kosovar Albanians outside the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Despite the close social ties Enver had with Bijë Vokshi, he was reserved in giving a definitive opinion.

It is known that Enver Hoxha, in the system of that time, was both the top leader of the Albanian Party and state. As the leader of the Homeland's state, Enver Hoxha never addressed the Kosovars and their Albanian leadership "from above." He respected them, warned them about risks, defended the significant issues they held dear, offered advice when requested, but ultimately, the final word was left to them. Therefore, he told Bijë, "Comrades who want to undertake such an initiative would judge this issue more responsibly because they are familiar with the conditions, the people, taking into account the trends of current developments and the prospects in Yugoslavia and Kosova." In fact, Enver had reservations about this initiative, and in a conversation with me after Bijë left, he elaborated on what he thought about this matter and the general form of organization for the Kosovars. If he didn't express these thoughts to Bijë, it was because Bijë Vokshi, the aunt of the Spanish fighter, the People's Hero Asim Vokshi, was a brave woman who had shown great courage and intelligence during her time in Tirana. Not only had Enver found refuge in her home, along with Qemal and many other illegals, but also the founding meeting of the Communist Youth and the First Consultative Conference of the Communist Youth of Albania took place there. However, Bijë was a simple woman, and Enver wasn't sure if she could effectively convey to the comrades what he thought.

Enver believed that, under the conditions in Kosova, it would be good to have an illegal Communist Party for the Albanians of Kosova, but it wouldn't have a long life if it didn't create a broad popular front around it,

which would protect it from the blows of the Great-Serb state apparatus and allow it to expand throughout Kosova. A party alone couldn't achieve this. I can say that these ideas of Enver's were somewhat implemented in Kosova a few years later.

When Jusuf Gërvalla, his brother Bardh and their friend Kadri Zeka were killed in Germany, Enver, very emotionally affected by this tragic event, talked to me about it, especially about Jusuf Gërvalla, describing him as a poet and well-educated man. But they were not only good patriots; they were also farsighted revolutionaries. Enver had never met Jusuf Gërvalla in person, but as he told me, one man of his group had come to Tirana. I don't know if it was Kadri Zeka or someone else. Even then, the question of whether to organize a party or a movement was raised. Enver suggested that it would be better to organize a movement, a People's Front which would operate through all legal methods, based on the Constitution of the Yugoslav Federation, while the initiating group would remain as a core that could guide and act underground. The Yugoslav UDB had already suspected who inspired this movement and struck them mercilessly. Nevertheless, Kosova continued to produce outstanding figures, joining together more and more people who, as political and military leaders for Kosova's independence and liberation, would embrace "death as life."

Enver Hoxha organized the Conference of Peza, where the foundations of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Front were laid, uniting the majority of the population under the call: "All for the Liberation of the Homeland, without distinction of religion, region or ideology." Enver highly valued this experience and took every opportunity to advise the Kosovar brothers to aim for the widest possible unity, without distinction of "religion, region or ideology," as Kosova continued to be occupied. Even though the mosques and church-

es were closed in our country, I had heard Enver tell his comrades to tell our people, educators, researchers, journalists and so on, who went on missions to Kosova, to ask the local people to keep their places of worship intact because they were like clubs where they could gather, converse and share their concerns.

We had settled our scores with the Ballists in Albania, but one day, when Enver told me he had met a Kosova Ballist, I expressed my surprise. Enver explained that this was a respected figure in Kosova, named Demë Ali Pozhari, pursued by the Titoite regime as a separatist and irredentist. He had settled in Turkey and had come to Albania for the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Skanderbeg's death. Enver explained that nationalists, those called Ballists in Kosova, were not like the Ballists in Albania who fought against us as communists, even though we were all Albanians. The Kosovar nationalists fought against the Serbian occupiers and their armed forces, the Četniks, etc., who were committing acts of terror and massacres against the Albanian population. Although, in many cases, these groups did not collaborate with the communists, they were in favour of Kosova's separation from Serbia and its unification with the Homeland.

Another highly respected personality in Kosova, Rexhep Duraku, the father of the martyr Emin Duraku, came to Albania and requested a meeting with Enver, who received him with respect and pleasure. After a warm, fraternal conversation, Uncle Rexhep told Enver that he was tasked with discussing "what Enver Hoxha thought about the request for the Autonomous Region of Kosova to become a Republic, like the others, within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?"

As Enver told me, this step had made him think because, as the total population of Kosova surpassed and left the Republic of Montenegro far behind, it was reasonable to have two Albanian republics, one on this

side of the border, a separate state, and one on the other side within the state of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. After World War II, the Yugoslav leadership had made efforts to create the 7th Republic of the Albanians — not by giving Kosova to Albania, but by incorporating Albania within the Federation.

The issue of the Balkan Federation, aside from being mentioned in some Comintern documents led by Dimitrov, was not raised in any significant meeting of the countries of the Balkans and the people's democracies after World War II. Even in the leadership of our Communist Party, this issue was not discussed. However, I had heard people talk about it, and Enver thought it could be a way to unite all Albanians, contrary to what Tito and the Yugoslav leadership believed, not under the roof of the Federal Yugoslavia but under the umbrella of a larger and more benevolent family than that of the Great-Serbs.

As the leadership of Albania and Enver himself were well aware and had encountered the devious plans of the Yugoslav leadership, he raised the question of whether the Yugoslav leadership, especially the Serbs, would accept the formation of a Republic of Kosova. What would be the reason for them to accept? Well, since the Yugoslavs could not now deal with Albania as they did in 1945, '46 and '47, meaning to include it as the 7th Republic within the Federation of Yugoslavia, Enver expressed his opinion that, for now, nothing would come of this request. However, he told the respected friend, "Tell our brothers to study it well and decide for themselves."

Meetings with such men, honoured patriots, gave Enver special pleasure. He was delighted when he heard that Rexhep Duraku had come to Shkodra with his wife to attend his son's wedding to Bajram Curri's granddaughter. He spontaneously exclaimed, "This is a wonderful match." As he was occupied those days,

he sent me to meet them and offer his congratulations. They were pleased and I was too. We talked about our customs, which were very similar between our regions. I had met Bajram's aunt before; she was a Bosnian, with a noble appearance that commanded respect for everything she had done alongside her legendary husband. Her clothing and hairstyle were different from those of Emin Duraku's mother, who, like my mother and many Dibran women, had the traditional headscarf. A few days later, Enver visited the honourable Curri-Duraku families in Shkodra. Later, the Chairman of the Executive Committee told me that when they had left the visit, Enver had instructed them to organize a beautiful wedding, inviting around 40 people from the tribal region and friends of the two families in Kosova. All expenses would be covered by our state. He also told me that when Bajram Curri's granddaughter went to Kosova as a young bride, they didn't leave her in one place for two days; everyone wanted her as a friend in their families, as the granddaughter of their hero, but also as a friend who had come from Albania. In the large Kosova guesthouses, filled to capacity, conversations about Albania and what Enver had told them continued well into the night.

Enver, as a patriot, had been educated since his youth, and he cultivated it during his passionate readings of our poets, all fiery patriots. He enriched it with the culture he acquired and made it his blood during the war, the hero he was who organized and led the fight for the liberation of the Homeland. During the National Liberation War, in his work bag, which he never separated from his shoulder, along with party documents, documents from the Front and the Staff, he also had Sami Frashëri's book, "Albania: What It Was, What It Is and What It Will Become." Enver was a determined revolutionary inspired by communist ideals, but this in no way hindered him from being a great patriot for his

people and his country. On the contrary, he fought and worked for the emancipation of Albanian society, for the construction of a modern state, dreaming of seeing the Albanian nation united and elevated, as our immortal Renaissance figures envisioned.

Enver took care to bring the remains of Abdyl Frashëri, the Chairman of the League of Prizren, directly back to the Homeland. His emotions during the ceremony, organized for this occasion, were so overwhelming that he felt unwell while on the podium. Nevertheless, he accompanied the caskets of Abdyl and Naim Frashëri on foot along the entire Boulevard of the Martyrs to the park where they would rest. This is how he enquired about the arrival of the remains of Kosova's distinguished son, Hasan Prishtina, and their burial in Kukës, near the place he fought. I think it is not by chance that Enver was the only one who proposed giving the city of Tropoja the name of Bajram Curri, not only in honour of this legendary man from the Gjakova Highlands but as a symbol that unites the two separated parts of one people who share the same blood and the same heroes.

Enver with great pleasure followed and took part in meetings organized by researchers from Albania and Kosova, such as National Scientific Conferences on topics like ethnogenesis, literary language, the figure of Skanderbeg and our Renaissance figures. He was left very pleased and deeply impressed by the meeting with the delegation of Kosovar intellectuals who had come on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the death of Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg.

Enver Hoxha also eagerly followed the development of art and culture in Kosova. He criticized the fact that he wasn't reading about the Prishtina choir, "Kolegium Kantorum." "Comrades who were responsible for propaganda in the press were afraid to take responsibility and didn't think at all... How will we ex-

press our love when they are put in prison for listening to our songs, while our press doesn't write about them? So change this passive, apolitical stance..." This also happened when he heard that a Kosovar film wasn't being shown... why? Because the main character was Fadil Hoxha...! And then? He was a member of the Yugoslav Presidency... and he made some unfavourable statements... Enver said: he was one of the key inspirations for the Bujan Conference, which granted Kosova Albanians the "right to self-determination after the war... up to secession," he led the anti-fascist national liberation war in Kosova, and the main thing in the film is the war our Kosova brothers waged. Enver had seen this film and was moved.

During an afternoon discussion in the press about hermeticism in our poetry, Enver, who followed the literary works of Kosova, made this comment: "Hermeticism in Kosovar poems is different, they are compelled by the conditions they live in to express their feelings in veiled ways, with many allegories, etc."

There came a time when the Albanian leadership of Kosova began sending messages to Tirana: "Let us improve the relationship now that Tito is alive, because after his death, it is not known what will happen." This may lead us to understand — as noted in Enver's Diary — that after Tito, "we Kosovars can have no confidence in the Serbs," and they were right.

In fact, even Enver thought this way. Despite the fact that throughout his life, he exposed the anti-Albanian activities of Tito and those around him, who had plans regarding Albania, Kosova and all the Albanians living in their territories within Yugoslavia, when J.B. Tito was hospitalized in Ljubljana in May 1980, and the Italian TV was broadcasting his health bulletins, Enver said, thinking: "If he could live a couple more years..." I didn't interrupt his reflection, but he foresaw, after Tito's death, the dissolution of Yugoslavia. He has

written about this in his works. The future of Kosova preoccupied him.

With the death of Josip Broz Tito in May 1980, the situation in Yugoslavia began to ferment. The economic crisis of self-administration had started long before, but at this time, separatist movements and calls for independence in Croatia and Slovenia began to gain momentum.

Various powers, whether from the West or the East, not excluding internal divisive forces, thought that the time had come for changes in Albania similar to those in Yugoslavia, according to the interests of one or another power, of course, through agreements or even contradictions with each other.

In this new situation, the national consciousness of the youth and the intelligentsia of Kosova was raised to a higher level. In 10 years, from Enver Hoxha's platform-speech in 1970 until 1980, colossal steps were taken in Kosova that had not been taken in the last 100 years. All that had accumulated in these 10 years burst out in the youth demonstrations in the spring of 1981 with the slogan "Republic of Kosova."

This call, which was suppressed with blood, terrified Tito's successors, such as Stambolić with his associates, the spiritual father of Slobodan Milošević. Enver noted in his diary: "Mr. Dolanc openly expressed his opinion that 'Kosova will never become a republic... because Serbia does not allow it.' If Kosova becomes a republic within the Federation, Dolanc said, then 'the Federation is destroyed.'... The military dictatorship being prepared has found a "Turkish head," the Albanians. They forget that this Albanian head has resisted their blows and has always won."

In 1982, in one of his speeches, Enver Hoxha addressed the leaders in Belgrade: "You do not pay serious attention to our words which are an expression of the sincere feelings of the Albanian people. So much

the worse for you. The world will charge you with grave responsibility... Don't play with fire, because if a conflagration breaks out, you will get yourselves burnt in it."

Enver Hoxha was a great patriot and strategist who tailored political and military plans to protect the territorial integrity of our Homeland, its freedom and independence.

From his people, Enver Hoxha had learned never to trust the enemy. During the years of people's state power, he prepared and trained a highly disciplined army with the support of the entire people. An exceptional fortification system was established. In October 1982, while preparing the speech he would deliver to the electorate, in his Political Diary, he wrote: "Albania is a sensitive strategic point... Some sneer at our fortifications, while arming themselves to the teeth with every kind of weapons, and others underrate our strength. So much the worse for them."

As long as Enver was alive, for more than 45 years, major or minor enemies dared not step foot into Albania, neither from the land, nor from the sea, nor from the sky because they knew that blood would be spilled, and only bones would be left behind, as they had seen before.

Based on Albania's policy of peaceful coexistence and good neighbourly relations, its military strategy included both the system of fortification and the training of the armed forces, as well as the mobilization of the civilian population, and it had an undisputed defensive character. The entire northern region was fortified in such a way that not only was it difficult for enemy forces to enter, but even if they did manage to, they would not come out alive. The Serbs, who in fact made up the majority of the Federation's army, knew this well. They knew that behind their backs were the Albanians of Kosova, who never accepted or tolerated Serbian op-

pression. In Albania, they would be trapped as if in a cage between the mountain gorges and surrounded by an entire armed population.

In what case would Kosova be defended? Enver Hoxha, in his Works and in these notes, clearly and firmly expresses that only in special internal situations in Yugoslavia and on an international level (in the Balkans or the region), could Albania come to the military aid of the people of Kosova. This right was recognized in international agreements and would be carried out to defend the lives and rights of our brethren of the same blood, culture and national identity. If that day came, the Albanian army had all the military, human and moral potential to fulfil this sacred, fraternal and historical duty.

In his Political Diary notes about Kosova, Enver Hoxha emphasized the paths that Kosovars should follow to achieve their independence.

In 1989, Slobodan Milošević stripped Kosova of the limited rights granted by the 1974 Constitution. Repressive and medieval years of torture returned. Nearly 10 years after the demonstrations of 1981, the Albanians of Kosova rose up once again and, united, participated in a referendum organized by their own political representatives. Based on the unanimous vote results, they declared Kosova a Republic. How did the Serbian leadership in Belgrade “accept” this Republic? Perhaps it is not accurate to say that they “accepted” it, as they never officially recognized it, but they allowed it because they needed to give Kosovars the illusion that they were free to self-govern, only “to be wise” and to let Milošević, Karadžić, Seselj, Arkan, etc., realize their dark plans in Bosnia before Kosova’s turn. None of the leaders of various parties in Kosova, who rose to power in the name of democracy (democracy under occupation?!), raised the question that Enver raised in 1974, when he met with the representatives sent by the

brothers from Prishtina: "If Belgrade agrees to your request to declare Kosova a Republic, you must consider why it does this, what its goals are..." Many people were satisfied with this phantom republic, which had a dove of peace on its flag instead of Skanderbeg's eagle. But beneath the ground of Kosova, the popular volcano simmered, which, under the leadership of the legendary commander Adem Jashari, erupted and, with the support of all Albanians in Kosova and all Albanian regions in the former Yugoslavia, as well as their brethren in Albania, achieved their first victory: the liberation of Kosova from the barbaric Serbian occupiers.

In the days of an unheard-of war and unimaginable miseries that took place on their own land, the Albanians of Kosova experienced with horror how much this illusion, this colossal deception by the new quislings like Rugova and Bukoshi, cost them.

In the five mistakes of Tito analysed by Enver concerning the national question in Yugoslavia and Kosova, he notes: "...The future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was predetermined from above, without the approval and self-determination of the Albanian people in Kosova and other Albanian territories in Yugoslavia, and without the slightest consultation with the ally of the peoples of Yugoslavia (understood as during the war and for some time after liberation — N.H.) directly interested in this issue, the PSR of Albania."

The Yugoslav leadership not only failed to do what Enver considered right to be done, they not only disregarded the decisions of Bujan, but Tito, along with his envoys, with letters and messages, attempted to sideline our demands and those of the Albanians in Kosova and other regions, and not to include in official documents the issue of self-determination, even though this issue had been addressed both in Potsdam and in the Atlantic Charter of the United Nations, for the populations or minorities that participated in the Great Anti-Fas-

cist War. In one of his letters, Tito wrote: "The issue (of self-determination — N.H.) is not posed for 'today' but 'tomorrow,' because the Albanians of Kosova 'will be free to go where they want and as they want.'" When he read this letter, Enver burst out, "...free to go where they want and as they want(!)... as if they were nomads, without a Homeland, and not an autochthonous people who are born, grow, die in their own lands or are killed for it." Writing these lines, at this point, I lost myself in reflections: "What made Enver so angry? The hypocrisy of these so-called communists? I think not! It wasn't that. We had been putting up with this in our relationship for days. '...free to go where they want and as they want...'?! Did Enver's imagination go further, to the emigration of the most determined opponents of Tito's regime, the young people who were bleeding in demonstrations, all those who were threatened with imprisonment, torture, the inquisition and the murders behind our back...?" Enver knew the plans of Čubrilović and the Serbian academics who dreamt of the ethnic cleansing of Kosova. He did not spare his breath throughout his life to expose and prevent, to a certain extent, the expulsion of Albanians from their lands in Yugoslavia, as was done during the time of Zogu, by sending them to Turkey and urging some tens of thousands to go to Albania.

But, suppose Enver were alive, how would he experience the way these events occurred with the Albanians of Kosova, on the threshold of the year 2000? In ten days, an entire population was expelled from their homes and their burned houses, men from 16 to 55 years old were separated from their families and massacred en masse, without sparing the elderly, women and children, even pursuing them in their biblical exodus to Albania!

I am convinced that if Enver were alive, these catastrophes would not have happened, neither to Albania

nor to Kosova. All that happened was the result of the accumulation of many mistakes, faults or betrayals by parties, strata or individuals on both sides of the border. These were the result of shaken beliefs in true socialist and democratic ideals, a lack of vigilance against the plans of major imperialist powers and smaller ones, Serbia and Milošević in the first place, as well as internal reactionary forces in their service.

The publication of this book is not only intended as a historical document but also serves those who want to know what Enver Hoxha thought about Kosova, the Kosovars and the Albanian leadership in Kosova. These notes would not have the proper value if they were published solely for the purpose of illustrating or testifying what Enver wrote more than 30 years ago.

His question: "Have the Albanian leaders of Kosova, by any chance, drawn lessons and conclusions from the events in Yugoslavia?" is relevant even today, in these complicated times for the future of Kosova and all Albanian regions in the former Yugoslavia.

Enver Hoxha, with 50 years of experience in his interactions with the masses, wrote in his diary:

"If the Albanian leaders of Kosova are closely connected with the masses of the people, if their hearts and pulses beat the same as the people's... matters for the people of Kosova can consolidate favourably." He continues, "One must adapt to situations to fight for the creation of better conditions, based on the rights gained to achieve new ones, and make every effort to gain as much as possible from the legal situations that arise to strengthen the positions gained."

"One must know when to be 'flexible' without compromising principles. Everything gained should not be lost to achieve something important. One must act with determination for the great cause of the people, and at this time, feelings for the people must be passionate."

"Patriotic Kosovars must think for themselves," En-

ver Hoxha continues, “about their present and future; they must decide what to do now and later, and they must find ways to organize themselves... They themselves should determine ‘the paths they must follow to achieve their independence.’”

During four years of the National Liberation War against the nazi-fascist occupiers, the Albanian people, united in a single front and armed, participated in the Great Anglo-Soviet-American Anti-Fascist Alliance. All these countries sent their military missions to Albania.

Our common goal was: “To strike, weaken and liberate the country from the occupying forces.” As long as these missions adhered to this common and clear goal of the Alliance, the General Staff’s relations were friendly and sincere. But when their activities went beyond this specified and clear goal of the Alliance, then the General-Colonel of the National Liberation Army, Enver Hoxha, on behalf of the General Staff, on behalf of the Front, and of the Anti-Fascist Committee or the Provisional Democratic Government elected in Berat, would speak openly to them about what is acceptable and not. Often, conversations with these missionaries or the radiograms sent to the recognized political and military centres of the Allies, such as Cairo, Bari or elsewhere, were conducted in a stern language, showing these friends that “this country has control.”

So, for example, when Albania was almost liberated throughout its entire territory, the warships of the English fleet approached Saranda, requesting to land their forces on the land. Despite the refusal by the General Staff, they insisted arrogantly, claiming “to recognize the right as allies.” Then, Enver Hoxha gave the order, and partisan forces lined up on the hills around Saranda, and an ultimatum was given to the English: “If you land on Albanian soil, blood will be shed...” The English command retreated, as they were convinced that

Enver Hoxha was serious.

Similarly, immediately after Liberation, Albania was impoverished and devastated. The Anglo-American allies offered to help us through an organization called UNRRA. However, to distribute this aid, they requested to land two thousand military forces in Durrës. “Why? What is the need for all these forces? We can handle this ourselves.” They continued negotiations for days; their ships remained at sea. In the end, they saw that their diabolical plan would not be realized, and a group of them handed over some crates of canned food and other items and departed.

In the political sphere, we were also interested in having the Anglo-American allies recognize the new Democratic Government of Albania, just as the Soviet Union and France did. But when they imposed conditions and carried out anti-lawful and anti-Albanian activities, the alliance lost its meaning and even turned into a threat to the victories achieved. For 45 years, Enver Hoxha defended these victories against the former big allies, the Anglo-Americans, and later even against the “great ally,” the Soviet Union, when it began to behave like a superpower and dictate. Albania told them, “No, I do not want your friendship anymore,” and the social-imperialist superpower withdrew its embassies under the threat of the Albanian People’s Army’s cannons.

A nation should know its history, study it not only for cultural reasons but also because it is a weapon for self-defence and drawing lessons for the future. A great lesson for our nation in these difficult days is: *Të jetë në unitet dhe i bashkuar** — as our Kosovar brothers say.

This crucial moment for Kosova should not be recognized as surrender and compromise with collaborators and traitors like Rugova, it should not be recog-

* To be in unity and united (Alb. in the original).

nized as a resignation.

Yes, alliance and dialogue, but without forgetting that the true master of the land is the people themselves! Freedom comes from the barrel of a gun, it is not given as a gift; the surrender of arms means capitulation.

Albanians who forget these truths know that they will pay a heavy price. And foreigners should remember the warning made by Enver Hoxha in the past: “Do not anger the Albanian people; they are patient, but when they get angry, they ignite like fire and flames, like a thunderbolt.”

Nexhmije Hoxha

**KOSOVA
IS
ALBANIA**

RISING ABOVE OLD ENMITIES

Excerpt from "The Titoites"

The decision of the Albanian communists in the summer of 1941 to enter an internationalist alliance with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia demonstrated the maturity that the communist movement in Albania had achieved at that time. They were the best representatives of the communist groups that had begun the fight against fascist invaders in 1939. As they were rising courageously and decisively above their internal disputes and divisions, heading with determination towards the establishment of the Communist Party of Albania, they were also rising with courage and maturity above old hostilities, disputes and the deep trench that had been created over centuries in the relations between our country and the Yugoslav neighbours.

A well-known, undisputed and widely accepted fact is that the relations between our two countries before 1941 could be described as bitter. Throughout their history, these relations contain some of the most severe dramas and tragedies, filled with aggressions, murders and lootings, covered with blood and crimes that played out on the stage of "modern" Europe over the lands and fate of a small but brave and indomitable people — the Albanian people.

It was not the fault of the peoples for this bitter baggage that had been created for decades, and especially the Albanian people were never to blame for it in any case. The blame lay with the annexationist and anti-Albanian policies of the kings of Serbia and the princes of Montenegro, policies of violence, expansion and genocide that were incited and supported by the Great Powers of that time, openly or secretly, pursued against the Albanian people and the Albanian territories.

When it became clear that the "sick man of the

Bosporus” had fallen into his deathbed, hopes and possibilities for the Albanian people to achieve the independence they had sought for centuries increased rapidly, just as their struggles and efforts to bring this day closer did. However, right when the decisive day for Albania approached, beyond the Ottoman rule, new enemies, wild and with the same intentions as the Ottomans, thought it was time to throw tiny Albania into their claws. The kings and rulers of Italy and Austria-Hungary, Greece and Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria, released themselves to seize whatever they could from what they called the “periphery of the Ottoman Empire.” This was an excessively heavy and painful “reward” that neighbours were giving to the brave and unyielding Albanian people who had shed blood like a river, building a strong wall against the further advance of Ottoman hordes towards Europe. This was the deepest ingratitude towards a people who, both in battles against Ottoman attacks and in their movements and uprisings for liberation, had spared nothing, even sacrificing their best sons, to give their lives as if defending their own people’s freedom.

The Serbian and Montenegrin hordes, fuelled by the reactionary cliques of that time, moved most significantly towards Albanian lands — killing, looting and destroying whatever they found before them. The chronicles of that time are filled with horrifying events. Caught in the crossfire of many enemies fighting, sometimes each for their own sake, sometimes united to share the spoils, the Albanian people responded to the new situation with relentless warfare. However, their forces were divided in a way that, after spilling rivers of blood, the Albanian population was forced to leave significant parts of its Homeland along the border with Serbia and Montenegro with sorrow. In addition to the thousands killed and burned, tens of thousands of Albanians were expelled from their lands and pushed to-

wards the south or set out as migrants across Europe and Asia.

Certainly, this unprecedented genocide, which struck all of Albania, would arouse the greatest hatred and mobilize the entire country to confront both Ottoman forces and the “blacker than the Ottoman” invaders, as the people expressed their feelings towards the Serbian occupiers of that time. The renowned League of Prizren was founded and carried out its uninterrupted historical activity precisely in this difficult period, setting itself the goal of waging a war to achieve freedom and independence, as well as a war to defend the territorial integrity of the nation, defending the legitimate right of a people who resisted annihilation.

What the Albanian patriots and people did not do to prevent a threat from the North! They were ready to bury every past issue and never missed an opportunity for messages of friendship and good neighbourliness with brotherly Serbian, Montenegrin, Macedonian and other peoples.

However, the thirst of chauvinists, kings and princes of neighbouring countries knew no bounds, and this made the danger from the North increasingly uncontrollable and more anti-Albanian. Their support was grounded in the darkest European reaction. Serbia, with its pursued policy, became, in the consciousness of freedom-loving Albanian, a symbol of the sworn enemy.

Blood flowed from both sides, through the valleys of our mountains and fields, leaving the bones of thousands of Serbs, Montenegrins and others. Understandably, no flower of friendship could bloom over this spilt blood, but a thorny bush of hatred and enmity would sprout and grow. Albanians were not the ones shedding blood in the lands of Serbia or Montenegro; they were not the ones rushing with fire and iron towards neighbouring lands and peoples. Quite the opposite. Alban-

ians defended their lands, their children and women, their homes and their hearths.

This situation continued until 1912, when the great victory — the Independence of Albania — was soon followed by one of the greatest injustices of this century in Europe: Albania was divided in half — Kosova and other Albanian territories were forcibly annexed to Yugoslavia. Naturally, dividing the body of a country and its people in half and artificially attaching one half to another entity could not serve as a “bridge of reconciliation,” “friendship” or “brotherhood.”

However, as if all this were not enough, after 1912-13, anti-Albanian political directions intensified in all forms, particularly under the Karadjordjević dynasty and the entire unscrupulous Serbian reaction. The policy of annihilation, discrimination and forced Serbianization of the Albanian population, which had fallen under Serbian occupation, was followed by secret plans for the annexation of other parts of Albania. The secret Treaty of London in 1915, which Lenin later exposed two years later, constitutes another testimony to the incessant and infamous anti-Albanian policy not only of the reactionary Great Powers of that time but also of the then Yugoslav state, a creation of imperialism. The worldwide denunciation of this plundering treaty did not deter or chastise the face of Great-Serb chauvinism. Shortly afterwards, Yugoslavia once again sanctioned its *de jure* “rights” over the occupied Albanian lands and, with zeal, embarked on the path of Serbianization of the Albanian population that had fallen under occupation.

At the same time, it sought new ways to realize its old dream of annexing all of Albania. It was precisely the Serbian kings who supported Zogu when he fled Albania in June 1924 — they held him, found mercenaries for him, equipped him with weapons and forces and created all the conditions for the future satrap to

carry out the counter-revolution in Albania in December 1924. As a reward, Zogu initially handed over other parts of Albanian territories to the Serbs, such as Vermosh and Shën-Naum, and undoubtedly, over time, he would have given them all of Albania if the great game of the powerful had not definitively thrown the puppet king into the hands of fascist Italy, leading the country towards Italian fascist colonization.

But even after this, a whole bitter, open and covert history unfolded by the reactionary governments of Yugoslavia, dominated by Serbia, towards the Albanian state. When the Serbian reactionary governments saw that the card of Zogu had fallen into other hands, they put their agents to work inside our country and the reactionary Albanian emigration in Yugoslavia. They made various attempts to create an explosive situation within the Albanian kingdom under the guise of an “uprising” against Zogu’s tyranny. Then, agents sought help from the same Serbian circles that had brought Zogu to power years earlier.

These chauvinistic circles, always ready for an invasion of “assistance,” trained and kept entire regiments ready around the borders of Albania. In the forefront of these regiments, mercenaries armed with rifles and bayonets were gathered, both Yugoslav and non-Yugoslav. They were dressed in full Albanian national attire, ready to pour across the borders at the opportune moment. However, these plans, with all their trappings, remained on paper. This happened not only because fascist Italy and international reaction behind it, for its own interests, would not allow the Albanian apple to quench the thirst of the Great-Serbs. It was also because the Serbian propaganda agency in Albania could find ground only among a few degenerate and uninfluential elements but certainly not in broad stratas, let alone the people. For the atrocities it had committed, Serbia had long been synonymous with evil in the con-

sciousness of the Albanian.

Even more intense was the hatred and the impossibility of any sign of reconciliation, the nation-building policy pursued by the Great-Serbs towards Kosova and the Albanian population in Montenegro and Macedonia. From 1913 onwards, the chauvinistic regime of the Great-Serb bourgeoisie employed the most inhumane methods and means — political, economic, ideological and military — to Serbianize and colonize the annexed Albanian territories. During the years 1913-27 alone, in Kosova and other Albanian areas in Yugoslavia, more than 200,000 Albanians were killed through the so-called “nationalization through physical eradication,” tens of thousands were imprisoned and entire Albanian villages were annihilated. The rising fascism in Europe found in the Great-Serbs a worthy precursor and ally.

Not only did the barbaric massacres, accompanied by other equally barbaric means such as “nationalization through colonializing agrarian reform,” “nationalization through migration,” etc., etc., not yield the desired results for the Great-Serbs, but even worse for them was that the number of the Albanian population in their territories increased even more in proportion to the increase of the Serbian and Montenegrin elements in these lands.

Frustrated by their hatred and disgusted by the Albanian motto, “We will die, but we do not abandon our country,” the Great-Serbs put into action their “science” of annihilation, their ideology and means of pogrom. This phase corresponds precise to the inhuman actions of the Great-Serbs, such as Vaso Čubrilović, Atanasije Urošević and other monsters of the so-called Serbian Cultural Club in Belgrade, a creation of the black reactionary Serbian bourgeoisie in 1937-38, and unfortunately, as we would later learn, a precursor of the institutions in Yugoslavia from 1945 onwards. It is

not the place or purpose of my notes here to dwell on the programs and theories of these neo-Malthusians, who Tito's regime would preserve and elevate to the highest ranks of the scientific institutions of "socialist" Yugoslavia. I simply want to emphasize that based on what they put on paper, the Albanian population suffered more immeasurable damage, and the chasm and enmities that had divided the Albanian people from the Serbian, Montenegrin and other peoples for decades were deepened even further.

January 2, 1963

CONVERSATION WITH A KOSOVAR PATRIOT

The Kosovar patriot Qerim Muka came to wish me a Happy New Year, and I spoke to him about how our people and Party understand the great issue of Kosova. For every Albanian, it is a painful wound that will only heal when the issue is resolved correctly, based on the aspirations of the people of Kosova.

He fully understood me and acknowledged that, currently, the crucial matter for Kosovars is not to depart from the land of Kosova, not to emigrate to Turkey or other regions of Yugoslavia. They should resist the oppressive measures of Serbianization, holding high the flag of Albanian patriots and revolutionaries. Qerim is deeply concerned, rightfully so, like all of us, about the issue of Kosovars being suppressed by the barbaric and chauvinistic policies of the Titoites.

July 23, 1966

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CRIMES OF GENOCIDE COMMITTED AGAINST THE ALBANIAN POPULATION OF KOSOVA AND THE DUKAGJIN PLATEAU, MONTENEGRO AND MACEDONIA

I drafted this outline and wrote these general theses for an article that I will work on these days under the title: "Who is Responsible for the Crimes of Genocide Committed Against the Albanian Population of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, Montenegro and Macedonia."

First: The crimes committed by the Titoites, especially those in the first months of Liberation.

a) The transfer of Kosovars from Kosova and their killings in Montenegro.

b) Killings within Kosova under the pretext that the victims were against the national struggle of Yugoslavia.

c) Killings during arms collection and other mass murders, supposedly putting the victims on trial.

Second: Emphasize the dispossession of Albanian lands, throwing them into the main road.

a) The dispersion of Albanians throughout Yugoslav territory.

b) Forced migration to Turkey under catastrophic conditions.

c) Dispersion in Europe as arm labourers. The goals of this chauvinistic policy of destruction.

Third: Highlight the policy of persecution by the

UDB against the entire Albanian population, the infiltration everywhere by that agency to Serbianize, demoralize, corrupt and compromise. The role of Albanian UDB agents such as Fadil Hoxha, Xhavit Nimani, Izet Shaqiri and others.

Fourth: Serbianization through language, the suppression of Albanian-language schools, Serb-Montenegrin officials, etc.

Fifth: The organization of all Albanian war criminals who went to Yugoslavia to use against Albania and to break the resistance and defence of the Albanians of Kosova from extermination.

P.S. In addition to the data we have and will use, the Kosovar comrades should also be asked about specific events related to the issues I mentioned above to be more accurate.

Of course, the article, as always, must be principled.

August 1, 1966

THE ISSUE OF THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION MUST BE CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH THE LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Yugoslav peoples have the experience of their national liberation war. If they want to win, they must refer to and draw inspiration from it. The peoples of Yugoslavia rose up in arms against a nazi invader, and national moments played their role, but the current situations, though not as similar as those of the war, are such that the national moment can and should be exploited. This moment will come if it has not already arrived. Therefore, the peoples of Yugoslavia must fight so that this national moment is created, which seems more difficult and complicated than during the time of the national liberation war.

In my opinion, this fight must be a second national liberation war, a war that must be waged under conditions when a third world war has not erupted.

The current treacherous Yugoslav cliques, currently in power with or without Tito at the head, are nothing more than new Stojadinoviće, Nediće, Paveliće and Mihailoviće. Therefore, these new capitalist cliques with Tito must be identified with the old capitalist-fascist cliques, sold in the first place to the new imperialist-fascists who are preparing and will ignite another world war.

The Albanians of Kosova should not be deceived and abandon the revolutionary path. This is their only path to liberation and self-determination. To fight now "to unite with Albania" will not lead you in the right

direction. The Kosovars are fervent patriots, and unity with Albania has been and is the ideal of their lives. Still, for them, there are only two paths — the revolutionary path and the reactionary chauvinistic path. The first is the path of struggle, along with the peoples of Yugoslavia. This path leads the Albanian people of Kosova to their right to self-determination and the unification with their Homeland, Albania.

The other path would be an adventure. Walking this path, even by fighting, the Albanians of Kosova will become victims of Yugoslav reaction. The People's Republic of Albania cannot come to their aid by declaring war on the Yugoslav state. Only if the Yugoslav state attacks or assaults the PR of Albania, then the situation changes. In such a case, both for us and for the Kosovars, this change occurs again on the Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary path because the PR of Albania fights against the aggressor.

Currently, a new deceitful and oppressive campaign against the Albanians of Kosova is beginning, pretending to be a cleansing of Ranković's people when, in reality, they are bringing the same people who do not differ from the former in continuing terror, extermination and Serbianization of the Albanians. The Albanians of Kosova should not only think about how to benefit revolutionarily from this weakening of the Serbo-Titoite reaction. Still, by fighting Titoism, they must fight with the greatest severity against the Titoite elements among Albanians, who are spies and sell-outs to Yugoslav reaction, and must be unmasked and isolated. We hear talk about a Republic of Kosova. Patriotic and revolutionary Kosovars, in these moments, must be very careful about the Titoite revisionists, who may play the card of creating a "Kosovar Albanian Republic" instead of an "autonomous region" to deceive Kosovar chauvinism better, to better suppress the liberation war of the Albanians of Kosova, and to fight the

PR of Albania. This so-called external Albanian republic concocted by the Titoites could become the centre of Yugoslav reaction and all the Albanian war criminals who are found in Europe and the USA. The Albanians of Kosova should not fall in this trap. They must fight this dirty manoeuvre of the Titoites, who have the possibility to play this card. The patriotic and revolutionary Kosovars will decide for themselves the path they must follow to completely ensure their national rights and freedom.

September 19, 1966

KOSOVA IS ALBANIAN, REMAINS ALBANIAN AND BELONGS TO ALBANIA

Within the chaos and disintegration among the cliques of Yugoslavia, Kosova and its Albanian residents are always exposed to significant risks.

The rivalry for dominance between the Croato-Slovenes and the Serbs, among Tito's group and Ranković's, has its own repercussions and is reflected in Kosova and other Albanian areas in Yugoslavia (in Macedonia and Montenegro).

The previous barbarities against the Albanians by the Tito-Ranković clique and its Albanian lackeys have now, seemingly and temporarily, taken another form.

The victorious policy of Tito in Kosova suggests that "Ranković and the UDB have committed all the wrongs there, so now they have come to an end"; "Tito is the saviour of the Kosovars"; "Tito grants great freedom and has confidence in the Albanians," so they support those leaders whom Ranković had sidelined; they say, "Albanians, move more in this direction," and these, unwittingly, are not disturbed when criticizing the UDB-men.

Even for the lambs, it is clear that Tito's policy towards the Albanians is the same as the ruthless previous one. However, in the context of the conflict between the Croato-Slovenes and the Serbs, and between Tito's group and Ranković's, Tito needs to soften things with the Albanians, ensuring they don't become troublesome. Possibly, until he strengthens his positions, he wants them on his side. This is a conjunctural policy of Tito's, aiming to quickly return to the old ways.

Tito knows, and is convinced, that the Kosovar Al-

banians are among his most determined enemies and he can never win them over. He only has a few leaders with him, not the people, and it is on these leaders that he relies to deceive the Albanians.

Therefore, the victory of the people of Kosova up to self-determination must come and be organized through a long, painful and effortful journey by the people themselves, not by these sold-out Albanian leaders.

The known facts are these: Kosova and other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, part of Albania, were detached from their Homeland by imperialist forces and given to the Serbian kingdom. Kosova is Albanian, remains Albanian and belongs to Albania. The Serbian chauvinists made war on the Albanians to completely annihilate them. The Albanians resisted heroically, and the genocide carried out by the Great-Serbs and Great-Montenegrins did not yield the results they expected. The hatred of the Albanians towards the Serbs and Montenegrins, rightfully, reached its peak, and undoubtedly, this evolved along the nationalist path. It could not have been otherwise in a country where there was no communist movement. Desperation led to that path.

The Albanian people in Kosova found themselves unprepared for the National Liberation War, and not only that, but fascist Italy, German nazism and Albanian quislings spread, pumped and preached, the idea of "Greater Albania," taking concrete steps in this direction. Kosova supposedly joined Albania, and thus, their dream seemed to come true.

This was, of course, a bluff, a fascist conjuncture, to suppress any movement, any anti-fascist uprising, in Kosova.

We, the Albanian communists, from our side, aided as much as we could in Kosova for the people to rise up. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia did not help the

people of Kosova properly; in fact, it hindered its true national liberation struggle, and this was understood more clearly later on. Initially, the national liberation struggle of the people of Kosova remained, as it were, more of a struggle by “cadres” fighting in Kukës and Tropoja under the direction of our Party. Later, after the liberation of Kosova, Montenegro and Dibra, these “cadres” joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and the leadership of Kosova came under the direction of Belgrade.

After Liberation, Tito’s clique, in a thousand ways later clarified to us, defined our borders arbitrarily. Under the guise of communism and internationalism, he did as he pleased in Kosova and the other Albanian areas in Yugoslavia (Montenegro, Macedonia). The “self-declaration” and “self-determination” of the people of Kosova to be a constituent part of Serbia and to remain united with the Federal People’s Republic were neither “self-declaration” nor “self-determination.” On the contrary, as was later revealed, everything was done by order and dictate of Belgrade.

The issue of Albanian territories in Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, forcibly annexed to it, was very delicate and complex for us. We, as Albanians and as communists, with full consciousness, considered the dismemberment of our Homeland a great historical injustice. Without delving into historical considerations, facts prove that Albania and the Albanian people, despite continuous heroic struggles for freedom and independence, faced great injustices from powerful imperialist forces and chauvinistic neighbours. Albania was divided on all sides, and its dismemberment was imminent. The lands that belonged to Albania, inhabited by Albanians, such as Kosova, parts of Macedonia and Montenegro, were unjustly joined to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia). From any perspective, this has been and remains a bitter

truth, and the ethnic Albanian issue in these territories has been and remains an indisputable matter for us. The Great-Serbs pursued a wild, anti-Albanian policy against the Albanians in Yugoslavia, aiming to physically annihilate them and deny them any other rights.

We are convinced that the national problem can only be rightly addressed through Marxist-Leninist theory, communist parties and socialism. Therefore, when we were not yet aware of Tito's betrayal, we believed that the issue of Kosova could be resolved correctly only by our two countries, our two parties, our two peoples, and by the autochthonous Albanian population in Yugoslavia itself. We had to work towards solving the problem until the Albanians in Yugoslavia decided for themselves whether they wanted to join their socialist Homeland, Albania, and if they expressed this desire, no one should prevent them from doing so. At the same time, we believed that they should be granted the right to express themselves for any other solution, for example, if they wanted to live as a separate republic or united with another entity. This was our thinking during the National Liberation War, but during that period, our main focus was to unite our people in the general fight against fascist occupation.

And we carried out our duty, not only within our borders but also beyond them. Before Liberation, many Albanians, with the communists at the forefront — and even more so when two divisions of our National Liberation Army went to aid the peoples of Yugoslavia, the sons and daughters of our people, right alongside Yugoslavs — fought heroically and shed their blood for the liberation of the Yugoslav peoples.

Later, when conditions and opportunities would be created, we believed with a pure heart and based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that when our communist parties came to power, then the issue of Kosova and other Albanian areas in Yugoslavia could be

resolved definitively and according to the will of the peoples. We, therefore, started from the assumption that the Yugoslav national liberation movement was led by a communist party, as it was a popular, anti-fascist, progressive struggle for socialism. Hence, the issue of the old Yugoslav borders, and especially the issue of Kosova and other Albanian areas in Yugoslavia, could not be immediately open for discussion.

Our Communist Party's viewpoint on this significant problem, among other things, I clearly expressed to Tito in the meeting I had with him in Belgrade in June 1946. Kosova, I told Tito, and other areas with Albanian populations in Yugoslavia are Albanian lands that the Great Powers unjustly severed from Albania; they belong to Albania and should be returned to Albania.

Tito, after listening to me, replied that he agreed with my views, that they also wished to return Kosova to the People's Republic of Albania, but they could not do it immediately because Great-Serb reaction and all the peoples of Yugoslavia would not understand such a thing, and it would cause trouble. Tito brought up this "hindrance," so I retorted that if they don't understand it today, they should understand it tomorrow.

Thus, Tito acknowledged that Kosova should be returned to Albania, but in reality, he deceived us because he had other intentions towards Albania and the Albanian people, which were later revealed.

The people of Kosova were not consulted about their future. This is a fact. And one of the reasons they were not consulted is supposedly that, as they say, they did not generally participate in the National Liberation War. This is not entirely true. The people of Kosova are brave and courageous, but they were not given clarity nor were they politically organized at the right time. We did not do this as well as we should have, and we did not have many concrete opportunities to do so. However,

neither did the Yugoslavs, as Tito and Tempo, under the guise of communists, were wild chauvinists and anti-Albanians.

So, many people from the Kosova population, at a crucial moment in their history, were deceived by old ideas dominated by Albanian chauvinism, irredentism and the belief that the problem's solution would be achieved sooner by the "Great Powers." After Liberation and "self-determination," the Titoites established their administration, organized their "party," propaganda and under the guise of the most barbaric chauvinism, inflicted hardship upon the Albanians.

The Albanian people of Kosova resisted throughout this time, fought in their own ways to avoid annihilation. They defended themselves courageously and powerfully, politically and openly by us, and not only through the heroic struggle they waged against the traitorous Titoites.

Unfortunately, the struggle of the Albanians of Kosova for their democratic rights is not organized nor led, and is politically and organizationally chaotic. It follows, with very few changes, the old pre-Liberation characteristics. It goes on with slogans like "fight to unite with Albania," allowing mass emigration to Turkey without organizing work so that no one leaves their ancestral land, allowing the selling of land, not fighting as it should for gains from the concessions Titoism is forced to make, such as Albanian schools, etc. But secret groups are organized which have no secrets from the UDB. Ultimately, and this is crucial, without considering the peoples of Yugoslavia, their struggle and resistance, open and masked, but with unrealistic views, all are thrown into one bag, thinking that their struggle will succeed outside the current framework and circumstances. The issue of Kosova is not easy and cannot be resolved as quickly as some well-intentioned Kosovars think. It is a political issue primarily, and if

approached politically, everything will fall into place; work will begin with patience, carefully, and not with confusion and without a clear perspective of where and how to go. Regarding where and when it will be resolved, that cannot be determined, as it depends not only on the desire.

The people of Kosova must clearly understand that the PR of Albania cannot attack or assault Yugoslavia. If Yugoslavia attacks Albania, that is another matter. Albania will defend itself; we will fight and win. Then the issue of Kosova will be completely different.

The existence of the PR of Albania, strong, free and sovereign, is a great victory for the people of Kosova and our struggle against Titoism. They must consider it a significant help, follow its development carefully, learn from it, understand from our Party's perspective what the right politics and struggle mean. Otherwise, they will make mistakes, dream, walk with illusions and fall under the blows of Titoite reaction.

Current moments, when the Titoite regime is in crisis and is forced for the reasons we mentioned above to "smile at the Albanians," the people of Kosova and its mature and political individuals should not only not be deceived by Titoite demagogy but should also take advantage. How? To rise with arms? This would be a fatal mistake, and such a thing cannot succeed without having prepared for it much earlier. For war, courage and individual bravery alone are not sufficient. Revolution is a matter of utmost seriousness and preparation; then it explodes, matures and occurs. One cannot adhere to the incorrect anti-Marxist principle that "since the Albanians of Kosova are against the Serbs," the uprising will catch fire and succeed. In this way, there will only be defeat. Armed struggle in Yugoslavia must be simultaneously and primarily against the reactionary Titoite regime. This cannot be done without the peoples of Yugoslavia and without brotherhood with

them, regardless of who gives the signal — Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins or Croats. And, of course, I speak whenever I talk about revolutionary insurgents and not about the Rankovićites and others who can also go to the mountains and fight for the goals we know.

“The isolated war of Albania” with such a Yugoslavia is suicide.

Currently, the issue for the people of Kosova is to prepare, take advantage of this situation, strengthen their positions in the country, demand legal democratic rights more forcefully, consolidate these rights, and use them as a kind of basis for general and widespread preparation. The Albanian leaders in Kosova, even though compromised and, more or less, sold out to Titoism, are still Albanians, but Albanian chauvinists and revisionists. They should not be trusted but the people should find weak points (not in the way of espionage but politically) to sway them. And even against their will and desire, to allow, through legal means, the strengthening of the positions of Albanians in Kosova and other Albanian areas. But for such work, to squeeze the lemon and throw it away, politically clear and ideologically determined people along the Marxist-Leninist path are needed. These individuals in Kosova must emerge from the people, from the revolution, as, from what we know, and we know very little, willing individuals are not readily available at present.

But progressive, revolutionary developments will do their job, undoubtedly break the present path and overcome obstacles.

We will assist our Kosovar brothers and all the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia with our just struggle.

April 4, 1967

THE ALBANIAN POPULATION IN YUGOSLAVIA CANNOT BE DECEIVED BY THE TITOITE CLIQUE

These days, after almost 16 years, Tito made a short visit to Kosova, the most troubled region of his “kingdom.” Of course, he went to this population for demagoguery. I dedicated an article titled “The Albanian Population in Yugoslavia Cannot Be Deceived by the Titoite Clique”* to expose the purposes of this trip.

This article was sent to the newspaper “Zëri i popullit” today for publication tomorrow.

* See Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 35, Alb. ed., p. 207. —
I.H.

November 15, 1967

TITOITE DEMAGOGY CANNOT COVER THE OPEN WOUNDS OF KOSOVA

Today, we sent for publication in the newspaper “Zëri i popullit” the article titled: “Titoite Demagogy Cannot Cover the Open Wounds of Kosova.”*

* See Enver Hoxha, “Against Modern Revisionism” — Collected Works 1965-1967, Alb. ed., p. 594. — I.H.

January 5, 1968

THE DETRIMENTAL STANCE OF THE LEADERSHIP IN KOSOVA

The Albanian leadership in Kosova did not accept our invitation to send a delegation with representatives from Kosova to participate in the celebrations of the 500th anniversary of the death of our National Hero Gjergj Kastrioti. Clearly, they act in this way out of fear of the Great-Serb Titoites, and along the Titoite path, they defend Titoism and the miserable oppressors of the Albanians in Kosova. Through the press and Radio Tirana, we must make this refusal by their revisionist leadership known to Albanian public opinion in Kosova.

January 15, 1968

KOSOVARS ARE ALBANIANS, THEY ARE OUR BROTHERS

Today, we went to Kruja to participate in the ceremony of conferring the title “Hero City” to this city, given by the Presidium of the People’s Assembly. On this occasion, a large crowd had gathered in Kruja with much enthusiasm. After Haxhi Lleshi delivered the ceremonial speech, he presented the high decoration to the secretary of the Party Committee, Pirro Kondi. The people in Kruja, present at the rally, were very pleased. Joy and cheers reached their peak. From the meeting, which was held in front of the monument of Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg, a work by the sculptor Janaq Paço, we walked to the castle to inaugurate the Skanderbeg Museum. Aleks Buda spoke there. The museum was new and good. Certainly, over time, it will be enriched. As a building, it could and should not have been made in that modern style that it has been made, but it should have been given the characteristics of our folk style and adapted to the environment of the castle.*

The view from the castle was magnificent, and today it did not feel as cold as usual, even with the snow that had fallen.

Passing through the castle, we saw the old market of the city that had been restored, and we stopped at a café where we had an impromptu conversation with a group of Kosovar professors who had come to participate in the Second Conference of Albanological Studies.

During the conversation, I roughly said these things to the Kosovar brothers:

“We are very happy to have you here among us on

* This refers to the old museum. Now a new museum has been built that suits the castle of Kruja. — I.H.

the occasion of the jubilee of our great common ancestor, Skanderbeg. He is ours and yours. Isn't that so?"

They answered: "It is indeed."

I continued: "We greet you as representatives of the Kosovar intelligentsia and as sons of that heroic part of the Albanian people of Kosova that we love very much. You are Albanians, and we are Albanians, so we are one people. The heavens may fall, but the truth that you are our brothers and that we are your brothers, as we have one Homeland, will not change. Terrible storms have passed over the Albanian people. Such things may happen again tomorrow, but now the Albanian people will not be enslaved by anyone. There is no force in the world that can stop the Albanian people from living united, free, independent and sovereign. Ancient times and modern times have proven this. If circumstances ask for it, future times will also confirm it.

"We cannot fail to tell these great truths; otherwise, we would commit a crime. What I am telling you now, I have also told Tito when I met him for the first time in 1946 in Belgrade. He listened to me, and when I finished, he asked me what I thought about Kosova.

"I told him: 'Kosova is Albanian, belongs to Albania and should be returned to Albania.'

"He told me that 'currently, the Serbs cannot understand such a thing.'

"I said: 'That's true, but if they don't understand it today, they should understand it tomorrow.'

"Tito said: 'Yes, I agree.'

"But in reality, he did not agree, neither yesterday, nor today, nor tomorrow. He did not believe the words I said, but I did not believe him either.

"I, Kosovar brothers, do not want to argue with you about these issues, because I do not want to spoil the great joy you feel on the occasion of this celebration. Still, I take advantage of this opportunity to clarify for you, our brothers in Kosova, some issues that those who

do not wish us well distort. We never intend to attack Yugoslavia, but if the Yugoslav reaction and revisionism violate our borders and attack us, we will counter-attack, break them and triumph.

“When we affirm and defend the great principles I spoke of earlier, our enemies accuse us of being ‘nationalists, chauvinists, irredentists,’ and other such epithets. Of course, we are not like that; we are Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary Albanian patriots. Still, they attack the great truths we defend because they try to defend lies, the crimes that have been committed over time and continue to be committed against the Albanians.

“You will remember, I suppose, the Congress of Manastir and the League of Prizren. You invited us too, didn’t you? (They answered: Yes.) Then we will come, and we will not set conditions like Mr. Fadil Hoxha did, but we will not keep silent. No, we cannot refrain from stating in the conferences you will organize on these occasions the great truths related to the history of the Albanian people I mentioned earlier. We cannot fail to reveal the true reasons underlying these historical events, during which our heroic brothers in Kosova fought for the rights of the Albanian nation, for the defence of the Homeland’s territories and its unity in a national state. Tell Mr. Fadil Hoxha, from me that he did not do well in refusing to send a group of Kosovars to our celebration. The reasons he gives for this do not stand.

“In Kosova, there are people who say, ‘Albanians in Albania do not understand us.’ This is not true. We understand you, but you must know that our enemies see that we understand you, and that is why they are afraid of us and you. In this situation, complicated for them, they try to ‘suggest,’ not to use the term ‘order,’ that some people in Kosova ‘convince us to understand them,’ as our common enemy would. No, they will

never achieve this.

“What does our common enemy want us to say? We love the peoples of Yugoslavia with the true spirit of internationalism, but in no way in the path of ‘brotherhood and unity’ as they do.

“Our enemies want us to accept the current situation and say that the Albanian people of Kosova ‘live in great happiness, have won all their rights and freedoms, own their land and factories, have schools in every village, are in power, live in abundance, are not deported to Turkey,’ etc., etc. No, we cannot affirm these things; we cannot lie and become accomplices in this dangerous deception against the Albanian people of Kosova.

“On the contrary, to defend the people of Kosova nearly 20 years ago, we denounced these cruel and terrible actions. Now, in the Albanian newspapers of Kosova, we see discussions about these injustices. Of course not entirely, but we understand this too.

“You have asked for help from us in the field of culture and education. We are obliged to help you. Albania must make sacrifices for the Kosovars and help you as much as possible, and the more we help you, the less it will be.

“You have requested that boys and girls from Kosova come to study in Albania, and we should provide them with two or three scholarships, just as Belgrade does. No. Here I am only expressing my personal opinion because this issue has not been studied yet, and we have not received any official request from the leadership of Kosova. In my opinion, we should provide you with hundreds of scholarships. But if this happens, will the Yugoslav government accept such a thing? What will the young men and women from Kosova learn from us? They will be taught to be revolutionary Albanian patriots, to be internationalists, to be Marxist-Leninists, to love socialism and communism, to possess knowledge, science and consequently return to Kosova to put them

in the service of their people. Will Belgrade accept such a thing? Surely not. They will create obstacles. On the other hand, we will not allow the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana, which, for us, is a centre of espionage and subversion, to become the centre of these young Kosovars. Otherwise, all this work, if realized, for such good purposes both yours and ours, will turn into a tragedy for the young people of Kosova who could benefit by coming to study in our country. Consider what harsh measures will be taken against them just as those who had the opportunity to socialize and exchange a word with our volleyball or football players who played in Belgrade; the Yugoslav police are questioning young Kosovars.

“You have requested various texts and books from us. We will certainly provide them. For our part, we will also accept sacrifices in this regard, but you must also consider some things. We understand and accept that you can remove, if you want, from our texts those parts that speak against Titoism and against Tito. You can also remove my name, but we cannot allow any part that speaks about our Party, its line and its struggle to be removed because it is what liberated Albania and made it socialist and prosperous. In other directions, you can make some changes with the author’s knowledge and consent. We also want our texts not to be commercially exploited to the detriment of Kosovar students and teachers.

“The Yugoslavs shout: ‘Let’s open the borders’ and organize ‘mass meetings of the people.’ We do not accept these things as the Yugoslav leadership wants them because we know what is hidden behind these ‘actions.’ We will guard our borders vigilantly. This is in our interest and yours. We know and feel the longing you have for Albania, but for the great interests of the nation and our freedom, sometimes a ‘heartstone’ needs to be placed, as our people say.

“‘Let’s develop tourism,’ the Yugoslavs exclaim. Tourism, with few exceptions, and we always keep these exceptions in mind in the situations we are going through, is practised by profiteers and spies. For honest Kosovar brothers, we will allow it when the opportunity arises, but we are sure that Yugoslavs will view this exception we make badly and to the detriment of our Kosovar brothers. Therefore, for your own good, we will be cautious.

“I, Kosovar brothers, spoke to you openly and sincerely. I have no intention of putting you in difficulty. There may be issues that you can think about and argue differently from us; everyone has their own thoughts and the right to defend them.

“On this occasion that you have come here, visit Albania, see with your own eyes, and feel with your Albanian spirit the significant qualitative and quantitative changes that our Party has made for the Albanian people. We do not claim to have reached the heavens, to have created great abundance. No, we have much to do, but we are on the true path of socialism, and we do not stretch our out hand to anyone, nor do we bow our back to anyone.

“I wish you great success in your work, and many good things to the brotherly people of Kosova!”

After me, one of them took the floor and, with an open face, thanked us for the conversation, thanked the university comrades for the reception and the help they provided, and said, “I am a professor, not a politician.” I smiled and told him that I have been a professor but I am also a politician.

From the impressions I had, it seems that they listened with great attention; their faces were very expressive. Apparently, they left satisfied. One thing is certain and likely, they will spread what I said in Kosova. This will be positive.

January 17, 1968

HOMAGE IN FRONT OF THE MONUMENT OF THE NATIONAL HEROINE SHOTE GALICA

Today, returning from Lezha,* I stopped at the place where the monument to the Heroine of the People, Shote Galica, is erected. She is this glorious daughter of the brotherly Kosovar people, a brave and determined fighter against the Great-Serb oppressors. I paid homage and placed a bouquet of flowers.

* Where Enver Hoxha participated in the ceremony dedicated to the 500th anniversary of the death of the National Hero Gjergj Kastrioti-Skënderbeu and the inauguration of the Memorial of the Assembly of Lezha. — I.H.

March 6, 1968

A MALICIOUS ANTI-ALBANIAN MANOEUVRE BY THE TITOITES AND THEIR AGENTS

I heard on the radio that in Kosova and Macedonia, the Titoites have organized a supposedly academic discussion on the issue of what the Albanians of Kosova should be called from now on: whether to continue to be called Albanians or “Albanci,” “Albaniec,” etc. It is claimed that those who discuss this matter, supposedly intellectuals, are in favour of the latter, meaning to be called “Albanci.”

All of this is simply a political move, a malicious anti-Albanian manoeuvre by the Titoites and their Kosova agents. The goal is clear — to achieve the final separation between us and the Albanians of Kosova, to fight our blood and national ties, to Serbianize the people of Kosova, and to experience the occupation of Kosova through the Albanianization of the Albanians and their descent into “Arbëresh” like those in Italy. Precisely this designation, supposedly historical, the Titoites also associate with the word “Arbëresh.” The Titoites connect these intrigues for the Albanianization of the Albanians with the illusory promises they make to the people of Kosova, that the region will supposedly become a Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. But for this to happen, according to the Titoites, first of all, the designation of the Kosovars must be changed from Albanians to “Albanci,” so that the Titoite acrobatic “focus” can be realized.

This manoeuvre of Titoism must be thoroughly exposed.

Even cultural, economic or aid relationships that the Titoite Albanian leaders in Kosova seek to have

with us have only one purpose: to let the people of Kosova understand that, behold, we are improving relations with Albania and that we supposedly approve of what they plot for their dark purposes.

We must tell the Titoites and their agents in Kosova openly that the Albanians are only Albanians, that they are neither Albanci, Albaniec, Arnauts, Albanë, Albanese, nor Arbëresh. And if they want to know what Arbëresh are, we tell them: they were Albanians who emigrated to a foreign country 500 years ago, while the Albanians of Kosova were born in their land and will die there, as their land was snatched by Serb oppressors and the infamous Congress of Berlin, and that this land grab in Albania by the Great-Serbs, supported and protected by world imperialism, Titoism seeks to perpetuate in any way possible, even by changing the name of the Albanians.

Therefore, academisms, sophisms and other manoeuvres cannot pass among the Albanian people of Kosova, and this Serbianization of the Albanians can never be achieved as the Italianization of the Arbëreshë has been done, who, despite the centuries that have passed, have not forgotten their origin, traditions, and language. What can we say then for the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro?

April 16, 1968

TERRORISM OF THE ALBANIAN POPULATION — PERPETUAL POLICY OF THE TITOITE CLIQUE

The Titoite clique continues to exert a policy of bitter terrorism against the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. In the last days of March, this clique organized a “show trial” in Manastir against a group of villagers who were supposedly in the service of the People’s Republic of Albania. I have written before about exposing this hateful policy of the Titoites against our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia. These days, I again prepared an article titled: “Terrorism of the Albanian Population — Perpetual Policy of the Titoite Clique.”* We sent it to the newspaper “Zëri i popullit” to be published tomorrow.

* Published in Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 37, Alb. ed., p. 508. — I.H.

December 5, 1968

DEMONSTRATIONS OF ALBANIANS IN KOSOVA

On November 27, in Prishtina and many other cities in Kosova, the student youth held demonstrations. There was one person killed and many injured, both from the UDB agents who attacked the demonstrators and from the demonstrators who defended themselves. As reported by Yugoslav press organs, the demonstrators were young Albanians, whom they label as “enemies” and “inspired from outside.” Of course, inspired by us. Tito, Nikezić and their Albanian agents in Kosova don’t openly say this but leave it to be clearly understood. Of course, we have no involvement whatsoever in these demonstrations; we don’t engage in any agent work or subversion, neither in Yugoslavia nor in Kosova. The Titoites know this, but they want to spread lies and say the opposite.

As Titoite propaganda claims, the demonstrators had taken to the streets carrying the national flag of Albania (which the Titoite regime has recently allowed them to display) and singing national songs (deemed subversive by the Titoites). The Titoites claim that slogans like “Long live the Party of Labour of Albania,” “Long live the People’s Republic of Albania,” “Long live Enver Hoxha,” etc., were also chanted. It is possible that this happened when passions flared, but it cannot be ruled out that among the crowds there were also Titoite provocateurs who wanted to give a different colour to the demonstrations.

Our thoughts on the people of Kosova have been continuously and openly expressed worldwide. Both the Titoites and the people of Kosova are aware of these thoughts. The latter are pleased with these and the just

and natural Marxist-Leninist defence of their national rights that we provide. However, it seems that it displeases and infuriates the Titoites, This does not surprise us at all. Tito declares that it is their right to defend the Macedonians in Greece, but he calls our right to defend the Albanians in Kosova a crime. Nothing surprises us from the stance of this renegade and rabid Great-Serb.

But the fact is that the people of Kosova do not submit to the Titoite and Great-Serb slavery, which are the same. They have fought, are fighting and will continuously fight for their freedom and rights. Every day, this struggle becomes more intense; the contradictions deepen among the Albanians and the Titoite regime, whether the Titoites like it or not. This is a process that is intensifying and will intensify further under the capitalist, reactionary Titoite regime.

The Tito-Ranković clique could not succeed with terror and oppression in Kosova. After the elimination of Ranković from the political scene, Tito had to throw something to Kosova, as they say, out of necessity, not willingness, to counterbalance the Serb-Ranković danger and to hide his chauvinistic intentions toward the Albanians. He would throw this to Ranković and take the flag of liberalization himself. In other words, to ease the minds of the Kosovars, to calm them down a bit, to keep them under control, etc. Now at last Tito seemingly recognized their “right to raise the national flag of Albania.” However, the Albanians, starting from this “something” they gained, seek to expand their great rights which are still being trampled on by the Titoites. Therefore, Tito thought he could extinguish the fire, but the fire blazed even more. Now it will never be extinguished. The demonstrations that took place are the prelude to the patriotic symphony of the Albanians of Kosova. In vain, the Titoites shout that we are intervening. No, this fire has its roots within Kosova itself.

The fire is ignited by the patriotism of the Kosovars and their legitimate demands, fuelled by Titoite oppression and slavery. The bright torch of the People's Republic of Albania must become an example and guide, not only for the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro but for all the peoples of Yugoslavia fighting for liberation. Whether Tito likes it or not, the people of Kosova have their eyes and hearts on the PR of Albania and the PLA.

In the face of this vast and undeniable reality, Tito and Titoism are powerless. They are forced to use, and indeed are using, two tools: demagoguery and terror. This is evident in their stances in the face of the events in Prishtina.

In his latest interview, Tito said that "the demonstrations in Prishtina should not be dramatized," while the Albanian quislings in Kosova are showing zeal — shouting, screaming, preparing courts and terror against the youth.

Meanwhile, in his recent speech, Nikezić appears more diplomatic and cunning. He condemns the Albanian demonstrators but also says a few words about the Great-Serbs. He declared that what is happening in Kosova is infecting all of Yugoslavia, so he advises cold-bloodedness. Considering what is stated in our recent article, "The Albanians of Kosova and the National Flag," published by "Zëri i popullit" on November 24, Nikezić mentioned the essence of the issue, stating that "the fate of Kosova was determined 50 years ago, that the national liberation struggle resolved it in that direction," etc., etc. All these nonsense, and he finally adds that their liberalizations towards the Kosovars should dispel illusions for those who think that the integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can be disrupted. It is understandable that this is said in the address of the Great-Serbs, who are trying to reassure them by saying, "We will not let Kosova slip out of our

hands.”

As always, we must defend the legitimate rights of our Kosovar brothers. We will wait to see how these situations unfold, and we must expose the terror that the Titoites are preparing in Kosova. The Titoites will fail in their anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian actions.

March 1, 1969

CONVERSATION WITH REXHEP DURAKU

I met with the Kosovar patriot Rexhep Duraku, the father of the martyr Emin Duraku. I greeted him and, on this occasion, I told him what our thoughts were regarding the brotherly people of Kosova, whom we have defended and will defend to the end to win their legitimate rights.

The aid we have provided to our Kosovar brothers has been open and public. We have advised and continue to advise them not to abandon their native land, to preserve their language and customs, their Albanian essence; to fight for Albanian schools and all their rights; to guard against Titoite, Great-Serb provocations and provocateurs; to take advantage of all favourable opportunities created by the general situation or by their mature and politically conscious actions, without engaging in adventures.

Albania will courageously defend the rights of the people of Kosova.

I also told him that, whenever he finds an opportune moment, he should tell Fadil Hoxha to always consider the greater interests of the Kosovar people and the PR of Albania, to reflect more deeply on these issues, to delve into the Marxist-Leninist path and not the Titoite one, to have no trust whatsoever in the rights of the traitor and renegade Tito, the bitter enemy of the Albanians.

June 26, 1969

TERROR IN MACEDONIA AGAINST ALBANIANS

*Thesis for an article**

Since the beginning of the year, a wave of terror against Albanians has started in Titoite Macedonia. Trials against them continue for months and show no signs of ending. Titoite Macedonian terrorists accuse Albanians of raising the flag of Albania, allegedly saying in demonstrations: "We want to unite with Kosova and then with Albania." The condemned from the trials number in the tens, and hundreds await their turn in court. Most of these are teachers, professors and students. All this terror aims at closing Albanian schools, intimidating Albanians and for their Serbization, pushing them away from their lands. They force them to emigrate to Turkey, Australia and America.

The Great-Macedonian chauvinists support these barbaric acts, and some Albanian traitors, renegades of their own people, collaborate with the Titoites.

This terror is a continuation of the Tito-Ranković terror that for decades has oppressed and continues to oppress Albanians in Kosova and other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. They present the situation as if Belgrade, meaning the Federation, is not involved; the Macedonians allegedly act on their own. No one believes this. I spoke with Ramiz and instructed that, based on the information available, an exposure of this Rankovićite Macedonian terror be made, urging an immediate halt to this savage persecution of our brothers. The Macedonians and Titoites are acting in vain;

* See "Rankovićite Macedonian Terror," published in "Zëri i Popullit," June 28, 1969. — I.H.

the Albanians living in their lands in Yugoslavia are not afraid, nor do they submit to them. Precisely because things are this way, the Titoites use terror-dema-gogy-terror alternately.

To deceive them, Tito allegedly granted some rights to the Kosovars, but he will quickly revoke them, one after another, by placing a thousand obstacles.

The people of Kosova must fight with determination and courage for their rights; they must help their Albanian brothers in Macedonia and Montenegro with their struggle and resistance.

September 22, 1969

THE SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA AND TITO'S RECENT SPEECHES

“The Last Song of the Pelican” reveals that Titoism is bankrupt on all fronts, the Titoite ship is sinking and Tito is sending desperate SOS signals.*

The Party has degenerated, says Tito. He admitted this out of desperation because he wishes to regain control of the situation. Tito now sees trouble from all sides — politically, ideologically, organizationally and economically. The sale of the country and the economy to foreign capitalists, massive debts that have economically and politically strangled it, reforms in the state and the economy aimed at completely eliminating the remaining “socialism” to establish capitalism under the label of a “specific socialism” (to supposedly hide the facade, like an ostrich), which turned into large-scale disorganizations, colossal thefts organized, unemployment, lack of discipline, emigration, national and republican rivalries, all covered up with the famous “ingenious Titoite” self-administration reform, party reforms, purges of opponents, “cadre circulation” and a thousand and one other humiliations that brought Tito, Titoism and Yugoslavia to the brink of the grave where they find themselves today.

Now Tito desperately calls to “save Yugoslavia”! But how? He has nostalgia for the past, talking about the time of the national liberation war, discipline, the “Marxist-Leninist norms of the party,” heroism, etc., etc.

This Tito attempts. He is pursuing the tactic of not being able to lie anymore about the difficult situation

* Referring to Tito's speech on September 21, 1969, held in Gerdap — I.H.

that has arisen, so he says “some truths”:

1. “Tourism will save Yugoslavia.” This is the basis for massive corruption of the people. Tito encourages this because he needs foreign currency.

2. He must encourage emigration outside — the more, the better — to avoid the large number of unemployed inside and the strikes that have become chronic.

3. He will stop investments. Tito says there will be no more investments, meaning the economy will stagnate and workers will not receive wages. Beautiful self-administration, beautiful development of productive forces!!

But will the capitalist creditors accept this “ingenious” solution of Tito?

4. Tito says there are people who want to break up the Federation and turn it into a confederation. “I and the peoples of Yugoslavia will not allow this; as long as I am president, this will not happen,” says Tito.

5. Nationalities are clashing with each other; some want to secede, some want to turn it into a confederation, some want to remain in the Federation, some want to “all be called Yugoslavs” and disappear as nationalities!!! What a typical reactionary chaos — the “specific socialism” of Titoism.

The Titoite wolves are tearing each other apart; the powerful capitalist-revisionist forces are plotting, subverting, supporting their factions and applying pressure. It should be acknowledged that Tito is currently the only one capable of maintaining the balance, and he is doing so with determination. When he dies, if not sooner, chaos will ensue, and there will be a great upheaval. We must closely monitor the situation in Yugoslavia. The revisionists won’t stop until they have their way. They will manoeuvre with Tito until his death because his departure not only exacerbates Yugoslav nationalism but also complicates matters with the United States, which has significant strategic, military, polit-

ical and economic interests in Yugoslavia.

During this transitional period, “do not sever ties with Tito,” the Soviet revisionists will try to bring the Great-Serb factor with them by invoking the traditions of the Tsars. However, I think even then the Soviet revisionists won’t have it as easy; things won’t go smoothly with the Serbian chauvinists, who are not as obedient as the Bulgarian chauvinists. Will Tito’s efforts, like a lover who has been stabbed in the heart, give him the opportunity to regain control of the situation, stabilize the chaotic state, and counteract demoralization and degeneration? Tito and Titoism have failed miserably within a great quagmire. Much blood must be shed to cleanse the filth.

Therefore, I believe Tito will either strike forcefully against his opponents or continue to talk, as he has no other option until the ship sinks and his regime enters the mountain phase of catastrophe.

Hence, we must be very vigilant now and anticipate what will happen tomorrow.

January 6, 1970

LET US VIGILANTLY FOLLOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Regardless of Tito's desires, as long as he is alive and Yugoslavia is in the chaotic situation he has brought it into, he does not have the means to destroy us. He does not engage in this dangerous dance for that purpose. He tried several times before but failed. Now he pursues the "policy of peaceful coexistence."

However, we never forget the people's saying: "The water sleeps, but the enemy does not." Tito is our enemy; he does not sleep. Therefore, we must always be vigilant, now while he is alive and tomorrow when he dies. We must be well-prepared for the future, so that it does not catch us unawares. What will happen in Yugoslavia after Tito is a matter that concerns us, as the Yugoslavs are our neighbours. As situations unfold, there will certainly be clashes. What nature will they take? A struggle for Serbian and Croatian hegemony. The Serbs will dominate, but will they impose this dominance peacefully or with weapons? If there are clashes between different nationalities in Yugoslavia, the question of the existence of the Yugoslav Federation will be raised. Then there is a risk of external imperialist-revisionist intervention. The Kosovar Albanians are a fighting, determined, patriotic people who will surely have their say. Therefore, in the face of a future situation that is turbulent, unclear and full of surprises, the borders of our country must be strongly secured so that the stakes do not cross them.

February 11, 1970

ALBANIANS IN KOSOVA AND MONTENEGRO OPENLY EXPRESS THEIR LOVE FOR ALBANIA

Information coming from Kosova shows the great love that Albanians in Kosova have for Albania. They openly manifest this love. The decisions taken by the authorities in Gjakova to punish the Kosovar group that participated in the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland are not only opposed by everyone but their homes have become pilgrimage sites.

In Montenegro, Ulqin and other places in this republic where there are Albanians, the broadcasts of Tirana's television are watched, and the homes of those who have televisions become cinema halls. People come there to watch, including people from Kosova, to the extent that the authorities are considering ways to prevent our broadcasts.

February 25, 1970

THE CHAUVINISTIC ACTIONS OF THE TITOITES AGAINST THE ALBANIANS OF KOSOVA ARE INTENSIFYING

The situation of the Albanians in Kosova is worsening. In principle, the concessions made by Tito are difficult to repay. However, in practice, the Titoites and their UDB are increasing and intensifying the harsh repressive measures against progressive Kosovars, against the people, students, and educators. In other words, the so-called freedoms they approved, the Titoites are trying to twist into anti-Albanian actions, and any manifestation of natural nationalism on the part of the Kosovars is called “irredentism” and “the work of the Albanian Sigurimi.” Many educators and Kosovar tourists are persecuted for speaking about the objective reality they have seen in Albania. This situation will be carefully monitored by us and we will maintain our stance when necessary.

February 28, 1970

**LET US GREET THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF PRISHTINA**

I recommended that the rectorate of the State University of Tirana extend a warm greeting to the newly established University of Prishtina. In this greeting, among other things, it should convey that our university will always be ready to assist its progress with its help and experience, in texts and in various fields whenever requested. I believe this greeting will have a positive impact on the Albanian students and educators in Kosova.

February 28, 1970

THE TITOITES ATTEMPT TO PREVENT THE PASSAGE OF OUR BOOKS TO KOSOVA

We have been informed that the Yugoslav authorities are forcing Albanian books acquired by Kosova to pass through Macedonia. Macedonia blocks them and does not allow them to reach their destination, Kosova.

This issue has become a problem even for the authorities in Kosova, but it has not found a solution. On the part of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we must make an oral protest, telling the Yugoslavs that this stance hinders the development of relations, and if the books do not reach their destination, we will speak about it in the press and on the radio.

May 30, 1970

**OUR POLICIES AND POSITIONS
IN STATE RELATIONS WITH
YUGOSLAVIA AND IN DEFENCE
OF OUR KOSOVAR BROTHERS
ARE PRINCIPLED, FIRM AND
UNCHANGED**

Today, I arrived in the town of “Bajram Curri” for a visit to the Tropoja region. Along the way and in the town, I received a very warm, patriotic and revolutionary welcome. The love of the brave highlanders of Tropoja for the Party, like that of all highlanders and our entire people, is truly great and deep.

A large rally had been organized in the town, which I addressed with a speech. In addition to issues of development and internal life, in my speech, I also focussed once again, in response to accusations, slanders and chauvinistic and anti-Albanian actions by the Titoite leadership against our country and the Kosovars, on our principled, firm and unchanging policies and attitudes in state relations with Yugoslavia. Within this context, I spoke about our well-known and just stance towards the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as the natural and lawful concern for our much-suffering Kosovar brothers. Regarding these issues, among other things, I emphasized that the Albanian people, in the face of any danger, would support the peoples of Yugoslavia, as it did in the past, against any aggressor threatening the freedom, sovereignty and national independence of our peoples. Secondly, among other things, I stressed that it would be anti-Marxist and a national betrayal if we were to neglect the fact that there is a large Albanian population living in its own lands in Yugoslavia, if we

were not to enquire about its fate. The defence of our Kosovar brothers and their rights is something we have done and will continue to do, always within the norms of international and human law, within the norms of good neighbourly relations between two states.

October 20, 1970

STUDY THE DEMANDS OF THE DELEGATION FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF PRISHTINA

Ramiz reported to me about the first meeting held by our university comrades with those from the University of Prishtina. They were very pleased and put forth a number of requests. These requests need to be studied on our part and fulfilled as much as possible.

October 25, 1970

KOSOVAR PROFESSORS ARE VERY PLEASED WITH THEIR VISITS TO OUR COUNTRY

Kosovar professors, members of the delegation from the University of Prishtina, have remained “very pleased” with the reception and the fulfilment of their requests on our part and “very impressed” with the progress. “Socialism is truly being built here,” they said.

November 25, 1970

**WE WILL SEND A DELEGATION
FROM THE WRITERS' AND
ARTISTS' LEAGUE TO KOSOVA**

We discussed and decided that, in response to the invitation we have received, we will send a delegation from the Writers' and Artists' League to Kosova to participate in a jubilee anniversary for Naim Frashëri. We decided that Dhimitër Shuteriqi will lead the delegation.

July 25, 1970

ON THE SPIRITUAL STATE IN KOSOVA

Dhimitër Shuteriqi, who was in Kosova leading a delegation from the Writers' and Artists' League to participate in the solemn meeting dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Naim Frashëri's death, spoke about the situation there. Despite the youth following Western fashion trends in clothing, they are spiritually fervent, with patriotic feelings, eager, attentive and have great love for and faith in Albania, just as the entire Kosovar population. The intelligentsia in general is well-connected with the people, and especially teachers have a strong connection. Others, particularly officials, are disconnected from the people and do not have influence on the masses.

October 30, 1970

SUCCESS OF OUR PROFESSORS IN KOSOVA

Ramiz informed me about the significant work done by the first group of our professors who went to the University of Prishtina and gave lectures there. Great success with students, professors and the public. Our professors demonstrated excellence in their duties. Androkli Kostallari led them in the Albanian language.

After a week, another group will go, and thus the established program is being implemented. All of this is, so to speak, a significant ideological, political, patriotic and cultural investment from our side in the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro.

February 3, 1971

**LET US DEFEND THE THESES
OF THE KOSOVARS REGARDING
THE CONSTITUTIONAL
CHANGES**

I talked with Ramiz about the Yugoslav problem, and especially the one in Kosova, specifically about the current discussion regarding changes in the constitution and forms of governance in the country. The issue is that we, through the press and radio, naturally without interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, should defend the theses of the Kosovars.

April 3, 1971

**LET US EXPAND CULTURAL
EXCHANGES, ESPECIALLY WITH
KOSOVA**

I read the one-year draft agreement on cultural exchanges with Yugoslavia, prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is of great importance to us, especially the expansion of these exchanges with Kosova. I made some comments.

May 2, 1971

INTERNAL YUGOSLAV CRISIS

The Albanians of Kosova are trying to consolidate their gained positions and fight to obtain the other rights denied to them. In these circumstances, Tito seems to somewhat protect their interests against the current Serbian clan, his opponents. However, it is understood that, as an anti-Marxist, he pursues a balancing policy, neither too much against the Serbs nor too close to the Albanians. The Croatian clan, naturally anti-Serb, plays the card more openly in favour of the rights of the Albanians in Kosova. The prevailing Serbian reaction, not to mention external actions, is fierce and open against the Albanians. Serbs are trying to ensure that the constitution does not grant all rights to the Albanians (in the region of Kosova), so that this region, on paper called "autonomous," continues as before, and even worse after Tito's death to languish under Serbian terror.

The Albanians of Kosova are fighting, and they must fight "united and in unity," or else the river current will take them. Serbia is trying and will try to divide them, as it sees them as a significant force. According to records from April of this year, only 920,000 Albanians live in Kosova, meaning 73 per cent of Kosova's population. (In reality, there are more.) In Macedonia and Montenegro, there might be another 400,000. So all Albanians under Yugoslav Titoite rule reach approximately 1.5 million people, three times more than the Montenegrins, more than the Slovenes and even more than the Macedonians. Affairs in Yugoslavia are unfolding in very interesting ways, with surprises and possible risks. Therefore, we are closely monitoring it.

May 13, 1971

**REGARDING A MEETING OF OUR
REPRESENTATIVE IN CHARGE
OF AFFAIRS IN BELGRADE WITH
FADIL HOXHA**

Since Fadil Hoxha expressed his willingness to make the meeting requested by our representative in charge, Lik Seiti, “official,” we also adapted the content of the message he would convey to the “official circumstances.”

May 23, 1971

HOW TO HELP THE KOSOVAR FIGHT VENGEANCE, CRIME AND DEGENERATION OF THE YOUTH

I discussed with comrades that, based on Party documents and the speeches we have given against crime, something suitable should be prepared for Kosova, where there is revenge, crime and the risk of degeneration of the Albanian youth by Titoism. This material should be broadcasted by Radio Kukësi. This compilation should include issues that concern the Albanian people, youth and intelligentsia. The aim is to raise awareness among the masses in Kosova to fight against Titoite degeneration of the youth and revenge, a wild custom from the past that Titoites encourage to keep alive in order to divide the Albanian people.

October 14, 1971

OUR AID TO KOSOVA — A POLITICAL LINE OF GREAT NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

Comrade Ramiz reported to me about the satisfying conclusions reached in the discussions between our comrades and the representatives of the University of Prishtina. The assistance from our side to the University of Kosova is good, but in other directions, as I have told Ramiz before, this assistance is not progressing as it should. We do not adequately encourage and organize the development of literature, arts, music and Kosovar theatre. We rarely, if ever, talk about them in our radio and newspapers, and we do not display or participate in their works on our stages. We do not prepare propagandistic and suitable materials for them, and when we prepare for ourselves, it does not even occur to us to think about Kosova.

It must be clearly understood that the assistance we should provide to Kosova is not a “random thing” but a political line of great national importance. It should be given as fully as possible, within legal channels and existing relationships. We should take advantage of these situations because beyond our borders, there are brothers of the same blood who need the assistance of the People’s Republic of Albania.

December 18, 1971

TURMOIL IN CROATIA AND KOSOVA

In Croatia, as a consequence of Titoite betrayal against Marxism-Leninism and socialism in Yugoslavia, and as a result of the imposition of capitalism in this Federation in its most anarchistic and chaotic forms, a new generation of Ustašes, in recent weeks, has been staging student strikes which have escalated into political strikes, transforming into demonstrations and clashes with the police armed with batons, tear gas and other weapons wielded by Tito's clique. Mass arrests have begun.

Tito has long been openly threatening, but without a specific target. Finally, he demanded that the so-called disobedient ones resign from leadership positions on their own. Finally, leaders like Tripalo, Končar, and a dozen others resigned and "self-accused" for being blind, allowing Croatian nationalists to organize, and endangering Tito's famous party and the equally famous self-administration.

This did not resolve anything; it only exacerbated the already bitter situation. The system established in Yugoslavia, the ideology of this system, the structure and superstructure of present-day Yugoslavia, will only generate such increasingly accentuated situations, marked by unrestrained and diverse chauvinism, whether Croatian or Serbian.

Tito, "like the wizard in the tale who released the genie," is now trying to put the devil back in the bottle. However, in vain, because he himself is the biggest devil that needs to be confined in the bottle, as he and his betrayal created a situation where the terrain continually yields traitors. In these situations and with these

measures, even if Ranković or Tripalo resign, nothing changes. This is akin to the saying: "A goat bleated in Velabisht, and Berat was left without a leader." Tripalo resigned, and Croatian chauvinism was left headless and wingless!

Chauvinism is thriving everywhere in Yugoslavia and contradictions are deepening between Serbs and Croats. Tito is trying to play the role of a centrist, a mediator, the moderator of a somewhat stabilized new bourgeoisie between two extremist currents that openly confront each other and operate illegally to seize power after his death. This ruling bourgeoisie, with Tito at the head, attempting opportunistic balancing politics, relies, as it should, on the army and the current leadership. Now it is not too late, hiding under Marxist slogans, under the forms of wartime labour, to rally veterans for parades, to politically and physically liquidate these threatening groups. Will it achieve its goal? It is challenging. Tito's bourgeoisie is saturated with both the chauvinism of the Great-Serbs and Great-Croat Ustaše. American imperialism and Soviet revisionism are pervasive everywhere today and will be tomorrow too; they manipulate the threads of "friendship" and threats, just like Tito, the Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins and even Macedonians.

Only the Albanian people of Kosova do not receive credit, and I believe that the people of Kosova are not afraid. They have been and are becoming increasingly aware of the dangers that await them.

The Titoites labelled the Croatian turmoil as "Ustaše-fascist." This label is further stigmatized by Ranković's "Informbureauists" and others. When the Croats were hit, the Soviet delegation led by agents like Baibakov roamed through Serbia and Montenegro to provide credit, etc., to activate pro-Serbian tendencies. In this turbulent situation, from the federal Skupština and "Olympus," Tito speaks of his famous for-

eign policy, of his dealings with Brezhnev, Nixon, the Persian Shah and others. He will give the impression that “nothing is wrong in Yugoslavia, everything is going smoothly, and there are just a few students in Zagreb causing disturbances.” No one believes Tito’s lies; everyone recognizes this great professional deceiver.

In this situation, the Great-Serbs are rubbing their hands. Those in power who supposedly support Tito’s line rejoice, strengthen their positions and highlight the “dangerous” Croatian chauvinist trend to conceal the danger of their own Serbian trend. Other Great-Serbs, less savvy and more “impulsive and dynamic,” try to “take revenge” against the Albanians in Kosova. Great-Serb students at the University of Prishtina, encouraged and united with Serbian educators, engaged in a race with Croatian students to re-establish the right of “parity” and not “majority” in university elections and extend this across all of Kosova. This meant that the Great-Serbs wanted to re-establish domination as in the time of Dušan Mugoša, who, right now, in the Great-Serb magazine “NIN,” has begun to write his “memoirs” against us.

The Croatian issue is, of course, not just a Croatian issue; it has the characteristics of Croatian chauvinism. But, without talking about Serbia, where the most dangerous viper of this bitter pan-Slavic and anti-Albanian chauvinism resides, in Macedonia, though they haven’t touched anything yet due to the weakness of Macedonian chauvinism compared to the first two, accusations have started against Crvenkovski, who is said to be “linked to the Croatian Ustaše.” The accusations are made by Kolishevski’s group, undoubtedly pro-Serb, and now left in the shadows like everyone else: Tempo, Mugoša, Ranković, who write memoirs.

So far, attacks are being made against the Albanians in Kosova, and for the slightest thing, they are accused of “Albanian chauvinism.” These attacks, in re-

ality, have been more restrained in the last two years due to Tito's opportunistic policies. However, it is not guaranteed that such a situation will continue. For it to continue, the Albanians of Kosova must continue to strengthen their positions courageously and unreservedly within the rights given by the constitution. They must strengthen unity among themselves and impress upon the Albanian leaders of Kosova the necessary need for this unity imposed by the masses.

The Albanian leaders of Kosova are currently resisting Serbian pressure better, but whenever they are swayed by Tito's smile and humour, to whom the help of the Albanians is needed today, tomorrow he sacrifices them on the altar of the Serbs. The Albanian leaders of Kosova must understand one thing well — their strength lies only in the people and not in "personal fame." The people fear Tito, not the person with titles and badges. The Albanian leaders of Kosova must be careful not to fall into Serbian provocations but to defend their rights, and these must be defended with the masses. They should not allow the enemies to accuse the masses of "chauvinism" when they are in the right path, and they should not portray themselves as "prudent and wise" when they withdraw out of fear and, in my opinion, drag the people into mud, to be accused, and for measures to be taken against them. Such a leader is not of the people but of the Titoite regime. Today he is in favour, tomorrow thrown into the mud by the Serbs as a worthless pawn.

The intelligentsia and the youth in Kosova play and will play a significant role in keeping Albanian patriotism alive. Therefore, current efforts should be focussed here so that this vital force does not degenerate, and instead becomes an ally and helper of a Kosovar working class that is rising and evolving in the struggle against Titoism and Great-Serb chauvinism.

December 23, 1971

THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONIST CONFUSION HAS ERUPTED OPENLY

Tito can no longer hide the catastrophe he led Yugoslavia into with his betrayal. In Croatia, his square-mouthed exploded. The Ustaše, the fascists, were in power. These were yesterday's friends and comrades of Tito, and he knew it, allowing them there. Today, they crossed the "border," heading toward "separation." Tito asked them to resign from their key positions, and they did, but, of course, they did not abandon their ideas and goals. Tito sees that his self-administering capitalist power is threatened from all four sides by capitalist forces, Ustaše, Great-Serbs, etc. What does Tito say in the consecutive speeches he is giving? Not more or less than these things: the Party or the League has degenerated, the unions have degenerated, the socialist front has been replaced by chauvinistic organizations, employees have enriched themselves immeasurably, the press full of pornography is degenerating the masses, the class enemy has risen everywhere, chauvinism has risen in every republic. Everything is going wrong, except in the army, he says, "things are good," so it's time to take "revolutionary measures." This means, "let's impose fascist terror, let the army come to power and physically eliminate the opponents." "We were," Tito said, "on the verge of civil war. I didn't allow that, and now we will take measures." He will turn the party of betrayal back into a new UDB with old features.

The corrupt Yugoslav regime is trying to strengthen fascist terror through repressive measures. Every prediction of our Party was confirmed point by point, and Tito is now admitting them with his own mouth. By

“hitting the Croats,” Tito seeks to gain shaken Serbian influence and with a tendency toward pro-Russian sentiments. Western Tito tries to play the “balance” policy, thinking of “neutralizing or removing the threat of revisionist Great-Russia” which aims at Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and the entire Federation without Tito. Tito and his pro-American faction are in great difficulty. Out of fear, he might even strike the Albanians in Kosova, accusing them of being “Albanian chauvinists, irredentists, etc.,” to please Serbia.

Therefore, the situation is quite delicate, honourable and must be closely and carefully monitored with great vigilance.

February 1, 1972

WHY THIS INTEREST OF THE TITOITES IN KOSOVA

The Titoites, in the official documents of their party issued regarding recent events, as well as in the document they released after the federal conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held in January of this year, state, especially about Kosova, that it is “economically backward,” etc., and that it must “be helped to reach the level of other parts of Yugoslavia.”

Why this particular and emphasized interest and concern for Kosova in these moments of crisis and instability in Yugoslavia? Why not equally insist on Montenegro, which is also very underdeveloped?

I think the Titoites are not driven by altruistic feelings, humanitarian feelings or the principle of raising the well-being of the Albanian people in Kosova in particular because their hearts are moved. To speak more openly, they fear the Albanians. It is these Titoites who behaved so ferociously toward all Albanians living in their national lands in Yugoslavia, who, after liberation, killed them, imprisoned them, tortured them, disarmed them, dishonoured them, almost denied them their nationality, did not open Albanian schools for them, etc. The Albanians of Yugoslavia were the most miserable and economically devastated. The Republic of Serbia treated them like Serb-Croatian Tsars. There were very few changes. Hundreds of thousands of Albanians were forced to emigrate to Turkey. Against the People's Republic of Albania, as is known, the Titoites held a consistently hostile attitude, so much so that it surpassed old Serbia of the Karadjordjevićs. So, among the Titoites, barbarity dominated everywhere against the Albanian people as a nation, as a state and

as a minority, in slavery as the Albanian people and in the annihilation as the independent state of Albania.

The Titoites did not achieve their goals, but facts belie the facts. The fight for our existence was waged by the People's Republic of Albania, and the Albanians of Yugoslavia fought for their existence. Thus, the Yugoslavs learned a good lesson that they cannot achieve their goals against the Albanians. The anti-Albanian war and their barbaric acts against the Albanians left impressions, both on us and on our Albanian brothers living in their lands in Yugoslavia.

The enemy lowers the flag when he loses the war. The Titoites were defeated by our heroic resistance as a state and people, by the ideology and policy we follow with determination and success. Great difficulties arose in Yugoslavia due to Tito's betrayal; the country went into capitalism, with its economic, political and ideological degeneration. The League of Communists degenerated into UDB terror agents, beginning and completely the split. The terrorist group of Ranković was excluded in Brioni, and all the faults and mistakes were thrown at him. Let us not dwell on that, but after Bironi and later, a seemingly more realistic policy towards the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, etc. began. A somewhat different attitude began, especially in Kosova. And this situation will develop in favour of the Albanians, as the Albanian leadership of Kosova sees more realistically the decay of the Titoite regime and knows how to exploit the circumstances and conjunctures which arise there.

It is a fact that Serbian reaction, under the guise of Titoite policy, tried to prevent Kosova from obtaining their rights granted by the constitution, as in the case of the flag. But the demonstrations of Albanian students frightened the regime. In a Yugoslavia threatened by the Serb-Croat division, the Albanians are a considerable, compact force, challenging to have against you, let

alone engage in open warfare with. History has written of events and battles in the past. Today, the enemies of the Albanian people cannot reckon with the past. They do not face a divided, stateless, unarmed and small-numbered people but three million and some. The foolish Titoites are not unaware of all this. They calculated all this; that is why they are “interested” in the “economic-cultural development of Kosova” in this way. But both the people of Kosova and their leaders must calculate these achieved victories and advantages and know how to benefit from them.

The Kosovar people — and when we say Kosovar, we mean all our brothers, the Albanians, who live in their territories in Yugoslavia — are remarkable, like our entire nation. From here, we have the duty to fight and make sacrifices for them, to pursue a wise and determined policy that, while defending the People’s Republic of Albania, also fights for all the rights of the people of Kosova. They know that their life is linked to Albania. When this will be realized is another matter; it requires thought, wise politics, courage, determination and maturity in the situations that arise and their exploitation. The people of Kosova and its healthy leaders will play a particularly significant role.

If the Albanian leaders of Kosova are closely connected with the masses of the people, if their hearts and pulses beat the same as the people’s, if they study situations and solve problems in the Marxist-Leninist way, regardless of the Titoite regime prevailing there, despite formally being part of a revisionist party like the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, matters for the people of Kosova can consolidate favourably. This may seem like a contradictory situation, but it is dialectical. One must adapt to situations to fight for the creation of better conditions, based on the rights gained to achieve new ones, and make every effort to gain as much as possible from the legal situations that arise to strengthen

the positions gained.

One must know when to be “flexible” without compromising principles. Everything gained should not be lost to achieve something important. One must act with determination for the great cause of the people, and at this time, feelings for the people must be passionate.

After Brioni, the Titoites were forced to give in to the Albanians. Now, after the events in Croatia, they are forced to do so again. Have the Albanian leaders of Kosova drawn lessons and conclusions from these events? Have they drawn lessons from the overall situation in Yugoslavia? Where did Titoism lead it? What is Titoism in reality, and how correct and true were the lines, the path, and the positions of the People’s Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania?

I think that now they still do not see these things clearly and correctly like we do, but their eyes are more open; they see some things better, they have learned to judge and make more realistic comparisons through suffering. I think that the Albanian leaders of Kosova, speaking of the honest ones, despite any mistakes they may have made, have more confidence in the PR of Albania, in the PLA, not only for national reasons, which are important, but also as political figures.

I consider this issue very positive among them. They look at Albania with great confidence regarding issues of education, language and social problems such as women’s emancipation, the fight against bad customs and blood feuds. The people of Kosova exert great pressure in this direction, and they positively adhere to it. The Great-Serbs do not like these, but the Albanians do; they overcome difficulties and demonstrate skill in using legality. They should not follow the path of the Croats because they were hit, the enemy would cause trouble, but in the constitutional path, the Titoites can hardly catch them.

However, it is essential, especially, to take full

power into the trusted hands of the Albanian people in the region and have honest people in the party. In both these places, the key must be seen from the other view. Two paths are presented: either work illegally and create an illegal power and party, or accept the current status quo, enter and, taking advantage of their demagoguery, take the castle from within and then carry out purges.

Both options require experienced people who know the situations well and know how to act and manoeuvre skilfully. They must rely on the people, not fall into chauvinistic positions, rely on the orientations of the PLA, and study its materials carefully. Are there such leaders? There may be, we do not know, despite any mistakes they may have made. And if not now, the struggle will create them. The Kosovars are very intelligent, brave and patriotic; they are and will become true Marxist-Leninists. This is my complete and unshakable belief.

The Kosova leadership, supported and connected with the people, must make every effort to develop national education and culture on a mass scale, especially strengthen the teaching of the Albanian language and the history of the Albanian people. Especially for them, without separating it from the wars and efforts of the Albanian people of the PR of Albania for freedom and independence, they must develop and teach the history of their wars and uprisings against the Turks and Serbo-Montenegrins. For the latter, of course, they must attack the oppressive, barbaric, anti-Albanian ideas of the Great-Serbs, the kings of Belgrade and Cetinje, within a historical framework and without falling into chauvinism. This is a delicate task, but it is necessary to address it. The forms must be found based on the circumstances and situations that arise. The masses of the people of Kosova must be kept in line for the development of our country, they must love it and we must do

our best to help them, of course, without compromising the policy of our state, as that would be harmful to both us and them.

In all power structures, they must include trusted, strong, honest, patriotic and intelligent individuals who know how to protect the Albanian people from every danger, know how to exploit every situation in their favour, cleanse all evils of every kind, and use even the smallest demagoguery of the Titoites to their advantage. For this to happen, there must be strong Albanian leadership-people unity, without being chauvinistic towards the Yugoslav peoples, without being anti-Serb or anti-Montenegrin. There must be solid unity in the legal conditions of the hostile Titoite reality.

February 16, 1972

WHAT AND HOW TO DISCUSS WITH FADIL HOXHA

Instructions

Our ambassador in Belgrade informs us that Fadil Hoxha has invited him for lunch, emphasizing that “lunch will be held outside” and, expressing his opinion that he should accept it, asks us whether he should attend or not. We responded that he should attend.

I discussed with comrades from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the ambassador should accept the meeting “cordially” and have with him a “free” and “friendly” conversation, regardless of Fadil’s intentions. However, he appears to be “approachable” to us. We must also show the same. At the same time, there should be no doubt that he comes to this meeting with the knowledge of Tito and the Yugoslav leadership. They recommended to him to invite our ambassador for lunch and, to give the meeting a “special atmosphere of trust” (the Yugoslav leadership also knows this), an Albanian “intimacy,” away from any “eavesdropping suspicion” by the Yugoslav authorities. Fadil emphasized that lunch will be eaten outside. With this, they, like Fadil, like the Yugoslav leadership, want to show us that “things have changed in Yugoslavia and that Fadil Hoxha, who also became a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has full confidence.” Therefore, “Yugoslav policy with Kosova is on the right track”; thus, “we should also have friendly relations with the People’s Republic of Albania.” This is what the Yugoslavs want to convey to us through this gesture with Fadil Hoxha.

Which issues Fadil will address at lunch with our

ambassador we do not know, but nonetheless, we can make assumptions, and the Ministry must orient the ambassador for possible positions.

If Fadil raises the issue of the development of economic and cultural relations with Yugoslavia, he should be told that, despite diametrically opposing ideological views, we agree to further develop them. We have increased trade with Yugoslavia, and we can explore other possibilities. Regarding the cultural agreement, it is not being signed due to the fault of the Yugoslavs. The reason they give, that the name of Kosova should never be mentioned in that agreement, where almost three-fourths of the activities are carried out between the PR of Albania and the region of Kosova, known by the status of the Federation, is not justified. From our side, there is no hidden agenda, while from the Yugoslav side, we suspect that they insist on the wrong path. Neither the PR of Albania nor the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia can deny the existence of Kosova. Kosova itself has acquired this right with its fundamental status, and these relations with the PR of Albania are and will be within the framework of the Federation. It makes no sense, it is a wrong idea that the name of Kosova should be avoided and only implied in such an agreement. We stand firm in our rightful view, and Fadil Hoxha, as a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY, should help ensure that what we are currently developing with Kosova is reflected in this pending official document. We believe that the document should represent reality, and reality fully corresponds to our thesis.

Fadil should also be told that the issue of the Fierza hydro-electric power plant raised by the Yugoslavs is baseless. We do not deviate from our just position, based on previously signed agreements with the Yugoslavs. Obstacles here should not distract us; we accept nothing of what they say, and Fierza continues to be

built and will continue to be built. The Yugoslavs should take measures in time in Kosova before the moment of flooding from the reservoir that will be formed.

If Fadil opens current issues being developed in Yugoslavia, the ambassador should listen carefully to this conversation, and his attention should focus not only on the facts he will list, as we know them and he may tell us a little, but on the purposes of why he tells us these things and, to the extent he tells us, what goals the Yugoslavs seek to achieve, further informing us what Fadil's personal conviction is for the measures taken and being taken, his belief in the results and in the future perspective of Yugoslavia after Tito's death, and especially Kosova within the framework of the Federation. The ambassador should not pose these questions to Fadil, but from the conversation he will have, he must extract Fadil's thoughts. His mastery will lie in the interpretations of what Fadil says. These things interest us, and not what they eat and drink.

From Fadil's conversation, the ambassador should observe whether what he tells us takes the form and, therefore, the purpose to present us with a kind of self-criticism that now "a turn" in the party is happening, maintaining self-administration because now "with this turn," there must be a "broader understanding" with the Albanians, and these will be "based on what is happening now in Yugoslavia." "Albania should help, as it has helped us, the Kosovars, in our work," etc.

So all these things and others depend on the expansion, elaboration and tone of Fadil's conversation. Depending on the judgement in place and immediacy of these problems, the conversation, manner and form that the ambassador should also depend. In all cases, he should not forget that he is a diplomat, but a communist one at that — composed, polite and must consider that Fadil Hoxha is an Albanian, but also a Titoite, a Kos-

ovar with national feelings, but also a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY, keeping in mind that, regardless of the negotiations being conducted outside, they may also be recorded.

According to the conversation, the ambassador should tell Fadil that the PR of Albania believes that the Federation of Yugoslavia must exist for the interests of its peoples. It should fight against the two imperialists, the Americans and the Soviets, as well as NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which pose a threat to its existence from the outside. Internal enemies, among others, include the Great-Serbs, Serbian chauvinism and Croatian chauvinism.

Also, as the conversation develops, our ambassador can tell Fadil Hoxha — not in a news-like tone — that all these events that have happened and are happening in Yugoslavia, the PR of Albania has the historical merit of predicting in advance. With its positions, it has defended its country, and, of course, it has simultaneously defended the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia.

We were accused of waging an “unjust war,” of being “bloodthirsty and chauvinist,” while those who accused us and put the party of socialism into its casket were hailed as “great Marxists,” etc. Facts are crucial; history and the development of events cannot be concealed for a long time with demagogy. Before the events, we are convinced that honest people, those who love their homeland and their people and who fight for a just cause, will reread our Party’s writings with cold blood and without passion for any time and any problem, and they will draw some conclusions. It is possible that they may not agree on all issues, but even with what they agree with, it is a gain for healthy reason. We have not told people to do as we have done; others, in turn, have told us to do as they thought. Initially, we believed them, then, when we recognized the falsehood of their ideas and their hostility, we despised and fought against

them.

The ambassador can also say: we are aware of what has happened and what is happening in Yugoslavia. You say they are being corrected. So be it, but the struggle must be great, harsh and long. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and hope that the peoples of Yugoslavia will emerge from these difficult situations. Judged by us, first from our experience and objectively, we think that a great, harsh and determined struggle based on true Marxist-Leninist principles will be needed. You know our views in this regard, — he must say — and there is no need to dwell on it.

I, — the ambassador must continue to say, — am not familiar with the situation of the Yugoslav party in detail, but when I read in the newspapers, for example, that in Montenegro the door has been opened for workers to leave the League and closed to enter, we perceive it as it stands. It is said that this situation needs to be corrected. Very well. Let us take Kosova, where I have never been personally — I know the manly character of loyalty, justice, generosity and courage of the Albanians, and why they are our brothers, that is, because we are of the same blood. Then, let the party there be cleansed thoroughly of wrongdoers of any nature and nationality. Let the most purified, the simplest and bravest Albanian workers remain in the party in Kosova.

In this spirit, with care, diplomatically and friendly, the ambassador can address any other issue that may arise from Fadil Hoxha's conversation.

February 19, 1972

**AGAIN FOR THE MEETING OF
OUR AMBASSADOR WITH FADIL
HOXHA**

I discussed again with the Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding the meeting that our ambassador will have in Belgrade with Fadil Hoxha. He had invited him for lunch, then requested permission to also bring another member of the "Bureau of the League" to lunch. This took on the character of a party discussion, so we did not accept it, and it remained that only Fadil would be present at lunch.

July 4, 1972

THE PEOPLE OF KOSOVA WILL NEVER BE FRIENDS WITH THE TITOITES

The leadership of Kosova, following the line of “Borba” and Tanjug, did not fail to respond, through the newspaper “Rilindja,” to the article in “Zëri i popullit” that exposed Tito’s trip to Moscow. From our perspective, this was an ideological unmasking, while from a state perspective, we did not push Yugoslavia, but rather drew attention to the danger posed by the Soviet Union towards Yugoslavia, in the direction of undermining its independence and sovereignty.

We understand the delicate positions of the “Rilindja” newspaper, to some extent even of the overall Albanian leadership in Kosova. But regarding this leadership, the reality is not that they can do otherwise. The Albanian leaders of Kosova are Titoites, they have Titoite convictions, and they defend what they say is “everything we have gained, we have gained thanks to Tito.” Naturally, thanks to Tito, the people of Kosova were killed, suppressed, persecuted, deported to Turkey and are still being deported from their country to this day. The Kosovar Albanian leadership does not understand or does not want to understand that the current situation in Kosova is not due to the “desires and good intentions” of Tito, but to the catastrophic circumstances he created, the great crisis from which Yugoslavia suffers. In these difficult circumstances for them, Tito the capitalist prefers to have the Albanians of Kosova as “friends” rather than enemies. But Tito will never have the people of Kosova as friends. He may have a few Albanian individuals in Kosova who are his loyal servants and servile at the same time. Through them, Tito in-

tends to deceive the people of Kosova.

For this reason, and expressing the servile viewpoint of the Kosova leadership, when they tell us in "Rilindja" that "when Tito is attacked, the Albanians of Kosova are attacked." They thus take away the evil against the Albanians of Kosova and us. Neither we nor the people of Kosova want to hear from the deluded Titoite Albanians. They think they will frighten us and impose their revisionist and anti-Albanian views on us. Even in Kosova, surely, the article in "Rilindja" has had the opposite effect of what the Kosova leadership expected.

These Titoite leaders in Kosova believe that, even after Tito's disappearance, their situation, both in Kosova and of its people, will continue to be "favourable." They think that this leadership, inspired by Tito, will continue to dominate and lead Yugoslavia externally and in contradiction to the various capitalist clan rivalries, beyond the nationalistic rivalries already so irritated because they are the offspring of the Titoite capitalist regime. After Tito, these nationalistic rivalries will become the dominant policy in post-Tito Yugoslavia. Serbian nationalism is the most powerful, and when we say Serbian nationalism, we mean Great-Serbs. It is very easy to understand what they want to say about Kosova and the Kosovars, whether they are named Ranković or Nikezić. The Serbs will dominate, but even the Croatian Ustašes will not lay down their arms. Tito hit them, he also hit Ranković, but both parties are alive, they organize, even fight with weapons. Yesterday Tanjug announced that an armed Ustaše band in the mountains of Herzegovina, in an attempt, "was destroyed" by the security forces and the army. That means the army entered into action! While for the Rankovićites, Tanjug again says that the Minister of Internal Affairs of Yugoslavia denounced their anti-state activity.

These situations, the Albanian leaders of Kosova do

not understand, or do not want to understand. I think they more do not want to understand, because now they could, in one way or another, tell us, "We understand these situations very well, very correctly, but we are forced to make politics and take advantage of this conjuncture created to consolidate the positions of the Albanians of Kosova in our country." They are not doing such a thing, and it is difficult for them to do so. We, on our part, will follow our just line towards Yugoslavia, towards Kosova, towards the renegade Tito. We will help Kosova with all our forces and within the possibilities allowed by the political circumstances.

September 15, 1972

ONE BLOOD, ONE NATION, ONE GENEALOGY, ONE LANGUAGE AND ONE FLAG

Today, we attended the First Congress of Illyrian Studies, where scientists from our country and from foreign countries in Europe are participating. The basic studies are well-prepared and are rich in numerous documents, especially archaeological ones discovered in our country, mainly within these last 25 years. During the break of the first session, I went and greeted the foreign and local guests. I congratulated Aleks Buda, who gave the keynote address at this congress and is a highly authoritative historian. The foreigners expressed joy, satisfaction and congratulated us. Among them were a considerable number of Albanian scientists from Kosova. I stopped particularly at them, thanked them for coming and told them that even more should come in the future for such issues since we have commonalities; we must decide once and for all that we are of one blood, one people, one nation, with one genealogy, one language and one flag. No law of men or chancelleries is powerful enough to oppose these fundamental and primordial issues. (With this, I wanted to indirectly slap the Foreign Ministry of Yugoslavia, which had called our embassy representative in Belgrade and had officially protested because “Zëri i popullit” had written that “scientists from Kosova will come to this Illyrian Studies Congress,” while according to them, it should have said: “...from Kosova-Yugoslavia.”) The Titoites are Titoites, as we have characterized them, but we must avoid their provocations because they will do their best to hinder these contacts with the Albanians of Kosova.

I took this opportunity to wish success in the development of education and culture to all the Kosovars present and assured them of our support.

October 13, 1972

TITO'S HARSH STATEMENTS ABOUT THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

These days, Tito gave an "enlightening" interview to a Yugoslav journalist.* Indeed, the interview was, so to speak, a torrent. Everything that came out of Tito's mouth speaks of the bankruptcy of "socialism" in Yugoslavia. He reiterated that the League of Communists has degenerated into a den of "opportunists, careerists, property owners and scoundrels"...

What are the Kosovars and Kosova doing in this situation? We don't know anything concrete and avoid saying anything that might be misunderstood by the Yugoslavs, spoiling the work of the Albanians in Kosova. Our policy toward Kosova, cultural and trade relations with it, is among the most open, friendly and just. On this path, we will assist the Kosovars with all our might. They themselves must judge the real situations unfolding in Yugoslavia; they themselves must think and act for both the current situations and the future of Kosova and its residents. As for what fate awaits Yugoslavia after Tito's death, we have our opinion. The current situation is very bad and turbulent, but it will be even worse and more turbulent after Tito's death because it must be acknowledged as it is, that he manages to maintain a kind of balance over the rotten parts. For the Kosovars, the domination of the Great-Serbs will be terrible, just like that of the Ustašes. Such a situation, of course, poses great risks for our country as

* Dara Jankević — editor of the "Vjesnik" newspaper in Zagreb. The title of the interview: "About the situation in Yugoslavia and in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia." — I.H.

well. The current Yugoslav situation is a concern for us, but it can get even worse. Therefore, we are vigilant and will be even more vigilant to protect our socialist Homeland. The Albanian people of Kosova must also consider this issue because it is simultaneously in their vital interest.

October 24, 1972

WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN IN YUGOSLAVIA AFTER TITO'S DEATH?

In my opinion, after Tito's death, chaos and anarchy will peak in Yugoslavia; capitalist Yugoslavia, the result of Tito's betrayal, will sink into significant and numerous contradictions, becoming the prey of internal nationalist rivalries and the field of intrigues of major imperialist powers — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism — which have taken economic and political positions in this country and seek to consolidate these reciprocal positions at the expense of the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia. But for influential positions and perhaps more, up to the partitioning of current Yugoslavia, other capitalist-revisionist states that are part of NATO and the Warsaw Pact or outside them are also interested and actively involved.

But within Yugoslavia, the Great-Serb and Ustaše-Croat clans will clash fiercely with each other. Around them, the interests of the Macedonians, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Bosnians, etc. will be in motion. Foreign powers will rely on these clans to establish their hegemony or influence, if not more. All are preparing for this eventuality, for these blows. The Yugoslav army will play a role in establishing the dominance of one party over the other. If Serb hegemony is established, regardless of demagogic camouflage, Yugoslavia will turn even worse than it is today, into a country with an openly fascist dictatorship, which will brutally suppress the diverse peoples it comprises, eliminate even the slightest forms of current "democracy and self-determination," and impose black terror. In this case, the Great-Serb clan will fight to maintain the federative form to in-

clude other peoples in the elections. This is in the interest of this clan and the foreign power supporting it, but it is not in the interest of the other clan, the Croat-Slovenian, and the other imperialist power supporting the latter. The revisionist-capitalist Titoite regime created these situations and conflicts. Regarding the notion of the Federation, it is not old; it dates back to after 1919, and Great-Serb King Aleksandar Karadjordjević. Wild conflicts with Radek, Pašić, Pavelić and the Ustašes are known. The oppressions against the Kosovars and other peoples are known, but the Federation was established and reinstated after World War II. Will it continue in the future? This is the problem. Future events will provide the precise answer to this important question.

What might happen? There are many possibilities.

Will the Federation continue? The Serb clan, the strongest, with a tradition of dominance and supported by the Russians and Bulgarians (who are currently silent on the Macedonian issue because they are tangled with the Soviets), is for the Federation. If they gain power, they will maintain this form. The Croats and Slovenes are against the Federation, not only as it is today but even more against it as it might be tomorrow under Serb hegemony. They, by supporting self-administration, have expressed a desire for a kind of "confederation," and extremists for a separate state. In this case, there will be no Federation or there might be a "Federation" without the Croats and Slovenes. The American imperialists are for the Federation but under the hegemony of the Croat-Slovene clan. However, the opposite might also happen: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina united; Macedonia emerges separately, with the prospect of joining Bulgaria, which will raise the banners of claims.

Kosova remains. What will happen to it? The tendency and struggle of the Serb clan is and will be to absorb it into Serbia, to enslave it. Much depends on

what the Kosovars will do. Will those who think outside Serbia fight in this case, asserting independence in an autonomous region that has no meaning or has a formal meaning under Serbia, or will they declare the independent Republic of Kosova? Thus, the people of Kosova self-determine and resist to the end.

The situation in Titoite Yugoslavia will create many complicated problems in the future. Therefore, our vigilance must be high, and continuous military-economic-political preparation is necessary. In this turmoil, our enemies surrounding us may attempt to threaten our borders, provoke us, and even bring NATO and Warsaw Pact forces to our northern and eastern land borders. Therefore, we will prepare for the worst-case scenario because comprehensive preparation ensures the security of our people, the freedom and the independence of our socialist Homeland.

November 4, 1972

YUGOSLAVIA IS FOREVER TAINTED

Will Tito strike in Macedonia and Kosova? I don't believe so because these two regions are sensitive to his overall political strategy. In Macedonia, there are concerns about Bulgarian claims, and any action there would only fuel the ambitions of the Bulgarian chauvinists. Meanwhile, the Albanians pose a much more complex and dangerous problem for him to provoke; the Albanians have been continuously oppressed, and if, after this supposed peace, aggression follows, the resentment will be significant. The Albanian people are an honourable one; they don't steal, they don't plunder, so there is no reason to accuse them of that crime. The leaders in Kosova follow Tito, so they are under his "umbrella" in that sense. If any of them have engaged in any illegal activities, Tito will turn a blind eye because, in the light of others, they are "novices."

Among the measures trumpeted by Tito, some will remain threats, blackmail; some may impede certain actions, but nothing will be resolved. Yugoslavia is forever tainted.

November 20, 1972

THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE IS BLOOMING AND WILL CONTINUE TO BLOOM

Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language

I participated in the Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language. The keynote speech was delivered by Professor Androkli Kostallari. Speeches were given by Professor Eqrem Çabej, Idriz Ajeti (from Kosova), Mahir Domi, Dhimitër Shuteriqi, and others. The Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language is an event of historical significance for the standardization of our literary language. Very important generalizations were made that will embellish and further advance our language, this great, inexhaustible treasure of our people that is always growing and developing.

Androkli Kostallari's keynote speech was a very serious and competent study. The speech by Çabej was also notable, a distinguished scholar of our language. Professor Idriz Ajeti from Kosova, a prominent advocate for the defence, spread and finally the establishment of the literary Albanian language in Kosova, spoke very well. His speech was well-documented.

The Albanian language is blossoming and it will continue to bloom.

I told Androkli Kostallari that the basic, original document of the Congress, which will be signed by its members, should be made in several copies so that we have it here, and there should be copies for Prishtina, Shkup and Montenegro as well.

November 21, 1972

**KOSOVAR SCHOLARS ARE
ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT
THE PROCEEDINGS OF
THE CONGRESS ON THE
STANDARDIZATION OF THE
ALBANIAN LANGUAGE**

Ramiz informed me about the very friendly discussions he had today with Kosovar scholars during the breaks between sessions at the Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language. They were enthusiastic about the proceedings taking place at the Congress. One of them had told our friend that Fadil Hoxha had revealed that Nikezić had attacked the current relations between Kosova and Albania with the aim of undermining them and simultaneously targeting Fadil. He told Fadil that he failed, but nonetheless, we must be cautious.

November 22, 1972

THE SERBS DO NOT WANT KOSOVARS TO ATTEND OUR NOVEMBER CELEBRATIONS

We asked the Albanian scholars who have come from Yugoslavia and are participating in the proceedings of the Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language if they could attend the November celebrations to be held in Vlora. They replied that their hearts yearned for such a thing, but “you understand, the situation is such that we cannot come. They can take measures against us.” We understand our comrades.

November 23, 1972

AN ALBANIAN WITH TRADITIONAL COURAGE

The Yugoslavs prevented Prof. Mark Krasniqi from participating in the Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language. He then resigned as the dean of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Prishtina and sent a telegram of greetings to the Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language, in which he said, among other things, "I wish success to the Congress on the Standardization of the Albanian Language in its work of historical importance for national culture. The organizers and participants of the Congress are warmly greeted," which means: "I am with you in spirit, there..." An Albanian with traditional courage!

November 28, 1972

CONVERSATION WITH ISA BOLETINI'S DAUGHTER

I attended the official dinner held at the "Adriatic" hotel.* Locals and foreigners were invited. There was great joy and enthusiasm in the halls.

In one of the rooms, I met and talked with Ajete Boletini, Isa's daughter, and her granddaughter. I spoke about the efforts we have made to bring Isa Boletini's remains from Montenegro, where he was killed, to Albania. The Montenegrins, unwilling to give them to us, say they don't know where he is buried. But, I told the hero's daughter, we will not surrender until we find them; we will search and stand firm to bring them to Albania.

* The dinner was organized on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and November 29. — I.H.

July 17, 1973

THE YUGOSLAV STATEMENTS ARE NOTHING BUT SCHEMES AIMED AT DECEPTION

Fadil Hoxha, a trusted and loyal associate of Tito from Kosova, remembered to be diplomatic and converse with our ambassador in Belgrade. It is not a matter of memory here; rather, he was tasked with making contact and informing us about their instructions.

In fact, a few weeks ago, he met with our ambassador and conveyed something along these lines: "Send greetings to the comrades in Tirana from me and from Tito, and tell them that Yugoslavia sincerely wishes to further develop and improve relations with Albania.

"Currently, the relations are 'good,' but we desire to elevate them to a more advanced stage. We assure you that by making these proposals, believe us, we have no malicious intentions. The past will not be repeated, and we must forget it. We sincerely want to have contacts with you, exchange ideas on a range of issues. Let us initiate these reciprocal contacts starting from Deputy Ministers of Foreign Affairs, then ministers, and later Mehmet Shehu can come, personalities from Albania can visit us. In this way, the situation warms up, as the times demand. Consideration should also be given to the Albanians of Kosova; it is uncertain what will happen after Tito's death, or after 20-25 years, etc."

These were the broad outlines of Fadil Hoxha's proposals, and, in the end, "to catch the fish," this Titoite had put Kosova on the line.

Of course, Fadil Hoxha's conversation and the thoughts he expressed are not his own but Tito's and those of the Yugoslav leadership because Fadil, whenever he met with our ambassador, did so with caution

and in the presence of third parties, fearing compromise. However, this time, he “opens up the perspective of Kosova,” indirectly implying to us that “whether now or tomorrow, Kosova will decide for itself, and we know how it will decide. Therefore, we must prepare for this self-determination now, and there is no other way but to improve Yugoslavia-Albania relations,” meaning “to open the gates from both sides, to become close, and within 20 years, we’ll see how it goes.” This is the “last deceit” of the “ingenious” head of the traitor, renegade and international adventurer Tito.

Tito thinks we forget his diabolical intentions! He believes that this long period, since the war we opened against Yugoslav revisionism, is sufficient and it is time to soften this struggle. However, this entire period has proven the righteousness of our struggle and unmasked the face of this adventurer, who has no faith, no words, no principles, who sold Yugoslavia and is ready to sell, as he is doing, all those who fall into his clutches. But we won’t fall into his clutches now as he tries to “instill the dream of Kosova” in us.

The issue of Kosova is primarily a matter for the people of Kosova, and the People’s Republic of Albania will assist its just solution only by remaining strong and holding these correct views against Titoism. We are and will be friends with the peoples of Yugoslavia, but not on the Titoite path. On this latter path, we will have the relations we have today, and proposals to develop them somewhat further are obstructed by the Titoites, these Titoites for whom Fadil Hoxha claims “sincerely” want to develop relations with us. For some years, the cultural agreement between our two countries has not been signed because they have created obstacles; our artists who come to Macedonia, invited to their festivals and international events, face a thousand difficulties and obstacles. They control them at the border, disrupt their shows by turning off lights and microphones, etc.

But what are the Yugoslavs aiming for with these advances? I think they have two goals, an external one and an internal one.

a) External Goal: Tito's manoeuvring is part of the general chorus: "Let's break Albania, throw it into the infernal dance, drown and liquidate this voice and this nest of resistance." Even international adventurers have charged them with manoeuvring in this direction, although our letters have burned them. However, Tito thinks that "we are isolated"; he has concluded, like all other enemies of our country, that "China is leaving us politically and ideologically," that by holding anti-Soviet positions, Yugoslavia is our "only ally" against a threat from the East. Tito also knows the old opinion of Zhou Enlai, who once preached "ties with Yugoslavia" to counter a possible Soviet attack. Tito further knows our stance on NATO and our neighbours, and he has concluded that Yugoslavia is the only support for Albania "in these situations." Tito thinks, "among the Albanians and the Yugoslavs, there are significant disagreements, but these can be softened, first, by the measures we are taking internally, giving the impression that we are entering 'heroic times,' correcting mistakes, and Albanians must be sensitive. But even if they don't fill their minds much about these measures, Tito thought, 'we release the Kosova issue as a shadow from which they can be caught.'"

b) Internal Goal: to appease the Kosovars, who look to us, love Albania, are enthusiastic about our successes and take examples from us in many things. Kosovars see every day what happens to them and what happens to us, creating a thousand problems for the Titoites. They want to avoid this and have considered this variant, meaning not to do anything more than they do today. They do this out of necessity in relation to Kosova-Albania relations and, on the other hand, to tell the Kosovars that Albania is a friend of Belgrade,

so place your hopes in Albania: "Albania has allied with the Serbs."

No, we don't accept this! That's why Tito and Fadil Hoxha have failed to put us to sleep! We will continue our path towards Yugoslavia, and if we ever send a deputy minister, we will send him when it benefits us, not them.

The Titoites go even further with this manoeuvre. We have information that in Belgrade and Kosovar circles, there are talks of transferring Mahmut Bakalli from the leadership of Kosova to the ambassador post in Beijing. Whether this is true is not known, but if it happens, it has a purpose, and this purpose is against us. Tito has significant political and economic interests in China, so he has not hesitated to send a trusted Albanian to this important country, regardless of his beliefs. However, that Albanian is still an Albanian. It can be said that he will be surrounded by Serbs, etc., and there's nothing he can do about it. This is evident, and that's how it will be if Bakalli is sent as an ambassador. But then why is he being sent? He is being sent so that Tito can let the Chinese know that he "has great confidence in the Albanians" while sending ambassadors to China, that Tito seeks reconciliation with the PR of Albania, and with this, he tells China to continue influencing us in this direction. Tito wants to show Zhou Enlai that he agrees with "what he advised the Albanians," but it is the Albanians who do not listen. In this way, Tito will try to sow discord between us and China.

On the other hand, Tito thinks that since Bakalli is Albanian, he will have more credibility in China, doors and hearts will open for him, and thus Tito can multiply information, develop intrigues and espionage, and when caught red-handed, when the fish is caught in the net, the blame falls on the "Albanian" who is "unfaithful," "nationalist," "Soviet agent," "Albanian agent" and a thousand such things, to make the Chinese understand:

“This is how the Albanians are, you and we trust them, and they do such things.” But we will see if this position opened for Bakalli is true.

October 19, 1974

A STRONG KOSOVA IS A GREAT HELP TO US

The comrades informed me that one of the members of the delegation from the University of Prishtina who came here sought to meet with a personality because he has “something important to communicate from Fadil Hoxha to Comrade Enver.” In the conversation, he hinted at what he would tell us, and these correspond to what Fadil himself told our ambassador in Belgrade. This person had hinted at these things more:

As if Tito had told him that “we need to make open self-criticism regarding Koçi Xoxe and that, if something happens to Albania, the Kosovars are free to come to its aid,” etc.

I told Hysni to listen to this person Kahreman Ylli, but not to give any opinion, just to tell him that he will report to the top.

We are interested in hearing it, then raising this issue and deciding on our positions regarding these advances. Here we must be clear and determined: no capitulation to Titoism. The Yugoslav revisionists, with Tito at the head, are traitors to Marxism-Leninism, enemies of socialism and communism, and they remain sworn enemies of our Party and the People’s Republic of Albania. We must maintain our current stance on the state road, but we must not make any concessions from a politico-ideological standpoint. We declared solidarity in case of an attack against Yugoslavia and we stand by it. It is up to them to act. Surely the Titoites want everything to be hidden and think that if Koçi Xoxe is condemned, they become Marxist-Leninists. No, Koçi Xoxe was an enemy of our Party, an agent of Tito, who, as an anti-Marxist and imperialist, sought to

destroy us as a party and state. Therefore, the struggle against them continues on the politico-ideological platform, and we must in no way join hands and close our mouths faced with the pseudo-promises of the Yugoslav revisionists.

But we are interested in knowing the stance of the Kosovars, how connected they are to Albania, and when I say Kosovars, I mean "the leaders," because it is clear that the people love socialist Albania with all their hearts. But always with care and prudence with them, always within our lines and to the disadvantage of Titoism.

Fadil Hoxha, in conversations with our ambassador in Belgrade, suggests that "he has been in difficult positions during Ranković's time." He also says that "there are Serbs everywhere who are not in favour of proper relations between us, and I am talking here both as a leader and as an Albanian from Kosova."

Fadili says: "I was considered a traitor by Ranković." But by Tito? (He doesn't say, he can't say). The member of the Prishtina University delegation showed that supposedly he suggested to Fadil himself that "I will raise to the Albanians the removal of the epithets put on him as a traitor to the Albanian people," etc.

Fadili also says that "he was hit because he was against those who wanted to raise Kosova against Albania, and for this stance, they removed him from his position." He doesn't say who, but it is known that he means Ranković, Dušan, but perhaps also Tito. And finally, Fadili adds: "We and you have an interest in saving Kosova from any confusion; we have fought together, and blood cannot become water." This last phrase responds to what I told Rexhep Duraku approximately, to inform Fadil on my behalf that "we are brothers from the same mother, from the same blood, and blood does not become water."

Should we believe what Fadil Hoxha says? We

should believe him to a certain extent. He is not a Serb, but an Albanian, and he loves Albania in his own way. What is his way? That Albania has a good relationship with this Yugoslavia, which he thinks is no longer like Ranković's (and here he is wrong), so we can help Kosova strengthen its position within the Federation (this is not bad, and we consider it). Fadil claims that the Rankovićites were against Albania and fought to raise Kosova against us. But it is clear that this occurred not only during Ranković's time but also during Tito's. (Fadil does not mix Tito into this matter because he believes so or for opportunism, both can be thought of because Fadil judges it after Ranković's conviction, Tito opened some ways for the Kosovars, but in one place, he doesn't fail to tell us: "Let us improve the relationship now that Tito is alive, because after his death, it is not known what will happen." This may leave us to understand that after Tito, "we Kosovars can have no confidence in the Serbs.") Fadil tells us that "I opposed this stance, so I was hit." He also says that he had told Tito many times that "to condemn Koçi Xoxe, only with Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu should we improve relations, but Tito did not listen." Only now, after Enver's speech on October 3,* Tito has told him that "Fadil Hoxha was right," etc.

Of course, these things that Fadil Hoxha says, speak more openly because Tito and his comrades have given them the green light by instructing them to say these things because "the Albanians are happy, words are just words, and the wind takes them." Let us approach them, flatter them and put them in line, lower the prestige of socialist Albania, the PLA, and thus raise the prestige of Tito and Titoism. The world will then say: Albania and the PLA are over, they surrendered. How

* Speech delivered at the meeting with the electors of Zone No. 209, October 3, 1974, in Tirana — I.H.

Fadil Hoxha does this, with conviction, half-heartedly or ordered, we must be convinced that Tito's and the Titoites' goal is what I said.

We have the right to declare our statements, we can develop trade with Yugoslavia, talk about roads and railways, but not go further, everything with them must be done with great caution, and what we do should not be interpreted by the Titoites according to their liking — we should interpret it according to our interest. Especially, do not let the Yugoslavs in any way propagate as if we are “getting along with the Titoites.” We must always consider the issue of Kosova and the Albanian leaders, and help them. A strong Kosova, with strong Albanian feelings, patriotic culture and sincere love for socialist Albania is a great help for us, and not only is it a help but a fence against Serbian chauvinism and Titoite and Soviet revisionism.

January 21, 1975

EMIN DURAKU'S FATHER HAS PASSED AWAY

Today I learned with deep sorrow that my respected friend, the patriot Rexhep Duraku, the father of the veteran communist Emin Duraku, has passed away in Gjakova. I sent a telegram to the family.

April 1, 1975

YUGOSLAVIA WILL BECOME A COUNTRY THAT WILL SOW DANGERS AND NIGHTMARES FOR US

As the new Titoite Yugoslav bourgeoisie established capitalist rule in Yugoslavia, it also imposed the oppression of nations. It no longer recognized de facto equality among nations and eliminated the possibility of voluntary cooperation and brotherhood. The slogan “unity and brotherhood” is not only no longer heard, and there are deep reasons for not hearing it, but even when it is occasionally mentioned, it remains an anachronistic and empty slogan. Titoite policies are nothing more than semi-imperialist policies, incomplete due to the lack of “bones.” The Titoite bourgeoisie stimulated nationalism and nurtured the unity of nations, seeking to strengthen this unity on a capitalist path. The Titoite bourgeoisie, with its self-administration, broke the economic unity of the federation and, at the same time, as revealed in a recent interview with Ljubičić, Yugoslavia’s Minister of Defence, is calling for “military unity against the threat posed by the two superpowers.” Thus, Yugoslavia becomes a country that will sow dangers and nightmares for us, so we must be vigilant.

The Titoite bourgeoisie has not forgotten Great-Serb chauvinism. It has not fought against it and cannot do so, but it tries to counterbalance it with Great-Croat chauvinism. The bourgeoisie plays in the arena, both on the internal platform with Serbs and Croats, and on the external platform with the Soviet Union and the United States. It is clear that the old remnants of Karadjordjević and Maček are fully alive among the Titoites. As

long as these tendencies exist and are fuelled by the bourgeoisie, there can be no equality or unity among the peoples of Yugoslavia.

How can this equality exist when Kosova with its Albanian population is suppressed and sheds their blood, and Albanians in Yugoslavia were not given and are not given their national and democratic rights by the Titoites? How can there be unity when, due to self-administration in Montenegro, no effective economic assistance is given to Kosova and Macedonia? The neglect of Kosova's cultural aspect by Serbian officials, the expulsion of Albanians from their lands to Turkey, only show that nothing has changed in the minds of Titoite Serbian chauvinism. One of the persons who oppressed and bloodied the Kosovars was Dušan Mugoša, while one of those who defended them was Miladin Popović. The Titoite bourgeoisie made the former a "hero of the peoples of Yugoslavia," while the latter was assassinated at night, and come day he was made a hero.

We must continuously monitor the process of Yugoslavia's development closely.

September 23, 1975

HOW OUR INTEREST IN KOSOVA AND THE KOSOVARS SHOULD BE

I discussed with Hysni about the issue of Kosova and our approach to its political, economic, social development, and especially the patriotic spirit of the Albanians in Kosova. External enemies of the Albanians, from Leka Zogu and the Vatican to the Titoites, pro-Americans and pro-Soviets are organizing diabolical plans against the People's Republic of Albania in Kosova. They all use Kosova as a springboard against us, a springboard disguised under the cloak of "Albania." In this process, religion, people from the upper echelons of Kosova's Albanian intelligentsia and large landowners are used. Among craftsmen, there are vacillators. The rest of the people have a strong patriotic, anti-Titoite, anti-Great-Serb spirit, etc. Patriotic Kosovars must think for themselves about their present and future; they must decide what to do now and later, and they must find ways to organize themselves.

Our assistance cannot be conceived or spread, as some in Kosova do: "Will Albania help us with armed intervention?" These people, if they are not provocateurs, must first think about how they will defend themselves and not expect socialist Albania to "declare armed war on Yugoslavia." Socialist Albania will defend itself if attacked by any neighbouring state. We will defend our Kosovar brothers, as we have always done, if they are persecuted, but not by declaring war on Yugoslavia. Our Party's struggle against Titoism and Titoite self-administration is a great political-ideological assistance that we give to the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. The successful development of socialism in our country is another significant assist-

ance that Kosovars should propagate and fight against those Titoite Albanians who belittle and denigrate it. We assist them with literature, arts, our education and the special help we provide in this field. We favour Kosova, and we also assist it through trade with Yugoslavia and in many other directions. All these aids should be understood, consolidated and used by the vigilant and patriotic Kosovars to organize themselves internally. It depends on them not to allow people like Zogu, Xhafer Deva and the Vatican to organize against the PR of Albania and Kosova itself. Before turning to "arms," the Kosovars should unite their forces and tackle this arduous task. Armed struggle cannot be waged without a correct assessment beforehand about what can be gained. Therefore, forms and means should be used that would be a prelude, leading, when conditions are created, to higher demands.

December 7, 1975

TRIUMPHANT AND FILLED WITH GLORY IN THE BOSOM OF MOTHER EARTH

Today, the heroic and glorious partisan comrades who fell as martyrs in the struggle against the nazis for the liberation of the Albanian people of Kosova, the people of Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, etc., came to Albania and are now buried in the Cemetary of the Martyrs of the Nation in Tirana.

The last contingent of the glorious sons and daughters of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people returns after, under the command of the Supreme Commander of the National Liberation Army, they liberated all of Albania from nazi occupiers. They followed them, fighting and facing hardships in the Albanian fields of Kosova, in the ravines and gorges with snow and bitterness of Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina. They fought alongside Yugoslav partisans, just as they fought for the liberation of Tirana, Gjirokastra, Vlora and Shkodra. Nothing stopped these brave individuals, who were educated by the Party with a high internationalist spirit. They moved forward amidst enemy bullets and cannons. Hundreds and hundreds were killed for the freedom of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but they elevated higher and higher the name of the Albanian, who for centuries has shown brilliant heroism. The sons of the Communist Party of Albania proved faithful to their sacrifice of life for the ideals of the Party. Those who were part of Albanian divisions and brigades left a great mark among the peoples of Yugoslavia, who honoured them by placing flowers on their graves. The Albanian people of Kosova, Montenegro, etc. accompanied their remains with honours to the border.

They entered triumphantly, covered with glory in the bosom of the Homeland, into the heart of their people who raised them for an everlasting great cause. These bravest fought for the liberation of their people and for those of Yugoslavia.

Today they are in Tirana, the capital of their socialist Albania, for which they gave their lives. The entire population of Tirana is outside, surrounding its glorious sons with fervent love.

It seems as if I am among them, among my dear comrades, following them with great emotion as they pass triumphantly from Skanderbeg Square to the Boulevard of the Martyrs of the Nation, from where they will ascend to the grandiose tombs that the Party and the people built for their glorious martyrs. As I write these lines, from my office, I hear the roar of cannons honouring their everlasting memory throughout the centuries. They are now in the bosom of the Homeland, which they bathed in blood, and "Mother Albania," the majestic statue of the National Cemetery, watches over them with her vigilant gaze. She covers the sacred graves of her glorious sons and daughters with the wreath of laurels and the red star of the Party.

Glory throughout the centuries to the martyrs of the nation and our heroic Party!

January 26, 1976

WARM LETTER FROM KOSOVARS LIVING IN ALBANIA

Kosovar comrades, members of the agricultural cooperative of Rrashbull, have addressed to me a very warm letter on the occasion of the death of Qerim Muka. Their letter has a high political significance and speaks to the determination, love and loyalty of the Kosovars living among us toward the Party of Labour of Albania and their socialist Homeland, Albania. However, indirectly with this letter, they are addressing their Kosovar brothers living under the Titoite yoke. With this letter, which I instructed my comrades to publish in the press, we are implicitly providing a fiery response to the Titoites and their Albanian lackeys in Kosova, who have resumed the persecution, punishment and imprisonment of the Albanians of Kosova, labelling them with such epithets as “irredentist,” “informbureauist,” “Stalinists,” “partisans of the Stalinist statist state,” etc.

February 9, 1976

THE YUGOSLAVS BRING KOSOVAR STUDENTS AND TEACHERS TO TRIAL

The Yugoslavs held a trial in Prishtina for a group of Albanian students and teachers from Kosova, accused of activities “against” the regime, such as being “inforebureauists,” “Stalinists,” “irredentists,” supporters of the “Greater Albania,” etc. We have no hand in this matter at all, but surely this is a provocation involving the Yugoslav Titoites, Soviet revisionists and their agencies (Serbian, Montenegrin, etc.), the Vatican and the Albanian Ballist reactionaries abroad (Xhafer Deva and company).

Although the court statement and Radio Prishtina, in a way, suggest that “they were for the ‘Greater Albania’ that fascist Italy wanted to build,” that “they were following the path of Ranković and the Ballists,” these do not implicate us. Still, Titoite Yugoslavia is provoking us. However, we should not intervene through the press, we cannot defend anyone because, firstly, we do not know who these convicted individuals are, and secondly, we have no hand in this matter. We should not fall into the Titoite provocation. Let the people of Kosova react on their own. If the terror increases, then it is another matter.

April 30, 1976

ATTENTION TO THE ETHNIC ISSUE

I signalled to Comrade Ramiz that in the exhibition we will organize on archaeology and ethnography, special attention should be given to the issue of Albanian populations living outside the borders. We should not display maps with borders and colours because it will then raise a loud noise from the Yugoslav revisionists and Greek reactionaries, which does not serve us. We only need to signal that in this or that country, such as in Italy, North America, etc., there is an autochthonous or long-established Albanian population.

July 14, 1976

LET US WELCOME WITH WARMTH THE KOSOVA ENSEMBLES COMING TO OUR COUNTRY

I want to draw attention to the fact that nothing is being written about the choir of Prishtina, "Kolegium Kantorum." I told Ramiz that comrades involved in press propaganda either fear taking responsibility or do not think at all. A choir from our Kosova brothers, burning with love for Albania, comes, and silence is maintained, while ours, when they go to Kosova, welcome them as "gods," bursting with enthusiasm when our artists sing and manifest in such a way that UDB arrests them. How will we encourage the Albanians of Kosova towards their great Albanian patriotism, towards their cultural development? How will we show them our love when they go to prison for listening to our songs, while our press does not write about them? Therefore, this passive, apolitical attitude should change from now on. Wherever the choir goes, they should be warmly welcomed.

I suggested to Ramiz that before this ensemble leaves, they should give a final performance in Tirana, during which its members should sing with our singers and artists patriotic songs from our regions, but where my name is not mentioned. Ramiz, along with the Minister of Education and Culture and cultural front workers, should attend this performance; thus, this participation will take on a political and cultural character rather than a governmental one. During the intermission, Ramiz should meet with representatives of the ensemble and congratulate them. Then, he can also come on stage. I believe this would be done well.

July 31, 1976

AN ACTION THAT ACHIEVED ITS GOOD PURPOSE

I was informed about the warm atmosphere created during the meeting that the Minister of Education and Culture had with some representatives of the choir group from Prishtina, "Kolegium Kantorum." Indeed, I had suggested to Ramiz that a joint, unofficial concert be organized, where members of this group and singers from our side would perform. Ramiz and his wife, along with Tefta Cami, would also attend this concert.

I made this suggestion so that the Kosovars would understand how much the Albanian people love their brothers, sons and daughters in Kosova and in other Albanian-inhabited regions in Yugoslavia. I also made it so that the Titoites would understand our stance when they imprison and persecute the young Albanians who express their identity as Albanians and their love for the People's Republic of Albania.

However, the joint concert did not happen because the Yugoslav embassy did not allow Kosovar singers to participate in a joint performance with our singers and artists. The Yugoslav embassy was terrified, frightened, and thus pressured the Kosovars not to express their love for the Albanian people and Albania. For hours, all the members of this group were kept at the embassy where they were "advised."

When the group members met with Tefta, they were immensely happy, enthusiastic and said, "We will never forget the welcome you gave us, but consider that we will return to Kosova, and there, they might take measures. Please understand us."

June 9, 1977

DECEPTION OF A MACEDONIAN CHAUVINIST MAGAZINE

Last night, I read an article in the Macedonian magazine "Kultura Zhivot," which extensively discussed the "Macedonian minority" in Albania. According to the article, their number in Albania is claimed to be 60,000 people, a completely false figure. On what basis does this magazine come up with this minority of 60,000 people?

Firstly, it confuses real Macedonians with Vlachs (Aromanians), Sarakatsani, whom this chauvinistic magazine labels as Macedonians, which is a historical distortion.

The magazine bases its study in detail, even on "data" from unknown authors who wrote at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in some corner of their book. It claims that 100-120 years ago or 60 years ago, in Albania, even in regions like Bilisht, neighbourhoods of the city of Korça, or its villages like Boboshtica, Drenova, not to mention the Pustec area near Lake Ohrid, Macedonians lived and it presents these 60,000 people.

Certainly, we have clear and never manipulated statistics, especially in our regime, about how many Macedonians actually live in Albania and where they have settled. Our statistics regarding their number are entirely accurate. There might be a small number of Macedonians scattered throughout Albania, but these are mixed with Albanians because they have married them.

Albanians have always shown a friendly attitude towards minorities throughout history and have never acted as the Serbs did against Albanians in Yugoslav-

ia. Genocide against Albanians has been unknown because they have never harboured racist or chauvinistic feelings. Therefore, I told Ramiz that we must respond to this magazine, refuting with facts the figures it gives for the Macedonian minority in Albania and the accusations or insinuations for which this magazine has written the article. We must make it clear to them and say: Since you highlight this number of Macedonians existing and living in Albania, we will respond later with a study of our own, not only for the number of Albanians living in Macedonia, in cities and villages, but also with a complete and truthful statistic of all Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia.

I told Ramiz that, to shed light on this last issue, time and studies are needed. I don't know if there is a separate sector in the Institute of History that studies Albanian populations in foreign countries and those that imperialist treaties have separated from Albania. This is a necessary study that we must undertake. This study does not have a chauvinistic character but has a national and Marxist-Leninist character. We want to know how many Albanians there are in Kosova, how many in Macedonia, how many in Montenegro, how many in Dalmatia, how many in Greece, how many in Turkey, how many in the United States, in Australia, and so on. Therefore, this will be an in-depth, serious historical study that will require people, research, effort, knowledge and calculations. If we don't have it, we must create such a sector in the Institute of History, so let us get to work for this task.

June 20, 1977

DIABOLICAL MANOEUVRES OF THE YUGOSLAV LEADERS

The article against the chauvinistic Macedonian newspaper “Kulturen Zhivot,” which wanted to “prove” with false statistics that supposedly 60,000 Macedonians have been living in Albania since 1880 until now, was published in the newspaper “Drita.” Apparently, this article was like injecting a lethal serum because yesterday unexpectedly the Tanjug agency transmitted the interview of a Yugoslav personality, Kiro Gligorov, who had given it to an AFP envoy regarding the Albanian “minority” in Yugoslavia. And what didn’t Gligorov tell the French? He stated that the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia lives well, lives happily; in Kosova, where it constitutes the majority of the population, they hold power. Similarly, in other parts of Yugoslavia, Albanians live like this and live like that, the relations between Yugoslavia and Albania are improving, trade relations are also improving, as we are connected by the war we fought side by side against the common enemies, and many threads bind us to each other, etc., etc. In short, Belgrade responded to the Macedonian foolishness, and undoubtedly, they must have told the Macedonians from the centre: “Why are you opening old wounds? If you open them, who knows what serious illness will afflict the sick body of the Yugoslav Federation.”

Let the Yugoslavs understand even better, and they have understood this, not to upset the Albanians, as our people say, because then it will not be good for them.

August 6, 1977

CHAUVINIST VIEWS OF A YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR

In a conversation with our ambassador, the Yugoslav ambassador in Athens said, "I have learned that the Greeks are organizing a congress of Greek Macedonians in Thessaloniki. We did not like such a thing because we are very sensitive, and we do not want the Greeks to hold such congresses with Macedonian citizens." The question arises: Why did it matter to the Yugoslavs that the Greeks do not hold such congresses with their Macedonian citizens, who are in Greece, and the Yugoslav chauvinists have the right to subjugate a million eight hundred thousand Albanians, to whom they have created all those difficult situations, put them in concentration camps, did not let them learn their mother tongue, raised and resettled them in Turkey, etc., etc.? Why do the Yugoslav chauvinists have the right to concoct propaganda against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and prepare such things now? They think they can hold congresses with national minorities living in Yugoslavia, while others should not. This attitude, of course, reveals the chauvinistic views of the Yugoslavs.

The Yugoslav chauvinists are seeking to create Greater Yugoslavia; they want the Greeks to acknowledge that even the Macedonians living in Greece are part of the population of the Republic of Macedonia within the Yugoslav Federation. They also demand that Bulgarians recognize that in Pirin, they have a Macedonian minority, so that Yugoslavs can eventually expand their borders with these Macedonians, even take Thessaloniki. When the issue is considered, that our lands in Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians should

be returned to Albania, this does not suit Serbian and Yugoslav chauvinists. In fact, the Serbian and Yugoslav chauvinists have imposed strict censorship so that our television is not seen in Yugoslavia and they try to restrict cultural relations between Albania and Kosova extraordinarily. They send our ensembles to perform in some halls where they have the opportunity to gather only people who are theirs, who are sold to them, who are not only against the PSR of Albania but also anti-Albanians in Kosova — in short, traitorous elements who have been put in the service of Serbian chauvinism. In Struga, for example, the Yugoslav chauvinists did not allow our ensemble “Çerçiz Topulli,” invited to the Ohrid festival, to give its performances. This arbitrary stance constituted a great scandal until the Yugoslavs apologized for this disgrace that occurred in Struga. The Macedonian leaders show themselves more Catholic than the Pope, more chauvinistic than the Serbs. They currently behave towards Albanians with such terrible and shameful arrogance, in such a degrading and revolting manner that, of course, the Albanians of Macedonia will not easily forget it.

I am on summer vacation here in Pogradec, and from time to time, I see on television some films made in Macedonia that portray the Albanian as a “Ballist,” as if he fought against Macedonia. Certainly, this attitude is inspired by the pro-Serbian policy, which the Yugoslavs have also implemented in Kosova, where they launched a campaign against Albanians, calling them “Ballists.” They still refer to Albanians as “nationalists,” “irredentists” or whatever they please.

The current leadership of Kosova is completely subservient to the Serbs, and they are rewarded well for their betrayal. It lives like the voivodes, while the dissatisfaction of the people with it is extremely great. Life in Kosova has become more expensive these months; prices have risen by 18 per cent, while in other parts of

Yugoslavia, they have increased by 5 per cent. Among the people, there are sayings like, "Trepča produces, Belgrade builds," meaning that the theory of self-administration is applied everywhere except in Kosova. All the revenues of Kosova are sucked in by Serbia, by the Federation, while Kosova lives in poverty. To secure a livelihood, Kosovar residents emigrate to Turkey, leaving their lands and homes to work as slaves in developed capitalist countries to earn somewhere around 5 marks or 5 grosh.

Such is the situation. This makes you judge that the statement of the chauvinistic Yugoslav ambassador in Athens is made for chauvinistic purposes. But it doesn't matter; time will prove the righteousness of our course in relations with neighbours; it will bring to light the rights of Albanians living in Yugoslavia. The time will come when the people of Kosova will fight even better, more and stronger to win freedom, independence and sovereignty. Albanians living in their national territories in Yugoslavia will decide for themselves which state to join; the time will come for them to speak in their own words.

The materialist development of history, if not today, then tomorrow, will bring the desired day of freedom. Albanians living in their territories of Yugoslavia must think with a clear head; they should never trust the sold-out people governing them but unite their healthy forces in a resistance that should go unbroken. When situations heat up, their duty is to, in the most suitable ways they find themselves, demand more freedom, more democracy, more self-governance (not revisionist self-administration but full autonomy). These demands should continually increase until the conditions are ripe to decide which state they want to join.

We are not for the policy of dismantling the Yugoslav Federation, but if the Yugoslav chauvinists continue to act this way towards Albania and the Albani-

ans, of course, we are a people who know how to stand firm, respond, fight and win when the time comes to do all these things.

December 3, 1977

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN YUGOSLAVIA AFTER TITO'S DEATH?

This is a question with many uncertainties, but in general, we think that after Tito's death, the situation will not be calm in Yugoslavia. There will be turmoil, and it will take a considerable amount of time to stabilize the situation. The old Yugoslav wolf, having consumed the sheep, has completely hung Yugoslavia around his neck, or better to say, around the necks of wolves. He will leave it in chaos because in this country, the fangs of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all the capitalist states of the world have been inserted.

Tito will be placed on a pedestal of history to represent the leader of a state who consciously and systematically sold the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples of Yugoslavia to foreigners. A monument might be erected to characterize him as an adventurer of all intrigues, deceptions, betrayals, empty words, reactionary theories and submission to foreigners in the guise of a supposed statesman.

His political views have been chaotic, but he has a skill and is a master at adapting very well to circumstances, conjunctures, dictating the trends and goals of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and other international capital powers, as well as manoeuvring. This doesn't mean that his supporters or his enslavers didn't understand the personality of this strange man. But this personality has served them; they needed him, especially against the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, against communism, against socialism, against the liberated states, fighting in this direction during

World War II with the aim of separating these states from the Soviet Union through his intrigues and throwing them into the arms of American imperialism and the European reactionary bourgeoisie. In other words, Belgrade acted with full consciousness, and those who directed and guided him supported and encouraged him with full awareness in his actions.

It is clear that no matter how much American imperialism and the world reactionary bourgeoisie tried to hide their hand when moving this puppet, it was impossible for this hand not to be seen as an arm, because Yugoslavia descended into a country with false unity. But precisely the reactionary bourgeoisie, international capital and American imperialism were interested in Yugoslavia, under Tito and Titoism, existing as a federative republic, despite this regime creating and deepening contradictions among the various republics that constituted it, in other words, among the different peoples of this country. Such a policy of confusion, spreading contradictions, interested American imperialism and the international capitalist bourgeoisie because their slogan has always been and is “divide and rule,” as long as federal power, the main power, was in their full service. This power seemed to represent that fascist, oppressive, reactionary dictatorship that, by holding the peoples of Yugoslavia under its thunder and terror, created the impression for American imperialism and the international bourgeoisie that the Titoite regime was a regime that strengthened Yugoslavia as a capitalist country. It developed private property, private trade, defended private interests at the expense of the general interest and socialism. In other words, American imperialism and all those who financed Tito’s regime sought and achieved the goal of creating in Yugoslavia a new capitalist bourgeoisie that would take and consolidate the reins in its hands and manage the large funds that foreign capitalist compan-

ies had invested in their interest and not in the interest of the people of Yugoslavia. And when we say in their interest, we mean in the interest of this capitalist class created in Yugoslavia and those outside who make investments in this country.

The Yugoslav leaders seemingly stand out for great cunning, but these are not the cunning of fools, rather of cunning individuals whom American imperialism, through the Titoite regime, has known how to mould and use as assistants in all spheres: political, ideological, economic and military, in all possible negotiations in which the Americans tried to hide their hand and present a state like Yugoslavia to achieve some specific goals.

Thus, American imperialism aimed to make all the development of Yugoslavia in such a way that it used it as an example to show which path a series of countries oppressed by American and world capital should take and which state, administrative, economic, and especially political and ideological forms they should adopt. They should, therefore, adopt the Titoite path. In this direction, Tito created a personality, but it must be said that he, throughout his life, knew how to manoeuvre and not deviate from this line, even perfected this line of intrigues and could become, among the ruling circles of many countries in the world, a first-rate personality. One of the titles of this policy is that Tito supposedly represents the movement of “non-aligned” states, which we have explained is a great lie aiming to indoctrinate other countries into the clutches of imperialism, to make honey for imperialism under the slogan of “non-aligned” states, some of which, in fact, are completely committed to American imperialism and the reactionary capitalist bourgeoisie worldwide, some are connected with rubles and weapons from Soviet social-imperialism under the slavery of which they work and shed the sweat and blood of their people.

Tito has served many enemies of the peoples and socialism; therefore, they have helped him, but the help of imperialists and social-imperialists primarily consists of help for themselves. By this, I mean that these enemies have had colossal gains for themselves, and then they have given a crumb to Yugoslavia. It is true that they have invested billions in Yugoslavia, but it must be said that these billions have mortgaged Yugoslav assets and especially the freedom, independence and sovereignty of this country.

We believe that American imperialism and world capitalism have invested more in Yugoslavia than Soviet social-imperialism. Therefore, in Tito's regime, American imperialism and Western capital have a greater political and economic influence, followed by the influence of Soviet social-imperialism. This has its significant reasons, despite the fact that the majority of the peoples of Yugoslavia are Slavic. The issue of nationality, of pan-Slavism, also plays a role in this influence, but Tito has worked on the peoples of Yugoslavia over time to make them not love, hate and fight against socialist USSR. The struggle that Tito declared against the USSR and Stalin managed to antagonize the majority of the peoples of Yugoslavia against the USSR.

With the rise of Khrushchevites, of course, with continuous twists, with Khrushchev's submission to Tito's theses, with the overthrow of Stalin by Khrushchev and the turning of the USSR into a capitalist country, the friendship of the USSR with Titoite Yugoslavia was weakened, but not to the extent that this friendship with American imperialism and world capitalism was consolidated. The friendship with Khrushchev's USSR, of course, was rekindled but was weak and continues to be so. Nevertheless, the USSR has not lost hope; even now, through aid, through pan-Slavism, through opponents of the Titoite regime, it thinks, works and fights to lay the foundations of its lasting influence in

Yugoslavia. After Tito's death, relying on these foundations, it aims to have more freedom to influence this country, meaning to have a freer hand to operate within the country, if not to be able to seize all of Yugoslavia and turn it into its satellite.

The return of Yugoslavia to a Soviet satellite is one of the main goals of the revisionist USSR, which, if it has Yugoslavia in its hands, has NATO against it, not mainly from an economic point of view or in terms of the interests of the capitals invested by Western countries there because for these issues, in the current situations as economic relations develop between capitalists, a way out and cooperation can easily be found. The Soviet Union is interested in Yugoslavia, especially from a strategic and military perspective. Whoever has Yugoslavia among the two major military groups in Europe has a strong strategic position against the other group. If NATO loses influence in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union gains this influence, then the Soviet Union separates Greece, endangers Austria, approaches Italy, and dominates in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. So, NATO suffers a significant strategic loss. However, will American imperialism allow this? I think it is difficult to allow it. Will American imperialism go to war if the Soviet Union deeply entrenches itself in Yugoslavia or militarily occupies it? I think NATO will not stay idle but, without reaching a general conflagration yet, there will be a fierce economic-political war to have Yugoslavia each on its side. Therefore, Tito's death will create a headache for us as well.

First and foremost, we must be prepared for any eventuality because the contradictions that will develop within Yugoslavia and between the two superpowers will have repercussions for our country. Therefore, our borders must be well defended in these situations.

Greece, on its part, views the Yugoslav issue with great concern after Tito's death. Currently, Greece de-

sires a status quo situation that is in favour of American imperialism and NATO. Greece knows that Yugoslavia has territorial claims over Aegean Macedonia, and if it falls into the hands of the Soviets and Bulgarians, then the time will be critical for the independence, freedom and sovereignty of Greece. Then Soviet-Bulgarian aims will be to expand Macedonia, which this time will be a Bulgarian Macedonia, excluding Albanian lands and Albanians, which is another issue I am not addressing here. But they will aim to reach Thessaloniki, and if they have Thessaloniki, then they have strangled Greece. For this reason, Greece always remains vigilant towards Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and its current policy is friendly towards us.

Therefore, judging Yugoslavia in the current situations and those that will arise after Tito's death becomes an important duty for us, Albanians, to strengthen the country, fortify our border defences, be vigilant and strengthen the economy. We must strive to maintain a friendly policy within the principles with Greece, continue to have trade relations with Italy and stay vigilant about the events that will unfold in Yugoslavia. Moreover, we should try to update ourselves daily with the situation there and anticipate what might happen in this neighbouring country.

December 19, 1977

LETTER FROM THE 70-YEAR- OLD DAUGHTER OF HASAN PRISHTINA

These days, I received a letter from the 70-year-old daughter of Hasan Prishtina. She writes to me with nostalgia for her father and touches on memories of him, greets the Party, and thanks it for the great honour it bestowed on Hasan Prishtina by bringing his remains and placing them on the altar of the Homeland.

She congratulates us for showing so much interest in him and all the other patriots who fought for Albania. Her letter is very good, but at the same time, it is also a political letter because, in thanking the Party, it highlights the struggle that the people of Kosova have waged for the unification of Albania, for freedom and for the independence of the Homeland.

Certainly, the response I will give will not be a simple one because it is important in the given circumstances. On the one hand, it may be very necessary and essential to respond to this letter, but the positive aspects that come with this response should also be judged because (this may have repercussions not openly but secretly from the Yugoslavs against the Albanians of Kosova) it is clear that Kosovars will see a political orientation for action in my response. Therefore, it should be considered that this response includes those parts where I do not address anyone from Kosova directly, but it is understood that they are intended for them. However, I believe that after formulating this letter, we should make it concise, and no excessive word should be left in it; everything should be understood by us, as well as by the Kosovars and all Albanians living in Yugoslavia, without leaving any signs that it is written and

addressed to them.

Then, with the comrades from the Political Bureau, we need to assess whether it is opportune to publish it or not because, in my opinion, it is not a simple letter but rather a letter with political influence.

June 6, 1978

NOTHING CAN COVER UP THE INJUSTICES DONE TO THE ALBANIAN NATION THROUGH THE PARTITIONING OF ITS TERRITORY

Today, we were informed that our Academy of Sciences delegation, led by Stefanaq Pollo, which had gone to Prizren, invited to participate in the conference to be held there from the 6th to the 9th of this month for the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren, will return to Albania. The delegation members have not yet started to return.

Why and how did this happen?

Certainly, after our comrades submitted their draft speeches, the Yugoslavs must have insisted that ours change the texts. Of course, we did not agree to change anything and left. They did well, and we should publicize their return and the reason for it in the newspaper. We decided that immediately, without returning to Tirana, they should go to Kukës and, at the cultural centre of this city, present the speeches that were supposed to be read in Prizren. This way, the people of Kosova will hear the content of our delegation's speeches very clearly, as they were not given the opportunity to read them in the plenary sessions that would take place in Prishtina. This, among other events happening in our country, will be very effective.

The Titoite chauvinists found themselves in a difficult situation. Should they talk about the historical truth of the League of Prizren, or should they not? It does not benefit them at all for the truth to be told as it is, so they preferred to take measures to remove our

delegation rather than allow our historians to tell the truth, which the entire population of Kosova would hear. But, despite their departure, the Titoite chauvinists lost again; the people of Kosova will be even more outraged, and they will hear and see the speeches of our historians, as well as all the other grand events happening on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren in Albania.

The sun cannot be covered with dew, and the injustice done to the Albanian nation by the Ottoman Empire, Serbian chauvinists, Montenegrin chauvinists and the great imperialist powers of Europe that partitioned Albanian land cannot be covered up.

I was informed that the Yugoslavs withdrew their demands regarding the speeches our comrades would deliver in Prishtina during the scientific session on the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren. They, fearing that the withdrawal of our delegation would undoubtedly make a very serious impression on them throughout the Albanian population living in their territories in Yugoslavia, withdrew in haste, so we ordered our delegates to stay at the conference and present the prepared speeches that were scheduled to be read.

June 10, 1978

THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE OF PRIZREN — A CRUCIAL MOMENT IN THE HEROIC HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE

June 10, 1878, the day when the Albanian League was convened in Prizren, is a marked date in the heroic history of our people. It was an event of great historical significance for the fate of our nation, as it occurred at a time when the Ottoman Empire, in collaboration with Russian Tsarism and other European empires, sought to partition and did partition our Homeland.

The Albanian League of Prizren was that crucial moment during which all the energies of our people, their unmatched patriotism, love for the Homeland, the land, the language, and their political and diplomatic efforts, united them as one fist to face the Turks, Serbs, Montenegrins, Germans, Austro-Hungarians and Greeks — all of whom had joined forces against the Albanian people.

We always remember this date with extraordinary admiration and honour because it has been inspiring for the subsequent struggles of the Albanian people up to our days. Our forefathers, the Renaissance figures, who fought with both pen and gun for the Albanian territories, left indelible impressions that echo in our blood and hearts for almost three or four generations. In our National Liberation War, we always considered their lofty goals for defending the freedom and independence of the country, for the sovereignty of the Homeland, for liberation from various imperialists and the feudal bourgeoisie sold to foreigners.

The Albanian League of Prizren was not just a gathering of distinguished political, military and cultural

leaders or merely an idealistic assembly. It represented the will of the entire Albanian nation, from the southernmost corner to Mitrovica and Kaçanik, to Plava, Guci and Tivar. Its leaders were sons of the people with enlightened minds and an iron courage who, for the unity of the Albanian nation, for the unity of Albanian lands, which were at risk of being partitioned by foreign chauvinist enemies, had a clear ideological, political and military vision.

They did not confine themselves to sending diplomatic memorandums to the Congress of Berlin or the Great Powers. These memorandums were accompanied by a large and comprehensive mobilization of the masses of the Albanian people in Kosova, Macedonia, in the South, in Gruda, and up to Tivar and everywhere else. And the diplomatic actions of the League were accompanied by military actions and deep, fiery propaganda and agitation.

The Albanian League of Prizren became the epicentre of the liberation struggle; it unmasked the greed of the Serbians, Montenegrins and Greeks. All of these, especially the Slavs, were aided by Russian Tsarism fighting for pan-Slavism, for the union of all Slavs, to reach the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. And Russian Tsarism was favoured by the empire of Wilhelm I and Bismarck.

The Albanian League of Prizren and the patriotic struggle it called for were one of the crucial points in the "Eastern Question." Historians of the bourgeoisie have written about the "Eastern Question" according to their whims and have used Albania in this matter as a bargaining chip to fulfil the desires of Russian Tsars, Serbian kings, Prince Nikola of Montenegro and the kings of Greece. However, the Albanian people, a people with great vitality, with their culture, language and schools, a people that had fought for centuries and continued to fight, were forgotten. They do not mention

it in their books. But the Albanian people wrote their own history with arms in hand; they shed blood, but even the enemies did not leave them in peace — they caused serious damage. Unfortunately, the combined forces of our enemies broke the efforts of the Albanian people, but the Albanian League held in Prizren and its branches created throughout Albania, as well as the wars it waged for Albanian territories, left such great impressions on our entire people that these will serve and will continue to serve later for the strengthening of the People's Assembly of Albania.

Chauvinists, whoever they may be, with whatever attire they wear and whatever ideology they hide behind, will never be able to extinguish the great cause of the Albanian people. It is strengthening and taking root in the hearts of Albanians every passing day, wherever they are. Especially the patriotism of our brothers in Kosova, Dibra, Gostivar, Tivar, Ulqin, Plava, Guci, etc. will always remain ignited for our common Homeland, freedom, democracy and national unity.

In Prizren these days, a commemorative meeting was held to mark the remembrance of this event. We sent a delegation of our scholars, led by Stefanaq Pollo, to Kosova to participate in the scientific session of the Albanian League of Prizren, which was supposed to be held in Prishtina. The organizers of this session in Kosova, who were displeased with this significant date working against them, told our comrades to change their papers, to alter the titles and conclusions of their speeches. Our comrades refused and started to leave. However, shortly afterwards, likely after receiving orders from Belgrade, they announced that they were dropping their demands, and our comrades could deliver their speeches. So ours presented them as they had prepared. Nevertheless, it is a fact that Tanjug provides no information about this scientific session, for which about 100 bourgeois "scholars" had been summoned. If

they talked about their speeches, they would have had to address our comrades' speeches as well. But we will not leave our speeches untransmitted on the radio so that the people of Kosova can know our scientific views on the Albanian League of Prizren.

Some Kosovar leaders, along with Tanjug, have reduced the struggle of the Albanian League of Prizren to a supposedly war for the alphabet, schools and pedagogy — things utterly laughable. In this way, they serve the Serbian chauvinists and try to distort history. We are clear that we cannot expect anything good from such people with Albanian nationality who distort facts, conclusions and the outcomes of this great struggle of the heroic people of Kosova and all of Albania.

As for us, the issue of the Albanian League of Prizren has truly become a great concern for the entire people. Conferences are being held, articles are being written, wars fought, notable figures and great ideas that inspired the people are brought to light.

In addition to this, our propaganda is advancing, and today, on June 10, at 18:00, in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, a solemn meeting will be held, where Comrade Ramiz Alia will speak about the significance of the Albanian League of Prizren. Elderly patriots from all parts of Albania are also invited.

Tomorrow, on June 11, a large solemn rally will take place in Skanderbeg Square, where in front of the remains of Abdyl and Naim Frashëri, placed in a decorated casket and covered with the National Flag, the people of Tirana will parade, and we will pay our respects. Afterwards, an important speech will be given on the historical significance of the Albanian League of Prizren and its distinguished leaders.

After the meeting in a solemn manner, not as in a funeral ceremony, but amidst enthusiasm and singing patriotic songs, we will carry the remains of Abdyl and Naim to the new graves that have been constructed for

them in the Grand Park of Tirana. Alongside the graves of the two great representatives of our Renaissance, we have also prepared the grave for Sami Frashëri, whose remains are still in Istanbul because the Turkish government has not decided to return them to us. The Ottoman government divided Kosova and other parts of Albanian lands from Albania, but currently, the Republic of Turkey should not separate the Frashëri brothers, who are indeed three, but for our people, they are one and indivisible. They are symbols of knowledge, patriotism, freedom, sovereignty and the struggle of the Albanian people for independence.

In our country, for months, there has been an extensive campaign to scientifically explain to the people the great importance of the Albanian League of Prizren, the armed and intellectual struggles of our forefathers, the resistance they demonstrated against the entire world that sought to violate their rights and divide them, as it did. Scientific conferences are being held and will continue to take place from all sides. Thus, both small and large among us now clearly understand this glorious period of our history. Even after the national scientific conference, which will begin on June 12 in Tirana, scientific conferences will also be held in other major cities such as Shkodra, Gjirokastra, Elbasan, Korça, Dibra and Kukës.

Therefore, we are strengthening and fostering the patriotism of our people, also assisting in strengthening the legitimate and fruitful pride of all our brothers in Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia who suffer under the rule of the Great-Serbs.

June 13, 1978

THE ISSUE OF THE ALBANIAN POPULATION RESIDING IN YUGOSLAVIA

The issue of Kosova, the regions of Dibra, Struga, Gostivar, Tetova, etc. in the Republic of Macedonia, and of the Albanians in Montenegro, always remains at the top of our agenda.

The great injustice inflicted on Albania by the Ottoman Empire, the Tsarist Russian Empire, the Prussian Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and other European capitalist powers is evident. This is an open wound that will continue to fester; it is a blatant injustice of the imperialists and the Serbo-Montenegrin chauvinists.

Until now, the issue of our Albanian brothers living in their centuries-old lands in Yugoslavia, the issue of Albanian lands that were separated from the Homeland and given to Serbia and Montenegro as tribute, we, the Albanian communists, have always approached it in a Marxist-Leninist manner, and we will continue to do so in the future.

During the National Liberation War, we did not raise the national issue in Kosova and other Albanian areas in Macedonia and Montenegro under the old Yugoslav king. This was because both our peoples were rising against the same enemy, they joined the large anti-fascist coalition, supported the Soviet Union and stood with Stalin. Therefore, at that time, the issue of the population and land of Albanians in Yugoslavia was not raised at all. The focus was on the need for Kosovar Albanians and Albanians in our regions to rise up in the war. Then, the right to self-determination had to be given to all nations within the Yugoslav state, including the Albanian nation. That is how we acted at the time,

and it was the right path. During the National Liberation War, we collaborated with the Yugoslav communists and partisans, and after liberating our Homeland from the nazis, we ordered our divisions to move into Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro to liberate these areas in cooperation with Yugoslav partisans.

Our National Liberation Forces reached beyond Višegrad, to Bosnia and Herzegovina. We went there with clear and pure intentions, while the Yugoslavs, despite being called communists, and at that time, we believed they were, under the pretext of supposedly fighting Ballist elements took measures and killed many people from the Albanian population in Kosova and Macedonia, as well as in Montenegro.

During the Second World War, fascist Italy, after the Hitlerite attack on Yugoslavia, declared "Greater Albania," meaning all the lands inhabited by Albanians united as one Albania. We fought against this imperialist, anti-Albanian, oppressive and enslaving action, and we also fought against the nationalist and fascist demagoguery of the Mussolini regime of Mustafa Kruja, Shëfqet Vërlaci and all other collaborators who came later and collaborated with the Italians and Germans. This issue had nothing to do with the political and ideological positions of our Party. Our struggle followed the true path of liberation based on the aspirations of the Albanian people, deep anti-fascist sentiments, and internationalism in cooperation with the peoples of Yugoslavia, the Greek people fighting and with the Anglo-American-Soviet allies.

After the Liberation of Albania and Yugoslavia, once again, our Party's attitude was correct. We withdrew our military forces from Kosova, Dibra and Montenegro, as well as from Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the Albanian partisans returned to Albania, and our sincere cooperation with the Yugoslavs, speaking from our side, began to move along a more or less cor-

rect path, although we saw attitudes and actions that did not seem very right, but we attributed them to misunderstandings or incorrect behaviour of various individuals and not to the Yugoslav leadership. In reality, it turned out that the situation was not like that. Later, it was understood that Tito was a chauvinist and anti-Albanian. His goal was not to return the lands seized by Serbia and Montenegro to Albania but to incorporate Albania itself into the Yugoslav Federation as its seventh republic.

Our attitude on this issue since the unmasking of Titoism has remained the same. What is this attitude? Our stance has been and remains that our brothers living in Yugoslavia, in Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia, are in their homelands, in Albanian lands. These lands were seized by the Great-Serbs and by the Montenegrins with the help of the great imperialist powers of that time. Therefore, they belong to Albania. This is our thought, the thought of our Party, and these are the ardent desires of the entire Albanian people, the people of Kosova, the Albanian people of Montenegro and Macedonia. There is no doubt about this, and this desire cannot be played with.

However, while having these objectives clear, we have not wanted to and will not engage in armed conflict for the issue of reunification with the homeland of Albanian lands under Yugoslavia. In these situations, such an action cannot be realized. It would be wrong. In our struggle against Titoism, we have resolutely defended the national rights, language, customs and traditions of our brothers living in Yugoslavia because they were being treated similarly and in the same way as by the Great-Serbs and by the descendants of Prince Nikolla and the Macedonian chauvinists.

Tito, Ranković, Tempo, Dušan, and the entire band of Yugoslav revisionists clearly understood that the Albanian issue in Yugoslavia could not be resolved.

The light of the sun could not be covered with straw, this light could not be dimmed, the feelings of Kosovar patriotism could not be extinguished. Therefore, the Titoites, trying to maintain the facade of a socialist regime and their bourgeois party as a supposedly Marxist-Leninist party, acted on two fronts. On the one hand, they allegedly granted all “rights” to the Albanians, and on the other hand, they implemented the plan of the Great-Serbs, consisting of the genocide against the Albanians. They systematically began the killings, imprisonment and internment of Albanians in Goli Otok and Gjakova, as well as their mass expulsion to Turkey.

The plan of the Great-Serbs was to eliminate this Albanian ethnic group because it stood like a thorn in the side of their Serbo-Croatian kingdom. The Titoites, who pursued these goals for their chauvinistic interests, sought to divide this closely tied Albanian ethnic group by blood, tradition and language. They created an ostensibly autonomous region of Kosova with one part, while the other part was given to Macedonia to supposedly create a Macedonian state. With this division, the Titoites pursued two goals: first, to weaken the unity and patriotism of the Albanians and their legitimate claims for more rights within the federation, as well as for reunification with their Homeland, socialist Albania; second, to create a hybrid state with Albanians, Macedonians and Turks, ostensibly as an indivisible part of the Yugoslav Federation but, in reality, to neutralize the pro-Bulgarian tendencies of the Macedonians.

By dividing the Albanians and following the imperialist plundering policy of the Serbian kings, they hoped to later make, as they are doing now, territorial claims towards Macedonia in the Aegean, up to Thessaloniki, and towards Pirin Macedonia, thus expanding the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into the backs of others.

Therefore, the entire plan of Titoism was to completely absorb Albania into the FR of Yugoslavia. At the same time, they had claims against Greece in Aegean Macedonia, had claims against Bulgaria and even aimed to go further to Trieste and Istria on the border with Italy.

Such were the expansionist and imperialist aims of this pseudo-socialist Yugoslav state. We understood these intentions when our rift with Yugoslavia began, when we saw that the views of Tito and his comrades were chauvinistic and fascist.

Our stance in these situations not only was right, as we exposed this gang of renegades, but we also openly defended our Albanian brothers living in Yugoslavia. We raised our voice strongly against persecution and genocide, and demanded that Albanians in Yugoslavia have their schools, the right to preserve their traditions, songs, culture and their ethnic unity. We politically defended these rights without making any other interventions in this matter. And we can confidently say that the defence we provided for our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia had its effects.

We saw that Tito, pursuing an adventurous policy, casting aside the socialist mask, attempting to turn the Party of Labour of Albania into the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in other words, into a boneless party, entered into a conflict with the Soviet Union. He fully supported American imperialism and the world capitalism; the West strongly supported Yugoslavia with all means: economic, military and political. Thus, Tito became their vassal. In these chameleon-like metamorphoses, influenced by the desires of American imperialism and world capitalism, Tito fell into contradictions and sharp opposition with ultra-chauvinist and pro-Soviet elements, such as Ranković, Tempo and many others like them.

In these situations, the Tito-Kardelj group, after liquidating the group led by Ranković, liquidation

meaning pushing him into the shadows rather than imprisonment and punishment, needed to strengthen the elements of anti-Serb forces because they themselves were pro-Croat and pro-Slovene. One of these anti-Serb forces was the Albanians. Additionally, attempting to hide the crimes committed by Tito and Ranković themselves, and to deceive the Albanians into thinking that the liquidation of Ranković's group was creating a "different situation compared to before" in Yugoslavia, the Tito-Kardelj group started seemingly pampering the Albanians of Kosova. They released a bit of the dreadful fear, the noose that had tied them, found some Albanian renegades, placed them in leadership positions, were forced to open some schools and publish newspapers for the Albanian population, etc.

All of this was a cunning policy with which we were convinced that the Albanians involved in the Yugoslav state could not be deceived. The Albanians knew well that it was precisely this group, with Tito at its head, having either Ranković or other lackeys like him by its side, that had killed and imprisoned, seized the lands and dishonoured the Albanian population. Therefore, Belgrade's false and demagogic policy could not change the feelings of the Albanians. This was clearly a chauvinistic policy. We continued to expose this policy on a large scale, and I can say that we contributed to the growth of resistance and the preservation of the unity of the Albanians in the Albanian areas in Yugoslavia. We helped the Tito group, against its will, make some concessions, and in the last few years, we even established trade and cultural contacts with Kosova as an autonomous region.

Regarding relations with the Albanians in Montenegro and Macedonia, we can say that the Titoites had erected barriers and continue to keep them raised against us, against our contacts with our Albanian brothers in these two republics. Especially the Alban-

ians in Montenegro had no rights, not even those that the Kosovars supposedly gained according to the constitution. Until recent years, there were no schools in Montenegro, while in Macedonia, the population had some rights, but they lived under the wild terror of the fascist chauvinists of Macedonia. Even now, there is a noticeable difference in the attitude towards the Albanian population of Kosova and those of Dibra, Struga, Gostivar, Tetova, etc., in other words, towards all Albanians in Macedonia. The latter not only are persecuted but also displaced, and in the areas left empty by the Albanians due to these displacements, Macedonian elements from the Aegean region are settling. To implement this policy of displacing the Albanians, the Macedonian authorities are funded by Belgrade, money is given to Macedonians to buy land from Albanians, houses are built for them, and special amenities are created to artificially and arbitrarily strengthen the positions of Macedonians at the expense of the Albanians in this hybrid republic, created in the formats, ways and imperialistic ideas of the times of Serbian and Montenegrin kings.

The Yugoslavs see that as days go by, the Albanian population residing in their lands in Yugoslavia is waking up more and more. This Albanian population, especially the youth, which preserves the old traditions of its ancestors, which preserves the fervent love for the unity of the nation in a single socialist Albanian state, for national unity, for the unification of its native language, is awakening politically and ideologically. They see more clearly the abyss in which Yugoslavia is headed and where it is trying to pull the Albanians. Therefore, resistance has begun in various forms among the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, just as the tightening of the noose has begun to increase against them. The chains of Belgrade, the pressures and threats of the Yugoslav fascists and their Albanian

tools that rule in Kosova are increasing.

Currently, a situation has been created where, despite the ideological struggle, which we have never extinguished, normal trade and cultural relations have been established between our republic and Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavs want to develop trade relations, and we, on our part, develop them in the common interest. As for cultural relations, which are of great importance, we especially develop them with the Albanian population of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, something that does not interest the Titoite revisionists. Certainly, they cannot completely prevent the development of these relations, but they find all sorts of obstacles, tricks and stratagems to prevent the broad working masses of the Albanian population in Kosova from coming into contact with the developed culture, art and music of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. However they are forced to accept something, and we have not missed any opportunity to send our theatrical and musical groups, folk ensembles with dancers, etc. to Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. In addition to these, at the request of the Albanian authorities in Kosova, and with the approval of Belgrade, for the past few years we have continuously sent professors from the University of Tirana to give lectures at the University of Prishtina. The Titoites are forced to make this concession due to the existence of a strong socialist Albania and the awakening and strengthening of the feelings of unity, patriotism, and political and ideological feelings of Albanianism among the Albanians in Kosova and in all other Albanian areas in Yugoslavia. These feelings force the Titoite authorities not to completely obstruct these cultural and artistic ties with our country. Although these ties are not very extensive, they have a great effect on the Albanian population there.

In addition to these, our radio and television exert a great impact, being eagerly listened to and watched

by all Albanians in cities, even in villages with radio and television sets. Despite the modern means used by the Yugoslavs, and they use many means, to prevent the broadcasts of our television and radio completely achieving their goal, this is now one of the main battles we are waging, a political battle, an ideological battle, a cultural battle to keep alive the feelings of patriotism and to help our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia develop in the field of culture, preserving the feelings of fervent love for their Homeland.

However, the time has not yet come for us to seek the unification of the lands and the Albanian population living in their lands in Yugoslavia with the PSR of Albania. In these situations, if you were to raise such a thing, it would be a mistake. In other situations that may arise, such as, for example, if the Yugoslav Federation is broken, or if the Soviets attack Yugoslavia, or if they establish their influence in Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro in other ways, or if American imperialism and NATO decide to intervene in Yugoslavia, then we cannot remain indifferent. In such a case, situations will be created where the Albanians, whose lands have been unjustly separated from Albania and given to Yugoslavia, will try to find their way to reunite with their Homeland. Then, they will have the assistance of the PSR of Albania, which will no longer allow the Albanians in Macedonia to become prey to the Bulgarians, for Kosova to remain enslaved under the rule of the Great-Serbs, and for the Albanians in Montenegro to remain servants and subjects of the Montenegrins.

In our current positions in the Balkans, especially in Yugoslavia, we must be very vigilant and aware, and never trust any false smiles of the Yugoslav revisionists. We should not trust them because they have continuously wanted and still want the destruction of the PSR of Albania, want the weakening and liquidation of the large Albanian entity in Yugoslavia. They secretly but

often openly try to repeat, on an even greater scale, the history of the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. But this time it will not only be difficult but impossible for them to realize their hated plans to dismember Albania. Today, Albania is no longer the Albania of the past. Today, they face a state strengthened economically, politically, ideologically and militarily, a state that is unyielding and invincible. In addition, the correct policy of the Party and our socialist state has created a very favourable situation among the broad progressive masses of the world, and Albania and the Albanians are no longer in the positions they were in during the time of the Turko-Greek war that led to the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. Situations have changed and are in our favour, although the ambitions, plundering and liquidation goals of our neighbours and the Great Powers towards Albania have not changed. Only the ways and methods of implementing their plots have changed, so we must constantly monitor, recognize them and take measures to expose and destroy them completely when the time is right.

We must anticipate that after Tito's death, great problems will arise and develop in Yugoslavia. Why? Because Yugoslavia is a prison of nations. The Yugoslav revisionist cliques want and will try to maintain the current unity of the Federation, but the question will arise as to whose direction this Federation will be under, the direction of the Serbs or the Croats?

After Tito's death, these internal situations in Yugoslavia will arise, but what manifestations, in what forms and with what intensity they will be? We must be vigilant and not only follow their course but especially their consequences. We must anticipate these consequences because the various rival tendencies within Yugoslavia, seeking dominance over each other, will inevitably rely on external forces such as American im-

perialism and NATO, as well as the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact organization which are now intensively active. For both sides, Yugoslavia represents a very significant strategic and economic interest because large capitals have been invested in this country, both by American imperialism and Western capitalism, as well as by Russian capitalism. Therefore, each of these capitalist groups will seek to preserve and strengthen the positions they have gained in this country.

Russian imperialism in its plundering plans has always aimed to reach the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. The Mediterranean has been Dostoevsky's dream, who said that Istanbul should belong to Russia, meaning the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara, all of Thessaly and Thrace. Similarly, the Serbian empire was supposed to be the empire of the South Slavs that, together with Russia, would conquer the entire Balkans and stand against the Western powers. Even now, the Soviet aim is to enter the Balkans. However, their entry into the Balkans faces difficulties because NATO, American imperialism and its satellites must sign their death sentence if they allow, peacefully or through military attack, Yugoslavia to fall under the sway of the Tsarist or new Russian empire. In these situations, our country is at risk of attack from both sides, not only once but separately from one side and then from the other, but also from both sides together. If, before the catastrophe that the USSR may cause by attacking Yugoslavia, imperialism binds hands, we will find ourselves facing the imperialist Russian enemy, which we must resist with our unified forces and those of our Albanian brothers living in Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia. Certainly, in this case, we will also have the help of those parts of the Yugoslav partisan peoples who will not accept Russian enslavement, in other words, the help of Yugoslav partisans. In the event of a war between Brezhnev's Russia and Yugo-

slavia, with or without Tito, I think there will be tens of thousands of Yugoslavs fighting. This will be a force that will ally with us to resist the Russian invasion. If the Warsaw Pact enters Yugoslavia in other ways, that is, by exerting its influence through internal forces, not by war, then the metamorphosis that will occur will be slower. We must follow this metamorphosis in Yugoslavia because there will be great risks not only for the independence and sovereignty of our country but also serious consequences for our brothers in Yugoslavia.

The political and cultural development of our brothers living in their territories in Yugoslavia, despite the achievements so far, is still lagging behind. Therefore, we, the Albanians of the PSR of Albania, must be patient with them and not judge them as we judge the thoughts, actions, and behaviours of our people in Albania. The Albanian people living in the PSR of Albania are far ahead. They have advanced in every aspect. The Albanian people fought and shed blood for the freedom they enjoy today, shed sweat for their happy life, while our brothers in Kosova, it is true, have fought and continue to fight, but they are under the whip of the chauvinist Slavs. Prisons, whether in Kosova or Serbia, are full of Albanians who, according to foreign press reports, are subjected to torture. It is for these reasons that there are revolts in these prisons. But the greatest revolt exists among the people of Kosova and the Albanians in Montenegro and Macedonia. The current youth of this Albanian population in these regions has a strong sense of true democracy, meaning hatred against the chauvinistic and aggressive policies of the Great-Serb pseudo-democracy. Albanian students at the University of Prishtina and all youth and students generally, wherever they are in Yugoslavia, whether at work, nurture a fervent love for the PSR of Albania, manifest this love and resist the oppressive measures of Serbian authorities and their Albanian servants in

Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro.

Of course, we must understand that an important role will be played here by the new generation of Albanians in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. But the old generation must make great efforts to teach their sons and daughters to walk the path of Albanianism, the path of honour, to keep them away from evil habits, from a shattered and amoral life, to educate them to love, first and foremost, the Homeland, the unity of the Albanian nation. With this work, the older generation should encourage the younger generation to learn in schools — whether open by Yugoslavia or not, but with their patriotic feelings — to cleanse them from teachings, especially from the aggressive and destructive policies of the Albanians in Yugoslavia implemented by the Belgrade clique, anti-Albanian tendencies, to distinguish the wheat from the chaff, to distinguish good from evil, to reject evil and to equip themselves with the good virtues of our nation.

In this education and great help that we must give to our Albanian brothers and sisters in Yugoslavia, we must be prepared for these situations, prepare ourselves, the people of Kosova, Dibra, Gostivar, Tetova and others, and our brothers and sisters in Montenegro. The time has passed when the Great Powers and the Great-Serbs, Montenegrins, Ustašes, Soviet revisionists, Greeks and Italians could play with the destinies of our people, touch them as they pleased, and divide the lands of Albania among themselves. No, that time will never come again. More beautiful times will come for the PSR of Albania, but beautiful times will also come for our brothers who live in their lands, in misery and in slavery for hundreds of years since the time of the Ottoman Empire until they were given to the Karadjordjević kingdom and still suffer under the oppression of the Titoite renegades outside the cursed borders of Albania. We ourselves, with our forces, will build this

unity of the Albanian nation. Our forefathers have left us this sacred duty to fulfil. If our generation cannot fulfil it, we must prepare the ground for our sons and daughters to carry out this duty towards our beloved mother Albania when the need and time come.

October 6, 1978

BLATANT, DISHONEST AND HOSTILE ACTIONS OF THE TITOITES TOWARDS OUR COUNTRY

I read the report made by our ambassador in Belgrade, who, along with the accredited diplomatic corps in the Yugoslav capital, visited Kosova and Macedonia. This diplomatic tour by the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of course, had several political objectives. Firstly, to show the diplomatic corps in Yugoslavia that Kosova is an autonomous region, an “independent” republic within the Federation; secondly, that the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia enjoys all the rights that other peoples of this country enjoy; thirdly, that Macedonia is also a separate republic within the Federation, and Bulgarian claims against this republic are hostile acts against Yugoslavia.

Certainly, the Yugoslav diplomatic corps took the diplomats to various factories and workplaces that had been prepared beforehand. However, our ambassador informed us of some things that are blatant, dishonest and hostile. In Kosova, among other things, a group of pioneer “kalamans” appeared in front of the diplomats, two or three of whom were dressed in Albanian costumes and held bouquets of flowers. When our ambassador approached them, shook hands and spoke Albanian, it was found that they did not know Albanian. Then he asked them: Are you Albanians or not? No, they replied, we are Serbs. So, the Titoites had taken Serbian “kalamans,” dressed them in Albanian clothes as if in Kosova, where about 1.4 million Albanians live, there were not two or three Albanian “kalamans” to present.

Another issue, which is also important, is that in

Macedonia, our ambassador tells us, at the dinner organized by the authorities, there were, of course, several Macedonian leaders and no Albanians. Our ambassador opened the conversation with them and listed very well all the discrimination against Albanians in Macedonia, such as the non-existence of Albanian high schools in many cities, the non-existence of an Albanian university in this republic, where over 400,000 residents of Albanian nationality live, who are not given jobs but are pushed to go to Kosova or scattered throughout Yugoslavia and beyond.

The Albanian costumes there are not called by their name but are called "Mitrovicka," "Tetovicka," and other "ickas," not to mention that they are Albanian costumes, and many other things. They replied to our ambassador that some of these findings "they did not know," for some "they will inform," some they will tell the leadership.

The Macedonian authorities also raised the issue to our ambassador that supposedly in Albania, we have not given all the rights to those few Macedonians who exist in the Prespa region. And ours responded well to them, telling them not to equate the 400,000 Albanians living in Macedonia and many others who are registered with the imposition as Turks, etc. with four or five small Macedonian villages that exist in Albania, where people enjoy the same rights as all Albanian citizens. Our ambassador did well to tell them this, but those who heard him were Macedonians, and the comments of the Albanian ambassador may be held among them, and later they may turn a deaf ear. For us, it is important that Belgrade understands this issue; therefore, I think and will advise my comrade that he go to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, even to add to this, that if you raise the issue of several hundred Macedonians living in Albania, where they enjoy all democratic rights, and compare them with such a large Albanian

population living in Yugoslavia — claiming that you do not give the rights that belong to Albanians of Macedonia, because we supposedly mistreat Macedonians in Albania — with what you are doing, instead of drawing eyebrows, you close your eyes.

“I,” our ambassador says, “pointed out these findings to the Macedonian authorities with the aim of changing their attitude towards the Albanians and considering them equal to the Macedonians, as they constitute one-third of the entire population of Macedonia and are an Albanian ethnic group. If you want us to raise these issues in the press, it is not too late, but we tell you that we do not want such a thing, especially at a time when the Bulgarians are doing all these things against you. Therefore, the right and good thing is to correct these condemnable attitudes towards the Albanians of Macedonia as soon as possible; there must be schools, there must be a university, Albanians must participate in the government, and not be scattered here and there, not be impoverished and not have their lands bought for a piece of bread, bringing in pseudo-Macedonians. We do not see such an action as a policy with good intentions, and it does not help at all for the existence of good state relations between the two countries.”

“We do not hide, and you must know that there is a large majority of Albanians in Yugoslavia. This large majority of Albanians must maintain their compactness because we are observing tendencies that lead to the opposite of this compactness. You can tell me that they emigrate, leave, and go to other places in Yugoslavia because they ‘enjoy their rights’ like all Yugoslavs, etc. You can tell us all these things, but I also know how these actions should be understood.”

So, in such a spirit, our ambassador should speak to them, of course, present it as an observation, and tell them what our viewpoint is on these issues, pointing out why you want to create situations like this within

these regions and republics. He may even tell them that I consider what Mr. Xhavit Nimani publicly declared — that the Albanians of Yugoslavia are forever connected with Titoite Yugoslavia — to be a provocation against me. I do not wish to make any comments on this issue.

Another interesting observation on this diplomatic tour, our ambassador informs us, is that the Chinese, Americans, Soviet Union and France did not participate. Despite the Yugoslav diplomats accompanying them saying that this is something random, the fact is that on that day, the Chinese embassy in Belgrade had a reception for its national day. The Yugoslavs had set the day for the departure of the entire diplomatic corps to Kosova and asked the Chinese to change the day of the reception they would hold for the celebration, but the Chinese did not withdraw, and the Yugoslavs did not withdraw either. So, on the reception day for the Chinese in Belgrade, no titular of the embassies participating in this diplomatic tour went to Kosova and Macedonia.

The Yugoslavs are cunning; they did this to tell foreigners that Yugoslavia is not dependent on China. They may also tell us that Hua Guofeng came to Yugoslavia right after cutting ties with Albania, and you consider this a provocation, but look, we left them their celebration, and the ambassadors took them to Kosova and Macedonia.

But Yugoslav diplomats are skilled; they put China under their feet, they managed to get Hua Guofeng to come to Belgrade and make self-criticism, to humble himself before Tito's shoes. Both parties entered into trade agreements; the Yugoslavs, of course, also received credit from China, but as for adhering to China's advice and policy, they let the Chinese understand that they did not buy into their thoughts or proposals. And here, they made peace with China. Despite having Yugoslav Titoites as enemies, as the people say, "do not

love the enemy, but keep a piece of him.”

October 27, 1978

REGARDING OUR RELATIONS WITH KOSOVA

Today, I raised with the Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party an issue related to the question of Kosova, with which we currently maintain trade and cultural relations.

As for cultural relations, we have assisted by sending texts and professors to the University of Prishtina. We have also sent, as allowed by the Titoites, artistic and folklore groups, as well as literary materials, excluding Party issues. However, cultural exchanges with the region of Kosova are significantly hindered by Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, we must accept that these relations will develop to the extent that they allow us, so we must make the most of them. This is a patriotic and cultural duty that is placed before us, but our approach should not be limited to these connections alone.

The Albanian residents of Kosova, Albanians in Macedonia and those in Montenegro are fervent patriots, and their eyes are directed towards socialist Albania, towards the Party of Labour. There is no debate about this. Albanians living in Yugoslavia follow our television with great interest and eagerness, so much so that in many parts of Kosova where our television is not watched, those who know that it is better watched somewhere else, especially when there is an important event in Albania, get up and go to watch the broadcast. They read magazines and any other material they can get their hands on with great enthusiasm. They also listen to the broadcasts of Radio Tirana, which, like those of Radio Kukës, are well-received and listened to with unparalleled zeal. This is a significant source of nourishment for the Albanians living in Yugoslavia. They

willingly and enthusiastically receive this nourishment.

However, we must acknowledge that we have not done much for Kosova. Therefore, I proposed to comrades that we create a group of cadres and engage in discussions with them. Our television, radio and press should organize special programs and broadcasts at certain intervals.

What will we present in them? Information about the history of the Albanian people in the Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, discussions about its good customs, studies on folklore, songs, ethnography, broadcasting special Kosova folk music, introducing people to write patriotic dramas about Kosovar heroes, old and new, writing about the Albanian heroes of the National Liberation War, presenting characteristic photographs of cities, villages and Albanian architecture in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, and many other issues.

We must also publish more extensive poetry and prose from young Kosovar authors, stage pieces like what was done, for example, with the symphony by Çesk Zade in Prishtina, where the author was invited for the first time. This symphony should also be performed by our symphony orchestra on radio and television in a special program, and so on for many other things.

These are some ideas related to many other issues that I think should be discussed with comrades, of course, a few days later, after we have completed the elections of deputies to the People's Assembly. The issue of Kosova is of great importance to us from every vantage point. Therefore, we must resolve and regulate a series of problems in the right way, both in state relations with the region, of course, through the Yugoslav Federation, and within our country for Kosova, for the Albanians in Macedonia and for those in Montenegro, in patriotic forms because they are an integral part of our nation.

We talk, are pleased to talk and must also talk

about the Arbëresh. Last night I heard a high-level conversation with Eqrem Çabej, who spoke on television about the Arbëresh. He made every problem of the Arbëresh very clear, talked about their origin, their time of migration to Italy, their customs and dialects, talked about great Arbëresh writers, language, songs, dances, etc., and this was a pleasure for us. However, it is very unfortunate that such activities are not organized in Kosova. Why not organize such things for the Albanians living in Yugoslavia?

Do we have territorial claims against Italy for the Arbëresh issue? No, we do not. We also do not raise the issue of our territorial claims for Kosova. However, we cannot fall into the positions of the Yugoslavs. For such actions, they will call us chauvinists or promoters of irredentism and other nonsense, but we do not care about that.

Regarding the history of Albania, when we come to the year 1913, the chapter for Kosova closes. But why does this chapter close? We must historically show what happened after 1913 for Kosova, for the Albanians in Macedonia and for those in Montenegro. Unjustifiably, we shy away from this issue, and we haven't thought it through well. The Kosovars need help from their Homeland because we are one nation, one blood and one brotherhood. All the good things that the Party of Labour in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has created must be made known to our Kosovar brothers and sisters. We must highlight all the virtues, aspirations, songs, dances, people, fighters and patriotic Kosovar heroes. We must do this, and nothing should stop us.

I will have the opportunity, I told the comrades, to discuss this issue in more detail with you, with the aim of putting this fire under the pot better than we have done so far.

April 12, 1979

AN OBSERVATION TO BE CONVEYED TO THE TITOITES

Today, I heard that our symphony orchestra of Radio-Television and some singers have gone to Kosova. On this occasion, I told Ramiz that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should send a radiogram to our ambassador in Belgrade for an observation of importance that needs to be signalled to the Yugoslavs. Certainly, a representative of our country accompanies the group of our orchestra. If this person has been to Kosova before, he can speak with the Yugoslavs himself. Otherwise, one of the officials from our embassy who will also be accompanying them must, without fail, find the opportunity to convey the following to one of the local personalities:

“I have come here, to Kosova, another time; I have been to such performances before. Therefore, allow me to make an observation. The purpose of these performances, whether ours or yours, is to strengthen reciprocal cultural relations. However, we have noticed almost the same faces in these performances, so I have created the impression that the people in all those cities where we have given our performances do not see them. My opinion is that the Albanian government does not send these groups just to entertain your leaders and officials but especially for the Albanian people residing in Kosova. However, precisely those for whom we give our concerts are not seen in our performances,” he should emphasize.

“What happens in our case?” he continues. “Your Albanian groups from Macedonia go to all of Albania, where the people gather to watch and listen. We even broadcast their performances on television as our

people demand it through various musical programs, etc., which I do not see happening for the performances that we give you. Therefore, it seems that this should be corrected,” our comrade must emphasize. “You may say that this is not true, but I don’t believe what you tell me. I have seen it and have nothing else to say,” and with that, he should conclude this matter.

It should be noted that these observations should not be addressed to their artistic leaders but rather to someone higher up because the responsible person might convey this to them, but he might not. Then the person to whom this observation will be addressed may point out to a Kosovar Albanian leader, or he may refer it to a Serb. Thus, a Serb will surely report immediately to Belgrade for everything that was said to them since it is known that the policy followed in Kosova is dictated by Belgrade, not Elhami Nimani. He is just a simple agent of theirs who does not even wish to bring our groups to Kosova or theirs to us but obeys Belgrade, thinking he has no choice. Therefore, it is safer to communicate our observation to the Serb higher up than to an Albanian. He will tell them that the Albanians have noticed this stance. So, to dispel our impression, Belgrade will order our performances to be given to the people, but measures will also be taken. Therefore, such an observation can be conveyed to the Titoites in a diplomatic manner.

April 27, 1979

A BLATANT DISPLAY OF WILD CHAUVINISM AND VISCERAL ANTI-ALBANIANISM

Yesterday, I read a radiogram from Bucharest where the Yugoslav embassy counsellor had informed our ambassador that there is no inch of Albanian land in Kosova and Macedonia and that the Albanians living there are not locals but immigrants, thus intruders, detached and settled on Serbian and Macedonian lands.

Today, I instructed that the Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana be summoned to our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and he should be explicitly told what the Yugoslav counsellor in Bucharest said to our ambassador. Also, he should be told that we desire to have normal relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, if individuals like this one are allowed to express themselves and act in this way, especially concerning Kosova and Albanian lands in Macedonia, then they will be the cause of igniting a great fire in these places that will never be extinguished. Therefore, we demand strict measures against this counsellor and all those who express themselves and act like him. We say this not for the Montenegrins, who are at present correct with the Albanians. That is it, and nothing more.

We have been very correct on our part regarding the Albanian nationality living in its territories in Yugoslavia. I am talking about the Albanians in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. On the Yugoslav side, there exists a living and intense feeling of wild chauvinism, visceral anti-Albanianism, as the French say, and an unbridled discrimination against the Albanians by the great-Serbs, Macedonian chauvinists and Montenegrins.

Entire anti-Albanian theories have been constructed and implemented during the time of the kings, especially King Aleksandar. The individuals who invented these theories have taken their place in the academy of Titoite sciences, and their theories remain at the base of Yugoslav politics, regardless of the fact that Kosova has been given a certain autonomy while the Albanians in Macedonia have been placed under the Macedonians' thumb.

We have defended and will constantly defend our Kosovar brothers in the other Albanian territories in Yugoslavia against the injustices being done to them. Kosova, which is the richest region in Yugoslavia, both in terms of agricultural land productivity and subsoil wealth, has been left no better as one of the poorest regions in Yugoslavia. Albanian lands in Macedonia have been left in the same situation. The Albanians in Macedonia are barely given freedom of schools and the press, yet they are constantly subjected to strict censorship, imprisonment, torture reminiscent of Hitlerite times and persecution. The miserable conditions force Kosovars to emigrate. Tens and hundreds of thousands emigrate to Turkey, Germany, and all European and American countries. This is a consequence of the anti-Albanian policies of the Great-Serbs and Great-Macedonians.

We will constantly defend our Albanian brothers living in Yugoslavia so that their rights are not violated. As for their future, it depends on themselves, the Albanians living there, who should not fear to defend their rights from the Serbian, Montenegrin or Macedonian chauvinists.

But we do not want to cause trouble for Yugoslavia, which is in a critical situation economically and politically, facing aspirations from Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Romania, which supposedly abandons its ally, and Hungary. The Yugoslav leaders, who are ideologic-

al and political enemies of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, know how crucial it is for them to have the support of our country. Therefore, they must have great respect for these positions and change their attitudes towards the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. Our path and our stance toward them are correct, courteous and good-neighbourly, regardless of the unavoidable ideological disagreements we have with the Yugoslav revisionists. Therefore, we have and want to maintain such reciprocal state relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that are in the common interest of both parties without interfering in each other's affairs, like with any other capitalist or revisionist country.

June 27, 1979

REGARDING ACTIVITIES IN THE DIRECTION OF KOSOVA

In today's meeting with secretaries and the Central Committee, we discussed the tasks arising for work in Kosova. We, from the Central Committee, must provide only general guidelines for activities in the direction of Kosova on how to work, because all negotiations, measures needed for their realization and the implementation of these guidelines, the organization of work, etc. must be taken and realized through state channels. This is because we have an entire ministry for cultural issues, a deputy minister responsible, as well as the University and the Academy of Sciences, etc., and also the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Therefore, we will not organize all activities from the Central Committee that aim to be carried out in the direction of Kosova, even though we must be informed about them.

What can and should be clarified in discussions with the Kosovars?

Firstly, we must have it clear ourselves, so that we can make it clear and well understood by all serious Albanian brothers living in Kosova or in other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, the line of our Party and our state, which consists of the relentless struggle we are conducting and will continue to conduct against Titoite revisionism, in ideology and politics, as well as against the false system of self-administration that the Yugoslav revisionists seek to pass off as a path to the "socialist construction" of their country. We must also make it clear to them that, even for some international issues, we are in disagreement with the Yugoslav government, with Titoism and its ideology. They must be clear that we do not budge from these positions.

Secondly, the government and the PLA are ready, within the possibilities of our country (we even make efforts to increase and should increase these possibilities), to provide cultural and educational assistance to the Albanian population in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. We are also ready to agree to exchange artistic and cultural groups with other republics of Yugoslavia. Of course, with these republics, we will be a bit more reserved, but, just as we do with the Greeks, we can engage in reciprocal exchanges of cultural, artistic and sports groups, etc. with the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

Thirdly, we have trade relations with the SFR of Yugoslavia, which not only have not been cut but, on the contrary, we have increased and will increase them based on mutual interests. If they have the opportunity, the Kosovars should help us in this direction. However, of course, we would prefer to have such relations primarily with them, meaning with the region of Kosova, then with Macedonia and Montenegro, where there are Albanians. This is what we are trying to do, are doing and will do if, of course, they also want it. But if the Federation tells the Kosovars that, up to this point, you should develop trade relations with Albania, then we will develop further trade relations with Yugoslavia.

It must be made clear to the Kosovars that they should not think that we believe that the brothers of Kosova, within the limits allowed by the constitution of SFR of Yugoslavia, have not fought and are not fighting to strengthen the positions of the residents of the Albanian nationality living in the Albanian territories there. The Kosovars must be clear that we do not underestimate their efforts, as we recognize that they have also made efforts, for example, to unify our language. We are pleased to see that schools in the Albanian language in Kosova have made greater progress compared to before. We note, in addition to these, that the num-

ber of Albanian students at the University of Prishtina is increasing from year to year. We also see and understand their efforts for the economic development of Kosova and other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. But, as they themselves say, as the press of the Federation acknowledges, in economic terms the region of Kosova has been left behind compared to other republics. We understand the difficulties that the Kosovars face, we observe their efforts in this direction and we appreciate them. By acting in this way, we encourage them to continue fighting for their economic development.

The Kosovars must also understand that when there was a need for us to unmask certain individuals directly we did it, and why it was necessary to do so at that time. Currently, we are not mentioning the names of Albanian leaders from Kosova in a negative context, and we think that, in the created conditions, every Albanian there, from the youngest to the oldest, in one way or another, contributes to strengthening the positions of the Albanian population, both in the region of Kosova and in the other regions in the south and west of Kosova, meaning in the Albanian territories in Macedonia and Montenegro. How each of these leaders works, it is not for us to judge, nor can we judge them, as they will judge themselves. The people of Kosova know better than anyone and can say whether someone is doing well or poorly, and how they work for the consolidation of the victories achieved by the population of Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia and to increase these victories even more. So, in this regard, they will judge tomorrow, but they may also judge the day after tomorrow, meaning in the future, as they know the conditions in which each of them works, how much each of today's leaders gives in these directions and how much they have the opportunity to give. Our desire has been and is for every Albanian, in Kosova and in other Albanian regions, to give as much as possible, but it is not

for us to change the conditions in which they and their regions find themselves.

We, the Albanians of the PSR of Albania and the leadership of the PLA do not think in vain; we judge everything by considering the situations in Kosova and other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. We simply state that the Kosovars must be fully convinced and clear that it is not Tito, nor his ideology, nor Titoism, that has given them the rights spoken of, but the situation they themselves have created with continuous efforts there, the struggle they have waged and are waging for the consolidation of the Albanian population. These have been and are the basic factors that some rights have been given to them, which must be increased and enjoyed by all. The Federation, with Tito at the head, which seeks to pretend that it has granted them these rights, has been forced and must definitely give them because they are minimal. They should understand how they want it, but we, as blood-brothers, understand the issue in this way and wish the Kosovars to understand it this way too.

We understand and are convinced that the Kosovars also understand that socialist Albania is also a very important external factor for aiding them in all those directions we mentioned before, as well as in major international issues. Socialist Albania has its own opinion, and its voice is heard in the international arena. Therefore, when it speaks on behalf of the Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia, reaching up to two million people, then there must be people all over the world who say that it is legitimate for these two million to have and enjoy all the rights that belong to them.

We think that the Kosovars should not seek to extinguish our political and ideological struggle against Yugoslavia, Titoism, Tito himself, etc., as this is not good for them. If we had not done what we are doing, Albania itself, not to mention Kosova, would have been

lost. Therefore, they must understand this struggle correctly. If they do not understand, it is their problem, but we, as we have constantly said and emphasize again, will not deviate from our path.

Currently, we observe that the Yugoslavs are pre-disposed to trade with our country, to develop trade relations and other fields with us. We are also interested in such relations with them, of course, in directions that benefit us. We are now building the Shkodra border railway, which is a good thing. Similarly, we are developing some other activities in the field of culture, such as the publication of some books of poems by a Yugoslav poet and others, which are worth showing them that we are working in this direction.

In short, the elements from Kosova, with whom we have the opportunity to make contact, must be told that the PSR of Albania, PLA and the Albanian government are not inclined to undertake adventurous actions in their direction. Instead, they work continuously for the Kosovars to consolidate their positions in the Federation more and more. Every Albanian in Kosova, etc., as our heart desires, we believe that they also want such a thing; they must work in these directions. We do not say that they do not work and understand well the conditions in which they live and fight.

The Kosovars also need to understand that the relations we need to develop with Yugoslavia, within the laws of the Federation and our laws and in mutual interest, will influence, to the utmost, the population of Kosova and the Albanian regions in Macedonia and Montenegro, where Albanians live. Everywhere there, enthusiasm for their existence as Albanians and love and sympathy for socialist Albania will rise. Everyone must understand this correctly, and we can do nothing about it.

We see that the Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia are working to consolidate the positions

of the region of Kosova and the entire Albanian population in Yugoslavia based on the laws of the Federation. We believe that they are not doing a bad job. If there are individuals or specific groups that act beyond that, this work does not concern us. If there are people there who think that these things and this work are harmful to them, they should know one thing: Albania has radio, television, the press, publishes various books and magazines, etc. In other words, it carries out extensive propaganda throughout the outside world. Therefore, all this work cannot fail to have an echo, which, of course, spreads in Kosova, where it creates and ignites a great patriotic fire. It has its own effect on the population of Albanian nationality living in Yugoslavia and is an aid to them. If there are people there who exaggerate in these situations we are going through, we cannot do anything about such people.

Yes, such a line must be maintained in those cases I mentioned, but when opportunities arise, we should also convey these to the leaders, the Albanian heads in Kosova and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. They should not remain inactive but rise, engage in debates and oppose, for example, the Serb, the secretary of the regional committee of Kosova, etc. when they threaten the rights that the Albanian community has gained there. When the opportunity arises, our comrades should, after shaking their hands, tell them that we are pleased to see that Kosova has schools, universities, that the Kosovar public loves its traditional dances and Albanian folk songs. "To whom should we say this, Fadil Hoxha, who is a member of the presidency of the SAP of Kosova?" someone might ask.

And yes, even to Fadil Hoxha, because it is better for a Kosovar Albanian to be at the head of Kosova than a Serb. In reality, Fadil is undoubtedly a loyal follower of Tito, otherwise he wouldn't hold that position. But Tito has his own goals. He has placed Fadil there

with responsibility to defend some of his interests, to consolidate his positions. Tito, as a Croatian nationalist, is very interested in having the Albanians of Kosova and other regions in Yugoslavia as a counterbalance to the Serbs because the Serbs have always suppressed and oppressed the Albanians more. Knowing this, as an anti-Serb, anti-Russian figure, he thinks that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia is not only a compact mass, but now, with the PSR of Albania, they constitute a considerable force. In Yugoslavia, he calculates, there are two million Albanians, and more than two and a half million others live in Albania, making a total of four and a half million people. And what about Macedonia with only 800 thousand people compared to these 4-5 million Albanians? What about Montenegro, with 500 thousand people? Tito understands these things, he is not a fool. He cannot ignore this large force of Albanians, so he maintains this stance towards them, and he raises himself beside the Albanians.

The Albanians, in defending self-administration, tell Tito: "We have self-administration in Kosova, but the Serbs are taking away all its wealth. We agree to give Macedonia or Serbia our products, but they must also pay us money because we need to make investments for the economic development of the region." And it is a fact that investments are now being made in Kosova. But who invests there, Albania? No, investments are made by anyone who can, as is done throughout Yugoslavia, including the United States and the USSR, so nothing changes in this direction.

Therefore, our comrades who go to Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, and have the opportunity to meet these people, should be clear about the party line on this issue. Of course, in such cases, when they go with singing and dancing groups, the programs should include elements that educate the local Albanians with feelings of love for our country, talk about its beauties,

take into account the demands of the Kosovar public, etc.

In our programs, figures from Kosova, as well as those from all of Albania, should be discussed, such as Bajram Curri, Isa Boletini, Hasan Prishtina, etc. Our people who go there should sing about them, just as they should sing about the partisans, fallen heroes, like Qemal Stafa and others, up to those Albanians who have fought and fallen for the liberation of Yugoslavia. But this work must be done with maturity and in the right measure, not to overdo it and act in a chauvinistic or nationalist manner. I mean that those responsible for preparing the programs must be careful not to fall into chauvinist positions.

Moreover, the conditions in which the Albanians there live must be objectively understood by our people. Hysni says that a Kosovar playwright, in the current situation in Kosova, cannot speak openly about the activities of Sulejman Vokshi; he can only do so indirectly, as authorities in Tito's regime do not allow him to express the historical reality properly. Therefore, there are cases where, from the perspective of Kosovar authors, plays are written with double meanings, and people who watch or read them understand the reasons and intentions of the authors who want to benefit from this situation.

It should not be allowed for our people who go to Kosova to act recklessly.

Deputy Minister of Education and Culture or Foreign Affairs, etc. cannot simply tell people to be careful and nothing more. The leaders of the ministries must do this before the designated people leave as a group. Besides, those who will be sent there should be reminded to avoid provocations. It should be clear to them that the Kosovars are indeed our brothers, but it should not be forgotten that they are under the jurisdiction of Yugoslavia. They must understand this well.

Our companions from Albanian groups coming to us from Yugoslavia play a significant role in bringing them closer to our positions. But sometimes, due to lack of clarity, they remain hesitant during their stay, and some of them do not even know how to speak or what to say, although they constantly accompany others. No, this is not how it should be! First and foremost, these people must be political figures, so Kosovars or other Albanians coming from Yugoslavia to us should not engage in frozen conversations; they should show broad political sensitivity with which our people should be equipped.

July 8, 1979

THE TITOITES ARE AFRAID OF THE TRUTH

Let the Titoites write articles as a response to our magazine "Ylli," where we talked about the real economic situation in Kosova, Macedonia, and especially in the region inhabited by the Albanian population.* It is not true that this poor and miserable economic situation does not exist there and that we Albanians speak in vain, as the newspaper "Rilindja" claims, which I think writes its article of response out of spite. "Borba" from Belgrade writes that we supposedly pose as nationalists, chauvinists and irredentists. No, this reality reveals itself, and even the Yugoslavs themselves write and say that Kosova and the areas inhabited by Albanians in Macedonia and Montenegro have been left behind economically. The vast natural resources in Kosova are not utilized, even under the guise of supposedly socialist Yugoslav self-administration, but are seized by the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and others.

So, in Kosova, where Albanians live in the overwhelming majority, up to 80 per cent, not only are there no investments for the development of this rich country, but the rich raw materials, such as coal and polymetals, are sent to factories built in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and not in Kosova. When the Yugoslav Titoites themselves highlight this reality, why shouldn't we have the right to write an article presenting the real facts? Of course, our press has this right, just like any other newspaper, but as a state, we also have the right to defend our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia, to whom all the rights sanctioned by law in the constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of

* Published in the "Ylli" magazine, April 1979 — I.H.

Yugoslavia must be given. Investments must be made in these areas in the forms and directions that are done in other republics, regardless of knowing that these investments are for enslavement. But Kosova remains again in double slavery because the primary raw materials it possesses are taken by Serbs Croats, and others, and the few investments made there are for two purposes: first, to exploit this region, and second, to break the unity of the Albanian population in Kosova and to set it in conflict against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The enemies of our country, whether large or small, whether distant or neighbouring, when it suits them, can attack and slander Albania, but they do not like and do not want, in fact, they go mad when Albania, with concrete facts, exposes their hegemonic, capitalist and traitorous policies. This happens especially with the Yugoslavs who do all these evils to us, not to mention their bitter past history. They go mad when our press, which has the duty to unmask the treason of the Titoite revisionists, highlights the real internal situation of this federal Slavic republic. Unlike others, they are very "sensitive," and their sensitivity comes for reasons of megalomania, primarily because their treason to Marxism-Leninism is exposed, a signboard which they only use to cover up their actions as renegades. Secondly, there is a population of nearly 2 million Albanians living in Yugoslavia, apart from those in migration and those deported to Turkey.

As I emphasized, the Yugoslav press, especially the newspaper "Rilindja" of Kosova, which is published in the Albanian language, under the pressure of Belgrade and under the direction of the "Borba" newspaper, wrote a nasty article against our magazine "Ylli." Fine, it is their job to respond, but if we are accused of something we are not, this is called speaking as it pleases them. This is nasty and at the same time shows their

fear of the truth in our press.

What was written in the article of our magazine "Ylli"? Was it any more than what the Yugoslav newspapers are writing themselves? I have in front of me the "Politika" newspaper from Belgrade, dated June 26, 1979, in which an article is published, signed by Toma Milić, entitled "Why Is Kosova Not Developing Fast?" At the beginning of the article, he says, "Despite all our results, changes in development between the region and the country's average have not decreased. Large investments still do not yield the first results. General funds for development are smaller than the debts that need to be paid." This is the essence of the article, and in this, the explanation for leaving Kosova behind in economic matters is clearly given, not to mention other issues.

A lot is said there, supposedly Yugoslav authorities will reconsider the policy of "rapid" development of Kosova, and, of course, the reasons why Kosova has lagged behind and what can be done for further development "between Kosova and the country's average" will be evaluated.

This newspaper is forced to admit that the social production per capita of the population of Kosova is currently "much lower than ten years ago," that "the volume of investments is declining; the economy has large debts; unemployment is increasing faster than employment," "production is falling," etc. So, the newspaper concludes that the evils come due to overpopulation, increased immigration, and according to it, Kosova is cleansed, but I must add only by the Albanian population, which goes all over the world to earn a living.

The article continues to say, "The utilization of many objects during the past five-year plan and during this plan has not changed the situation." Why? The blame lies with the Regional Planning Institute, directed by a certain Ismet Gucia. This reminds me of the bitter history of the early years of Liberation, before

the rupture of relations with Yugoslavia in 1948 when we drafted a modest two-year plan, simple and within our means. Of course, we had asked Yugoslavia for a small loan to implement this plan, but instead of the loan, Tito sent us a certain Savo Zlatić, who posed as an economist but had no understanding of economics. Supposedly in agreement with our people, he came and told me that our plan was not realistic, that it was a grand plan! We, of course, opposed their efforts, which were made to keep Albania in poverty, to take our critical resources, and to seize our country into the system of the Yugoslav Federation. For this, we have a document where Boris Kidrič at that time, I think the chairman of the Yugoslav Planning Commission, included the PR of Albania in the list of Yugoslav republics and called it the seventh republic.

So, even in Kosova, the orientation of the economy was, of course, wrong, and the blame is placed on this Albanian, as they say. The facts show that Kosova is the poorest region in the country. However, according to them, hundreds of new objects have been built, modern roads, supposedly for tourism and travel to Macedonia, schools have been built, small ones for sure, microscopic hospitals, and hotels for tourists. These are the objects they have built in Kosova. The author claims that in 1948, 85 per cent of the population lived in villages, while at the beginning of this plan with a medium-term deadline, he writes that less than 50 per cent of the population lives in villages, without saying where the other part, 30 per cent, has gone. But I will say this: a very small part is employed in the cities of Kosova because there is no work for everyone there, so the majority, several hundred thousand, have been deported to Turkey and emigrated outside of Yugoslavia.

But how do they show the change in the development of the region compared to the Yugoslav average, and what are, according to the author, the reasons why

in Kosova “social production is three times smaller”? According to him, these come from the consequence of the “lack of economic stabilization in the world and our country, which in Kosova takes complicated forms (while supposedly it is not complicated in other republics — E.H.), because Kosova’s economy is newer and non-accumulative.” It is understandable that it is non-accumulative because no investments have been made here, as in other regions of Yugoslavia, where foreigners have invested billions and modern plants have been built, especially exploiting the primary resources of Kosova.

“Investments in Kosova,” says the newspaper “Politika,” “are declining. Per capita they are only 50 per cent compared to investments per breath in the SFRY.” But here, it has not predicted that overall development will take a big step forward, and this because it knows it has been neglected, despite the vast wealth that Kosova has in primary resources such as energy, black metallurgy and non-ferrous minerals. All of these exist in Kosova in terms of quality and quantity, but where do they go? They go to other republics, especially to Serbia, under whose direction Kosova has been. They also go to Macedonia.

“In the first five months of this year,” the article continues, “industrial production in Kosova is lower than last year, losses in the economic activity of basic socialized work organizations are increasing.” Here lies the whole issue. This socialized work, the “specific new socialist system” of Yugoslavia, operates in the opposite way in the region of Kosova, meaning the law of plundering the underground and above-ground wealth of Kosova by other republics, and these are taken at low prices, of course. In Kosova, in fact, no investment is made at all.

Kosova is very rich, the article says — it has “50 per cent of all the reserves of Yugoslavia’s coal, 56 per cent

of lead, zinc, manganese, nickel, chromium minerals” and reaches the result that “building facilities to exploit these minerals is expensive, takes a long time, engages few workers and produces real results only after many years.” Therefore, the logical conclusion of this article is to extract these minerals but not to invest in these branches there, to take these primary resources from Kosova and send them for processing to the other republics of Yugoslavia!

The article also continues by stating, “increasingly, banks present their accounts for credits before actual production and revenue generation begin, while the debt of the economy increasingly restricts further development, the general means for the development of Kosova in the year are almost fewer than the obligations created. This is a heavy burden, half of these obligations are transmitted from year to year.” As a conclusion, he says that “the current orientation towards large projects and a economic structure will have negative consequences even in the future five-year plan, but some processes need to be stopped.”

Can the situation in the Kosova region be presented more clearly than this? This article from “Politika” and many other Yugoslav newspapers write much more than an article from our magazine “Ylli,” where it was pointed out that Kosova, where millions of Albanians live, has been left in poverty. We have a duty to do such a thing, and we must highlight it and express our indignation because measures are not taken, as they have been in all other republics. Why is this discrimination happening, when on the other hand, the Titoites boast that Yugoslavia is a socialist country where Titoism considers all nations equal?

As long as Kosova, as stated by the Yugoslav press itself, receives such treatment, especially towards Albanians, we, socialist Albania, have the right and the duty, without being chauvinistic, nationalist or irreden-

tist, to highlight in our press these injustices done to our brothers in Kosova. This is a right, permissible and necessary path, and Yugoslavia must take measures not according to the conclusion drawn by the article in "Politika," but other strong measures which actually raise the economic level of Kosova, based on the constitution. Otherwise, there will be unrest in Kosova, and we are not the ones causing it, but the chauvinistic, anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian system of the Titoites.

October 15, 1979

WHY IS TITO GOING TO KOSOVA?

I discussed the visit that Tito will make these days to Kosova with the comrades, where he is not going for no reason, but because Kosova is a constant concern for Yugoslavia, especially now that there are numerous demonstrations against the Titoites and in favour of us. The situation in Kosova is not calm and stable, which is why Tito himself is going there, but he cannot fix this situation with his usual rhetoric. The leaders of the Titoites in Kosova may have invited him, especially now that in our country, within five months, all the damage caused by the strong earthquake of April 15 has been eliminated. To counterbalance a bit of dissatisfaction that has arisen among the people, they have invited Tito for a few days to make some promises to the people.

May 4, 1980

TITO HAS DIED

Today, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug announced Tito's death. Tito was one of the most dangerous enemies of communism. His death will leave the peoples of Yugoslavia in economic and political misery, division and conflicts among the mosaic of peoples that form what is called the Federation of Yugoslavia.

May 10, 1980

THE TITO MONARCHY COMES TO AN END

The inevitable disappearance, orchestrated with such mastery and splendour, of the monarch Tito has concluded. Ironically, with the anthem of the Internationale. While Tito's grave stone was laid, the Titoites did not hesitate to lie and engage in demagoguery. This bourgeoisie is low, cunning and shameless.

We, the Albanian communists, fought Tito mercilessly while he was alive, and we will continue our fight against Titoism, one of the variants of modern revisionism, until its end.

As the apostles left behind by Tito said in their masses, when they sang the *De profundis* to their "leader," the orientation of Yugoslav politics is: 1) "brotherhood and unity," 2) "self-administration," 3) "non-alignment." So, "father, son and the holy spirit." Amen!

Brotherhood and unity is the product of Clemenceau in the Treaty of Versailles; thus, a state with plundered treasures above and below, sewn together with imperialist machinery, on which they placed a monarchy and a king who oppressed different peoples and followed the policy of the French master. Paris put this puppet king on the throne and Marseille killed him before he had time to sing the Marseillaise.

This formula "brotherhood and unity" from the monarchy transformed into a federative republic after World War II. It was also called socialist, to deceive the masses and peoples who fought for their liberation and unity to the point of secession. But who allowed the peoples of Yugoslavia to self-determine their fate even to the point of secession? Instead of self-determination, they were given self-administration.

Self-administration was a pseudo-Marxist mask hiding the capitalist system that was being built, to transform the Karadjordjević monarchy into a new form. The form changed, the master changed. Karadjordjević had a main master and did not hide it, France. The Titoites had another main master: the USA, but also several other capitalist countries, and liked to present himself as “equal among equals.” Tito presented himself as “uninvolved” because that’s what he liked, and he liked it that way for his masters.

“Non-alignment” is the opposite of alignment. Tito wanted to deceive the people with a small “non” and to present himself as “independent” when the noose was around his neck and when he put the noose around the necks of the peoples of Yugoslavia. But Tito lived as a king with the proverb “after me, the flood.”

Today, world capitalism asks the question: “What will happen after Tito?” We, the Albanian communists, say that we predicted what will happen “after Tito” long before “after Tito.” We are dialecticians. “The sun appears when it rises,” our people say, and we saw and fought against Titoism from its birth until it ended in betrayal, dishonesty, intrigues, murder, genocide and lies — all in the service of world capitalism with the Americans at the forefront. It ended in dirty political acrobatics that provided means for the pleasures and amusements of King Tito and his courtesans, while bringing division, eclecticism and political and economic misery to the peoples of Yugoslavia.

“The funeral pomp” of the king has its tail back, like a scorpion. Kings and presidents of the bourgeoisie and revisionism pay for this style of luxury funeral. “Tito’s life was closed beautifully” in the grave, and world capitalism “sowed the wind, and shall reap the storm.” Now it asks the question: “What will it be like after Tito?” Everything will be destroyed because it was already destroyed; everything will go bankrupt because

it was already bankrupt; everything will be unmasked
because it was a bluff, the castle was built on sand.

May 23, 1980

THE LEGACY OF TITO

Tito did not have faith in the unity of the various nations that make up Yugoslavia, and this stemmed from his anti-Marxist beliefs. He and his group were nationalist-chauvinists. The slogan “brotherhood and unity” was based on an ideology that divides rather than unites. It “unites” only for the stronger clan to dominate and exploit the weaker.

A correct analysis of the situation within Yugoslavia does not allow one to think that Tito, with his “authority,” had achieved “brotherhood and unity” in the Federation. It is true to say that the Federation was preserved, and the Titoite bourgeois layer of federalists was created, but not a unity of the republics and autonomous regions, as well as the various nations that make up the Federation.

Tito was a clever bourgeois politician and statesman who knew how to hide, to manoeuvre under pseudo-Marxist slogans, to maintain centralized power in the Federation for a prolonged period, but at the same time, to make a turn towards decentralization within it because nationalist and chauvinistic feelings for dominance and hegemony emerged. In the race for dominance, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were put against each other. Tito, in fact, could not measure and restrain these ambitions. He leaned towards the Croatian-Slovenian clan, but acted in a way that he played the role of a “paid and fair” arbitrator, giving the impression of a “wise, clever” and “experienced” “Marxist” leader. Thus, in this spirit, he struck the Serbian nationalism of Ranković, then that of Nikezić and Koča Popović. Later, in 1976-77, he targeted the group of Serbian military officials led by Jovanović, Šumonja and others, just as he had targeted the Croatian nationalist group

in 1971, led by Tripalo. Why mention these purges? These speak to the rivalries that exist and cannot help but exist in a capitalist state.

Unequal economic development in the republics and autonomous regions within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fuelled chauvinism, nationalism and hegemonism among the Serbian and Croat-Slovenian clans for Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (the autonomous region of Kosova always remained an oppressed and exploited region), or else they would be suppressed. This way, the republics, autonomous regions and Federation were preserved, but economic decentralization was established, and the pseudo-socialist system of self-administration was implemented.

It was thought that with these actions, a solution was found to Yugoslav clan wars for hegemony, and at the same time, the path to faster development in the unequal form of capitalism in the republics, as well as the enrichment of various layers of the new bourgeoisie and individuals in particular, was opened. Tito and his Croat-Slovenian clan, the mastermind behind this manoeuvre, favoured not only the unequal development of the republics and regions but also strengthened Croatia and Slovenia with foreign investments. They de facto, if not de jure, established the hegemony of this clan. Thus, rivalries between nations and nationalities, between republics and regions in the SFR of Yugoslavia, not only did not disappear but intensified and will continue to intensify.

It is clear that Tito's clan held the army and state security in its hands, constituting the only pillar of the maintenance of the Titoite federalist clan in this devised formation. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia had no leadership function, neither UDB-directed nor educational, as it had nothing to educate, no society to preach and no ideals to inspire the individual.

Self-administration was, in fact, nothing more than a parody of administration; the workers did not have a “voice in the chapter” — they were there for show. In collaboration with multinational companies and foreign financial capital that had divided zones of influence and exploitation in federal Yugoslavia, the new bourgeoisie took control. And this grand manipulation was carried out by Tito’s clan and legitimized by some forums at the regional, republican and federal levels, which mimicked Mussolini’s corporative chambers.

This capitalist chaos, this anarchistic regime, this Mussolini-type “corporative” form could work as long as Tito was alive, but what would happen after him? The leaders of the Titoite clans would devour each other like dogs and wolves. It is said that Tito allegedly foresaw how things should be directed after his death and created a “collective leadership.” But what was and what did this collective leadership solve? After Tito, there would no longer be a single president but many presidents in one presidency. This presidency is composed of one elected representative for each republic and autonomous region for five years, and each of these, through rotation, would be the “chairman” of this presidency for one year.

Everything was “arranged,” but nothing was resolved, and nothing will be resolved! What will happen? Tito’s Croatian-Slovene clan will rule, albeit not very visibly, and, in fact, this will be the Bakarić-Dolanc group. The others are federalists, but puppets, until the cohesion of the Serb-Montenegrin-Macedonian rival group occurs, and then, just like the first federalist, if they becomes hegemonic, or separatist, the conflicts deepen. So, after Tito, there can be no stability except temporary. The current situation avoids the dominance of the Serb clan. But until when? Currently, there is a collegial power system of two presidencies, that of the republic and that of the LCY. All 31 of them are in-

effective in making decisions; all will take turns at the top through rotations, and this rotation is such that over time, individuals with or without authority from every clan will come there, creating instability, rivalry and leading to the necessary creation of a single personality that will replace this "castle" (power structure) built on sand.

The Croatian-Slovene clan now dominates, but in the times to come, the Serbian clan will also differentiate and assert itself (Minić, Ljubić, Vidić, Marković, Stambolić and others). Currently, they work to create favourable situations for their clan, try to strike in the economic field and gain dominant political positions. The Serbian clan is more alive, more dynamic and has broader positions taken as a whole. The current leadership wants to be federalist because it serves its interests, but this will not depend very much on its will. Capitalist development in new forms and the influence of foreign financial capital will play decisive roles in the future.

For now, the issue of Soviet intervention in Yugoslavia does not arise. The question lies in the form capitalist power will take in this country. I think the tendency to preserve the Federation will continue, but at the same time, there will be a struggle for hegemony between Serbs on the one hand, and Croats and Slovenes on the other. This rivalry will take the form of the centralization of power, in which the economically stronger clan will dominate and have the support of the military.

In these situations, the Albanians living in Yugoslavia must strengthen their national unity and affirm it through constitutional rights. They must try to preserve, strengthen and expand the rights they have gained. They must be vigilant against the Great-Serbs, but also in alliances with other nationalities; they need to be mature, neither blindly liberal nor sectarian and dis-

trustful in the face of any favourable situational alignment in their favour. They must know how to benefit in every situation, be patient and prepare for their better and freer future. Therefore, the Albanians in Yugoslavia should not engage in adventures, nor should they allow their rights to be suppressed or trampled on. Their self-determination will be brought about by objective and subjective circumstances.

April 1, 1981

POWERFUL POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS IN KOSOVA

According to reports from foreign news agencies, powerful demonstrations erupted today in Kosova, particularly led by Albanian students from the University of Prishtina. As these agencies report, there were one or two fatalities during clashes with the police. Many, both students and police, were reported injured. It is also said that dozens of students have been arrested, some of whom are reportedly being tortured.

Demonstrations occurred twice during the last ten days of March, and both times they were forcefully dispersed. The first time, Yugoslav leadership remained silent, and the second time, they reacted against the demonstrators with slanderous accusations and various epithets, using Ranković-type violence.

Students are said to have protested against the dismal food conditions in the university's canteens and dormitories, as well as the neglect of Kosova's economy. However, as things appear, the demonstrations have taken on a political character. In fact, as reported, students were chanting slogans such as "we want freedom" and "we want Kosova to become a republic."

April 2, 1981

DETERIORATING SITUATION IN KOSOVA

The situation in Kosova is deteriorating. Confrontations between students and the police are escalating. A state of emergency has been declared.

April 3, 1981

NEW AND POWERFUL CLASHES IN THE CITIES OF KOSOVA

As reported by foreign news agencies, in Prishtina and Podujeva, both yesterday and today, students, joined by workers, erupted in demonstrations and clashes even more intense than before. The situation has become very tense. The Yugoslav authorities have surrounded Prishtina with tanks. Large police and Serbian militia forces have arrived in Kosova from Belgrade.

A state of emergency has been declared, group movements are restricted and crackdowns on Titoite figures have commenced, including Fadil Hoxha, Xhavit Nimani, Asllan Fazlija, and others. They used all the expressions from the Titoite vocabulary, making the dirtiest accusations: "Albanian nationalists," "irredentists," "informbureauists," "imperialist agents," "Ballists," etc.

After the insults and accusations against Albanian students, praises for Tito, Titoism, self-administration, and the "victories of Kosova" followed. After praising Titoism, promises with deceptive intentions followed, such as "we will do this," "we will do that," "it is difficult, but the crisis is to blame," etc. Finally, they undertook numerous arrests and made even greater threats of retaliation.

It is clear that the Kosovars are oppressed, miserable, bloodied by the Great-Serbs and Titoism. Now, it seems they have judged that the cup is full and it was the opportune moment to demand the rights that have been denied to them. As we hear and learn from foreign news agencies, foreign radio and television, there has been weak organization, but also foreign elements that have manipulated. We have no say in this matter. Exter-

nal agencies are not excluded, but in the final analysis, I think these agencies are not so interested in disturbances, especially in Yugoslavia, at this moment.

The real reasons must be sought and found in internal factors, in the failed system of self-administration, in heavy debts, rising prices, inflation, unemployment, the impoverishment of the masses, as well as in the national problems resolved in the most chauvinistic way by Titoism. All these evils weigh more on the shoulders of Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia. However, the manipulation of the Great-Serb agencies against the system itself, the Croatian separatists, etc., cannot be ruled out, which found Kosova as the weakest link in the Yugoslav federation.

Still, what happened in Kosova was a severe blow to the Titoites who want to give the world the impression that “everything in Yugoslavia is resolved correctly” — the national issue, socialism, democracy, stability, etc., etc. Their whole system is rotten...

April 4, 1981

THE TITOITES ACT FEROCIOUSLY AGAINST THE KOSOVAR DEMONSTRATORS

Yesterday morning, on April 3, we returned from Vlora with Nexhmije and the children.

The events in Kosova have preoccupied and greatly concerned me because the vile Yugoslav Titoites, according to news agencies, have violently attacked the people and students who peacefully sought to improve their living conditions and the status of the Republic of Kosova within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation.

April 5, 1981

THE POLITICAL BUREAU DISCUSSES

I called for a meeting of the Political Bureau, where we discussed the recent events in Kosova and the measures we should take. All the comrades fully agreed with the proposal I made to write a strong article against the violence of the Great-Serbs against the people and students of Kosova, as well as with the theses I had prepared. We decided to publish the article as soon as possible. I provided Ramiz with some theses.

April 7, 1981

WHAT MR. DRAGOSAVAC CLAIMS AND DENIES

Mr. Dušan Dragosavac, in your speech delivered on April 3, you say in one part: "Experience has shown that we have constantly suffered damage when we have neglected the moments that presented themselves to us as historical."

This "valuable" advice you give is not only relevant to the leadership of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia but is also a reminder for the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It is not only a recommendation for the Serbian people but also for the Albanian people living in their territories in the SFR of Yugoslavia. However, we want to emphasize on this occasion that you have not forgotten anything, and you do not want to see history as it should be seen, so that the bitter past would not be repeated.

Mr. Dušan Dragosavac, in this speech you also state: "We have solved in the best possible way the issue of the nations of the national republics and, within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the issue of the autonomous regions."

Your claim shows that even after the National Liberation War of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the old history was not forgotten; Kosova remained an "autonomous region" of the SR of Serbia, and the Albanian population, compact in terms of both nationality and territory, was divided among the three republics of the SFR of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Dragosavac, continuing your views that supposedly you have solved the issue of nations, in your speech you also say: "However, it would be an illusion to think that we have solved this in a stable and perfect

manner and that there will be no interethnic problems.”

Clearly, you acknowledge that you have not solved this this much-debated issue of nationalities “in a stable and perfect” manner. Then, it must be concluded that the peoples making up Yugoslavia must make efforts to perfect these issues.

Specifically: the overwhelming Albanian population living in Kosova and in other republics of Yugoslavia seeks, within the norms but also through demonstrations, the liberation of the region of Kosova from the tutelage of the SR of Serbia. They demand the recognition of its status as a republic within the SFR of Yugoslavia.

What crime did the people of Kosova commit with this request, as characterized by the leadership of the SFR of Yugoslavia and some key leaders of the Kosova region? We believe that they committed no crime. On the contrary, we note that these legitimate demands were underestimated, labelled as hostile, leading to the demonstrations that took place. Issues must be judged objectively and fairly, and not by pushing all the peoples of Yugoslavia, with leaderships of every rank at the forefront, to attack, curse, beat, kill, maim and imprison the most beautiful and brave flower, the Albanian youth of Kosova and other Albanian regions. It is neither in the honour nor in the interest of Yugoslavia to unleash half of the Serbian police and Belgrade’s militia, armed to the teeth, to surround the cities of Kosova with tanks, cover the skies with planes and fill the airports with paratroopers. Every proposal, every request, every legitimate claim of the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, but not liked and disrupted by the federal and regional leadership, is easily qualified as “hostile, Albanian chauvinist and irredentist.”

What does the epithet “nationalist” mean in the mouths of Yugoslavs? The word nationalist comes from the word nation, which means nationality. Every dic-

tionary, small or large, clearly explains this nation. The word nation — nationality, meaning nation — nationality, the Yugoslavs keep in their speech and writing, in black on white.

When you try to deny a nationality, its sovereignty and all the attributes that derive from them, the words you utter are just demagoguery and create frictions that can lead to undesirable and dangerous confrontations. If you try to suppress and erase a nation's traditions and national aspirations, you will inevitably encounter a reaction of self-defence.

In the SFRY of Yugoslavia, and especially in the Socialist Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo, and wherever Albanians live, the situation has reached the point of creating a "Muslim nationality." The concept of "Muslim nationality" is specific to Yugoslavia, but surprisingly, there is no "Orthodox Christian nationality" or "Roman Catholic nationality" in Yugoslavia! This requires no explanation; it explains itself.

It is evident that any action taken by the Kosovar Albanians, within the constitution and laws of the Federation but not to the liking of the leadership, is immediately labelled "Albanian chauvinism." To throw them into prisons and concentration camps, people are easily categorized as "irredentists." Accusing an entire people and nation, comprising more than 2 million residents, like the Albanian part living in their territories in Yugoslavia, of irredentism implies not having been, and not being, irredentist oneself, having eradicated all the causes and sources of this doctrine, born out of imperialists and the old Balkan feudal bourgeoisie. If the principle of self-determination of peoples has been applied after the National Liberation War, then why should there be irredentism?

Before talking about so-called irredentism, the economic-cultural backwardness, inflation, mass un-

employment and forced emigration of Albanians must be explained — an emigration that ranks among the largest in Yugoslavia to foreign countries. This significant problem is not solved correctly and cannot be explained solely by the “world crisis,” as some Yugoslav leaders, supposedly theorists of the SFR of Yugoslavia and the SAP of Kosova, want to explain it.

Regarding chauvinism, the character of the Albanian and his history over the centuries show the opposite of what you accuse the Albanians in Yugoslavia of — the Albanian has never oppressed or exploited any people. They have never attacked or divided the lands of other peoples; the opposite has happened to them. Therefore, look for chauvinism elsewhere, not among the Albanians of Kosova and not among those of the SR of Serbia who constitute a people. Seek chauvinism among the Yugoslav leaders who ordered attacks with tanks and Serbian police, killed, spilt blood, tortured and imprisoned Albanian students, workers and peasants. They killed the nephews and nieces of our heroes, Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Abdyl and Naim Frashëri, Sulejman Vokshi, Ymer Prizreni, Azem and Shota Galica, Çerçiz Topulli and Selam Salarisë, as well as the brothers and comrades of Hajdar Dushi, Hysni Kapo, Miladin Popović, Emin Duraku, and thousands of heroic Albanian, Montenegrin and Macedonian partisans who fought as brothers and shed their blood in Yugoslavia for the freedom, independence and self-determination of the peoples of Yugoslavia. These brutal and bloody acts constitute the most savage chauvinism.

Do you wish for the Albanian to cease his patriotism? No, this will never happen! The Albanian has always defended himself heroically and defeated his enemies because he has always been in the right. Wherever the Albanian lives, works and fights, he always shows maturity and endurance. The historical record of the Albanians and that of the time of the National Liber-

ation War have proven that our people have shed the blood of their sons and daughters to come to the aid of neighbouring fraternal peoples. This spirit of high sacrifice and internationalism is labelled as chauvinistic. The least we can say is that this is shameful, and let no one forget that the Albanian people are patient, but when their rights are trampled, and the Albanian is angered, they ignite. For these issues, we believe that the Yugoslav leadership must be very mature, be bloodless, and study and solve their internal problems correctly, not give lessons to others about “moderation, peaceful solutions, human rights, the rights of nations,” and so on.

If we express our thoughts about what happened in Kosova, it does not mean that we are the instigators or promoters of the events happening there. We have said and are saying that we will be interested in our Albanian brothers living in their territories in Yugoslavia; we will defend them as we have defended them when injustice and unfairness were done to them. Just as Yugoslavia and every other state have the right to defend and demand the rights of their national minorities, we also have this right. The Treaty of London, the Treaty of Versailles and any other imperialist treaty no longer pass over the shoulders of the Albanian people. Let this be clear to everyone, friends and enemies, small and large states, imperialists and revisionists, communist comrades and progressive people, as well as anti-communists and pseudo-socialists.

April 11, 1981

THE ALBANIAN HAS NEVER ENDURED SLAVERY

The enmity of the Serbs is visceral (deep and irrational) against Albanians in general and, especially, against the Albanians living in their own lands in Yugoslavia of the former Serbian kings, of King Tito and the other chauvinists who rule after him.

The Albanians living in Yugoslavia, created by the anti-Albanian treaties of London and Versailles, have no freedom. They have never self-determined their fate, not even after the National Liberation War, despite what the Titoites claim. The borders of the “new” Yugoslavia were established in Bihać, if I am not mistaken, at the first or second AVNOJ meeting, and no Albanian participated in this so-called constitutional assembly. These “new borders” were the same as the old ones, set by Clemenceau in Versailles. Thus, the “self-determination” of the peoples of Yugoslavia is a lie because after liberation, no referendum was held and no one was asked. Everything was specifically decided to the detriment of the interests of the Albanians by the pseudo-Marxist Titoites, who were nothing but embittered chauvinists and nationalists. Even Kosova was designated a simple region of Serbia and called “Kosmet.” Later, with an amendment to the constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it was called the “Autonomous Province of Kosova.”

Albanian lands and Albanians ethnically in Yugoslavia became, in every sense of the word, a market commodity: one part was called the “Autonomous Region of Kosova,” another part was attached to Macedonia, which otherwise would not make sense to be called the “Republic of Macedonia,” against which the

Bulgarians have claims, where Turks and Greeks, so-called Aegean Macedonians, also live, and the third part of Albanian lands joined the Republic of Montenegro, which without Albanians has barely 400,000 inhabitants.

This is how the Titoite Yugoslav Federation enslaved them. Stane Dolanc, in an interview given to foreign and Yugoslav journalists in Belgrade regarding the events in Kosova, condemned the Kosovar Albanians as embittered chauvinists, attacked the just demands of the Kosovars for their region to become a republic, stating, among other things, that "Kosova will never become a republic" because such a thing is not in the interest of Serbia, and that if it is declared a republic, it will "destroy the Federation," etc. There is no better evidence than this that the Federation of Yugoslavia stands on the basis of using Albanian lands and Albanians as a "market currency." In other words, the disintegration of the Albanians keeps the Federation "afloat," while declaring Kosova a republic "injures Serbia," makes the Republic of Macedonia non-existent and impoverishes Montenegro. According to Dolanc, therefore, Serbia has occupied Kosova. Dolanc believes that if Kosova becomes a republic, it will revive the desires of the Croats, with the "Muslim nationality," etc., for hegemony in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, according to him, it is better for the evils to continue to fall on the backs of the Albanians.

Dolanc lied in this interview when, to hide the truth, he said that 11 people were killed in Kosova. According to other data, so far, there have been: in Prishtina 150-200 people were killed, in Ferizaj 13, in Prizren 3 people. There are many killed in Lipjan, Obiliq (high school students), Podujeva, etc. There are plenty of wounded; hospitals are full. The prisons as well. Massacre, a true genocide against Albanians by the Serbian police and army. But this will not pass by easily, as the

Yugoslav enemies, the killers of our Kosovar brothers, believe.

We will study this vital issue deeply and draw the necessary conclusions. Although we have no hand in these demonstrations, we will defend our Kosovar brothers to the end, in their rights and ours. The Albanian does not endure slavery; he knows and has proven that freedom is gained with blood and war.

Glory to the students, workers, youth and the entire Albanian people living in their lands in Titoite Yugoslavia, who showed their iron fist to the enemy. Let the Titoites tremble; the Albanians also have "two hands for one head." They have been very patient, very civilized. We shed our blood for the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and they point a gun at us!? No. This is the peak of enmity, brutality and Great-Serb chauvinism.

April 17, 1981

THE REAL REASONS FOR THE SITUATION AND THE RECENT EVENTS IN TITOITE YUGOSLAVIA

Panorama

Stane Dolanc, of Slovenian nationality (where the standard of living is among the highest in Yugoslavia), in the interview he gave to foreign and Yugoslav journalists in Belgrade regarding the events in Kosova did not mention at all the severe economic situation of this region. Not only should he have mentioned this, but he should have also analysed why Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia have such high standards, while Kosova has such a low one.

Is the land of Slovenia, Croatia or Serbia more fertile than that of Kosova? Is the underground of Kosova not perhaps richer than any other underground of any Yugoslav republic? Does Mr. Dolanc not know that economic issues play a decisive role in the existence of states and peoples? Do these issues not determine the good or bad internal and external policies of a country? Why wasn't the effort made to explain these crucial problems?

It is easy to explain these fundamental issues with political and ideological accusations, such as "Albanians were shown to be counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists and irredentists."

Mr. Dolanc, in this interview, stated that "11 people were killed in the demonstrations in Kosova." One of his Albanian servants from the leadership of Kosova said 9. Apparently, they did not have time to coordinate on this issue. However, they all deceived both world

opinion and Yugoslav opinion. The foreign press talks about hundreds killed, hundreds missing, injured and arrested in Kosova. Only the people of Kosova know well why their blood was shed and who made this uproar. So, they were not 9 or 11 people, but hundreds were killed, and by telling foreign journalists that what happened was the work of a handful of "chauvinists," it was thought that their reasons were given and they could be left alone.

But the truth will break the walls of Yugoslav censorship, which has been established in Kosova, and the world will see what great massacres were carried out there by the Serbian army and police. It will see the deceptions that were made, and it will recognize the true face of that "self-administering socialism" with a seemingly human face and that "is solving the external problems of the world with so much acrobatic mastery and the internal ones with so much justice and exemplary fairness — with tanks." The truth of this lie is coming to light.

Dolanc also said, "We know who the organizers are. They are in Stuttgart, Brussels and the United States." He also said that supposedly only a small number of people were involved in the demonstration.

When Mr. Dolanc knew who the organizers were in Stuttgart and elsewhere in Europe, why didn't he neutralize them? If only a small number of people participated in the demonstration, then why were the army, the militia of Belgrade, tanks and planes sent there?

Perhaps for "a single olive pit, the wedding is ruined," that "wedding" for which now "from all four corners of Yugoslavia, telegrams full of indignation and anger against 'Albanian chauvinists and irredentists' are pouring like the rivers of the Danube, Sava and Drava, and full of hymns of praise for the 'unity of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia'?"

Who ignites and strengthens hostility among the

peoples of Yugoslavia? Is it the bitter campaign that the leadership of Yugoslavia has raised, or the natural, just and measured article of “Zëri i popullit,” which Dolanc himself, during his press conference, when a foreign journalist asked him, “Does Albania have a hand in this?” answered no and went on to say that “no protest came from Albania.” This proves that the “culprit” was expecting a protest. But the Albanian government did not make an official protest.

Did the Yugoslav leadership perhaps want the Albanian press to be silent about this tragedy that it caused in Kosova, when the entire world press has been speaking and condemning cruelty for weeks? No, messrs. Yugoslav leaders. Be realistic, keep your composure! What are you doing for the demonstrators and strikers of “Solidarnosc” in Poland, where, until now, not a single shot has been fired against them by the Polish government? You are talking, you are writing. You have the right to speak and write, and when we published a fair article on the big problem of Kosova, you attacked us, but what an attack, so much so that Radio Zagreb managed to threaten the existence of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania! Zagreb forgets that Albania knows how to defend itself even without it. He must know that Yugoslavia, even that of Tito’s, has never aided in the liberation of Albania. While the National Liberation Army of Albania helped with spilt blood for the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and we will do this sublime act again when the time comes for Yugoslavia! We don’t merely speak these words, but they are our deeds, while you talk nonsense and make threats on the street.

Did you forget, messrs. Yugoslav leaders, how you fought at the Paris Conference for Trieste, Pula, Fiume, etc.? You were right. We did not call you “chauvinists or irredentists.” But when you were not like that, why didn’t you think that there was an Albanian population,

the third in size in Yugoslavia, which should unite with Albania, your socialist ally in the National Liberation War? You kept silent. Why did you keep silent when you are so principled? You did not even give Kosova the status of an autonomous region until 1968. Why didn't President Tito realize what he told me in official talks we had in 1946 that "Kosova and other areas inhabited by Albanians belong to Albania, and we will give them back, but not now, because Great-Serb reaction would not accept such a thing"?

Mr. Dolanc openly expressed his opinion that "Kosova will never become a republic... because Serbia does not allow it." If Kosova becomes a republic within the Federation, Dolanc said, then "the Federation is destroyed." In other words, this means that the areas of Albania have become a bargaining chip, and at the same time, they are the "key to the wall" that keeps the Federation standing. A strange thought! We do not say this; Dolanc said it.

"The Republic of Kosova" within the Yugoslav Federation was not sought by us; it was sought by the people of Kosova.

Territorial claims from the side of the PSR of Albania have not been made. You cannot find such a demand in any document, but only documents to protect the rights of the Kosovar and Albanian brothers living in their lands in other republics of Yugoslavia, rights recognized by the constitution and violated, you will find plenty, in the past and in the present. And it depends on the Yugoslav government's policy towards the Albanians whether there will be one in the future or not.

The Yugoslavs have protested even about store signs, "why aren't they written in Serbian" when it comes to any place where there is a minority of theirs! This was recently done, among other things, by Mr. Gjuranović in Austria regarding the small Slovenian

minority in Carinthia. We do not accuse him of being a "counter-revolutionary, irredentist or chauvinist." How can the Albanian people not be interested in store signs in Kosova, but in the Albanian language itself, for schools, freedoms and their rights? How can they not be interested in mass killings, imprisonments and tortures inflicted on Albanians in Yugoslavia? For the Yugoslav government, it is normal that the Yugoslavs protect their minorities outside the republic, and the population where these minorities live is not gripped by machine gun bullets, not pressed by tanks, while for the PSR of Albania, it is "chauvinism, irredentism and counter-revolutionary." Where does this great anti-Albanian "allergy" of the Yugoslavs come from?! The Yugoslav leadership is wrong to lie to anyone, especially the world opinion, that socialist Albania seeks or plays the game of those who want to undermine the Federation.

Titoism itself undermined the Federation, this hostile current of Marxism-Leninism, its own anti-socialist system of self-administration, the huge debts that have blanketed the people and caused inflation, high unemployment, rising prices, developmental inequality and poverty.

Those who delve into these key issues will immediately conclude that socialist Albania is not for the undermining of the Federation, as Dolanc expressed. Therefore, the Yugoslav leadership should be very cool-headed and very just towards the Albanians. To put an end to these barbaric acts against them, to harshly punish those who gave orders to shoot the masses of Albanians, to stabilize the spiritual and political situation, and to stop the Serbo-Croat-Slovenian serpents and their Albanian lackeys in Kosova from slandering and attacking the PSR of Albania and the Albanian people.

We want everything to be normalized, and we tell the Ustaše of Radio Zagreb that "it is true that history

will judge who is right," you or us, the Albanians.

How terrifying are the Albanians who know you and do not find in their history barbarism like that of the Ustaše, neither old nor young. We defend and affirm what is right, while we denounce and condemn what is wrong.

We have asserted and affirm that in the past decade, Albanian education and culture in Kosova (less in Macedonia and Montenegro) have taken a commendable course. The opening of Albanian schools, the important University of Prishtina, the unification of the Albanian language, the development of Albanian songs, dances, folklore, elaborate music, Albanian literature, etc., within the frame of the Federation and in support of the culture of the other peoples of Yugoslavia, has taken a turn not seen before. The reasons are known and we do not want to dwell on them here. Therefore, we see and compare the past with the present, we see the positive changes made in these areas. Those who hindered such developments yesterday cannot hinder it today, and it is contrary to the constitution and the interest of Yugoslavia to do so. But we cannot claim the same for the economic development of Kosova and the other areas where Albanians live. The differences in the economy and living standards between the SAP of Kosova and the other republics of Yugoslavia are colossal. These differences cannot be explained, as the Yugoslav leaders attempt to do, by the justification of the "world crisis." Differences in the standard of living between republics and provinces must also be sought in other very old and large political, ideological and economic reasons.

As for "political rights," status changes from province to republic, etc., they have not been and are not concerns for the PSR of Albania. These are internal issues of the peoples of Yugoslavia, they are issues of the Albanian people who live in their territories in

Yugoslavia, which, based on the laws in force, flowing from the constitution of the SFR of Yugoslavia, they have the right to demand.

Socialist Albania has declared that if any aggressive foreign power touches the borders of the SFR of Yugsolavia, then it and the Albanian people will rise and fight alongside the peoples of Yugoslavia. What we say is clear and the promise we make, we keep, and we tell this to the Ustaše who spoke from Radio Zagreb. Nothing unites the Albanians with the Ustaše, Četniks or Ballists. On the contrary, wherever they are, the Albanians fight against them because they have been and are enemies of our peoples; they are mercenaries and murderers in the service of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, etc., working through every means to overthrow the PSR of Albania and the SFR of Yugoslavia.

What did the counter-revolution create in Tito's "self-administering socialist" Yugoslavia? The system changed, and this change aroused old rivalries and hegemonies, Serbian hegemony on the one hand, and Croat-Slovenian on the other. They are both underminers of socialism in Yugoslavia and the SFR of Yugoslavia, not Albanian "chauvinism." The latter is used as a chip to cover up Serb-Montenegrin and Croat-Slovenian chauvinism. The fight for hegemony and power between these two rival clans is raging. The Croat-Slovenian clan dominates the Serbian one at present. Although Tito acted as a moderator, he was a supporter of Croat-Slovenian hegemony. The Ranković group (especially the murderer of Albanians) — Djilas, Nikezić, Popović and Vukmanović were eliminated by the Tito-Kardelj-Bakarić-Dolanc clan. Tito's clan lived in great luxury, he took the lion's share of Yugoslavia's income and feasted as much as he wanted to from the debts of American imperialism and other capitalist states. It is understandable that such a situation does not suit the

Serbian clan, and it fights to regain true supremacy in politics, economics, etc.

Around these two rival clans, the poor republics revolve. All, with their partisan attitudes, more or less throw gasoline on this big fire that never stabilizes in this destabilized SFR of Yugoslavia.

The only positive and unchangeable factor in this Federation is the Albanian factor, which, being economically the poorest, the most enduring and politically the most lenient in a "self-administering socialist" system, within the constitution, demanded a "republican status within the framework of the SFR of Yugoslavia." Is this request is a divisive factor for the SFR of Yugoslavia, or are the great Serb-Croat-Slovenian rivalries? It is more than evident that it is the latter.

But external factors, we ask the Yugoslav leaders, have a hand in weakening the SFR of Yugoslavia and creating rivalries? Yugoslav "politicians" knowingly do not solve this big problem. Why is this volatile situation hidden? It is hidden because Titoite Yugoslavia is not "independent" but dependent on these great powers. Tito's theory of "non-alignment" was empty, a falsehood. Life showed and still shows this. Yugoslavia cannot survive without debts; it works and cannot even manage to pay the interest on billions of dollars in loans.

But with this economic dependence, there is no doubt that political, hegemonic and strategic interests of both superpowers intersect.

The Croat-Slovenian clans have the external support of one imperialism, the Serbian clan of another. Through them, both great powers seek to gain strong positions in Yugoslavia.

The U.S. with its people is on the offensive, especially in Europe, which interests us more in this problem. Soviet revisionism and its satellites, especially the Bulgarians, are also on the offensive.

The peoples of Yugoslavia, our brotherly Yugoslav peoples, the lords of the “NIN” magazine, must be saved from these open and secret bitter enemies. And we repeat it again, for the hundredth time, that the PSR of Albania and the Albanian people who live in their territories in Yugoslavia are not enemies of the Yugoslav peoples and those of the SFR of Yugoslavia. You, Yugoslav politicians, if you want to, do not listen to us; if you want to, continue to slander us, but we are convinced that the Yugoslav people will hear us and will reason with our opinions and feelings, the brotherly feelings of the Albanians.

April 18, 1981

NOTE

I gave Comrade Ramiz new expanded theses, or better to say a new article, against the Yugoslav revisionists for the further development of events in Kosova and for unmasking their slanderous propaganda against our country.

April 22, 1981

WHO INCITES HOSTILITY AMONG THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA?

We sent the article titled “Who Incites Hostility Among the Peoples of Yugoslavia?” to the newspaper “Zëri i popullit” to be published in its next issue. In this article, the second we are publishing within a few days, we emphasize that our goal is not to provoke polemics or fuel the fire but that we are obliged to respond to the anti-Albanian campaign that has erupted currently in Yugoslavia and to express our thoughts openly once again on the events in Kosova.

April 26, 1981

THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP HAS COMPLETELY LOST ITS WAY

The Yugoslav leadership is confused; it has completely lost its way and its compass. The legitimate demands of the Kosovars have shaken Titoite Yugoslavia so that immediately instability, contradictions, confusion and rivalries within this so-called democratic country became apparent at its central leadership, in the republics, and in the municipalities. The Versailles Yugoslavia, the one with the kings, Titoite Yugoslavia, is an artificial state, with diverse patches sewn together with white thread.

The National Liberation War brought no change to this state, except that it freed itself from occupation and it was given a republican constitution, later amended to the federative-popular and then socialist nomenclature.

Within a few decades, Titoism transformed Yugoslavia into a capitalist country, with a new “essential” content and nomenclature called “self-administrative socialism.” In this country, rivalries between different chauvinisms are significant, alive and growing. The most significant and fiercest rivalry, the main source of a significant danger brewing and trying to be covered in smoke, is especially the one between Serbs and Croat-Slovenes. This dominant Serbo-Croat-Slovene rivalry fuels other rivalries in Yugoslavia among many nations and ethnicities, artificially unified.

Tito replaced the Serbian king Karadjordjević. Like him, Tito leaned on foreigners, but with one difference: Karadjordjević established alliances, while Tito allied with foreigners “without alliances,” but with heavier political-economic chains. Tito, like a small monarch

posing as a great one, fantasized about the state's organization, domestic and foreign policies. He moved from centralization to decentralization, from administration to "self-administration." His slogan was to sow, harvest, exploit and whip the people individually and collectively as a republic. Thus, the bigger ones consumed even the smallest. Titoism, from the facade slogan of "brotherhood and unity," shifted to differentiations, discriminations, mistrust, economic and political rivalries between the republics, nations and ethnicities that make up Yugoslavia.

What was the result?

Croatia and Slovenia became wealthier than Serbia, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro remained poor brothers, and Kosova and the Albanians remained at the bottom of the ladder.

King Tito manoeuvred as long as he lived: helping one, striking another, promising paradise to one, making a grave for another, and so on. When this king died, again, "long live the king" echoed, but this time there was no longer a king with one head; instead, there was a "king" with many heads and a "kingdom" that was bankrupt, divided, bankrupt, drowned in debts and living with a thousand scandals. There is no inspiration, no ideal that can motivate the peoples of Yugoslavia. This socialism is false, "brotherhood and unity" is false, "self-administration" is also false, patriotism has turned into nationalism and chauvinism, and democracy into terrorism and fascism, the policy of "non-alignment" is, in fact, the policy of "alignment." This famous state is, therefore, in total political-ideological-economic-moral-military bankruptcy.

And the most beautiful of all, the "genius," the "keenest," the "smartest" and the "most original" thought of the Yugoslav leadership is that the catastrophe was "caused" by the Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia, the Albanians of Kosova, or

a handful of “Albanian chauvinist-nationalist-irredentist” organizers. This is the internal factor. The external factor is the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania, the newspaper “Zëri i popullit” and the cultural relations of Albania with Kosova!

So, everything is explained; the “Trojan horse” was found, and let’s destroy it; the culprit is found, and let’s fight it. Now the Great-Serb Yugoslav choir against the Albanians, against the Kosovars, against the PLA is so great, so noisy that it has become ridiculous, and no one, in the full sense of the word, believes what the Yugoslavs say.

But how can this hysteria, this political madness of the Yugoslavs be explained?

They know that the PSR of Albania is not for the undermining of the SFR of Yugoslavia, that socialist Albania is strongly against the U.S. and USSR, potential aggressors against our two countries. They also know that the Albanians living in Yugoslavia cannot but fight side by side with the SFR of Yugoslavia and the PSR of Albania when Yugoslavia is attacked. The Yugoslav leadership knows all these things. It knows that we are not involved in what is happening in Kosova, that what happened there was the result of the anger of the Albanians caused by the Yugoslavs themselves; they know that the demand of the Kosovars for a republic was legitimate.

So why this madness? It is clear. The contradictions I emphasized earlier are simmering; the cauldron is boiling; a “valve” exploded in Kosova; others will jump too, until the lid of the cauldron is blown off. The Yugoslav leadership will hide this situation, buy time, settle scores with a knife in their teeth, but in the meantime they say, “Let’s hit the Albanians hard so that we don’t hit others later.” The military dictatorship being prepared has found a “Turkish head,” the Albanians. They

forget that this Albanian head has resisted their blows
and has always won.

May 8, 1981

HOW TO COUNTER AND REFUTE THE ANTI-ALBANIAN ACCUSATIONS OF THE TITOITES REGARDING THE EVENTS IN KOSOVA

Today, I told Ramiz to give orders not to send me translations of foreign newspaper articles anymore. I made this request because it is impossible for me to start reading what has been written in all the world's newspapers about the events in Kosova, etc. since April. But such materials, I think, need to be kept ready, in our archives, to use when we need them. Then I told Ramiz that we should work on quickly preparing an article on the events that took place in Kosova during the months of March-April 1981.

What did I ask for? To gather and send all the materials from the meeting of the League of Communists in Kosova, the Central Committee of the League in Serbia, and the meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held last night. Here I don't mean the full speeches given at these meetings, but only those parts where issues attacking us are raised. So I don't need those issues with which Yugoslav revisionists of every level explains the demonstrations, the faults of the main leaders, etc., as they are not useful to us now. Therefore, I think this work can be done quickly. In these materials, we need to extract concrete statements like so-and-so said this, the other declared that, etc. This is the technical aspect of the work that needs to be done, a technical aspect but necessary for us to have clear the accusations made by the Yugoslavs against us.

Now let's move on to how the issue of the Republic of Kosova stands. In his speech, let's say in the article, Mr. Minić says, "Albania's policy has openly come to the defence of the demand for a republic put forward during the disturbances in the Kosova region, and by doing so, it has committed a brutal act of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia."

But even in this matter, Mr. Minić makes a flagrant and very dangerous distortion of the relations between our two countries.

In previous articles, we have said and we say again that the issue of the Republic of Kosova is a matter of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the people of Kosova itself, and that we have never come out in defence of the demands for a republic put forward during the disturbances confirmed in the months of March-April in Kosova. In our article, we emphasized that we have not sought the status of a republic of Kosova; the people of Kosova have sought it themselves. We have only affirmed that it is the right of the Albanian people living in their territories in Yugoslavia to demand what they believe is their right within the laws of the Federation, and we added that in our opinion, this does not constitute a crime at all. To confirm what has been written in the newspaper "Zëri i popullit," black on white, this time we are forced to use official documents of the main leaders of Titoite Yugoslavia, such as Moša Pijade and others from the time of the war until later.

Here, in parentheses, quotes will be noted and comments will be made, starting from the fundamental issues of solving the problem of nationalities by Tito, quotes from Tito from the AVNOJ meetings, and then using the quote from Moša Pijade about the Republic of Kosova and Metohija.

As a result of these quotes that we will list, we will draw the following conclusions, according to which the people of Kosova, who participated in the war against

the Germans with 50,000 of their own sons, and according to Tito's words, quoted above, they have the right to demand their rights at any time. So, such a right cannot be denied and not implemented, a right that the leaders and high forums of the Yugoslav party and state recognized during the time of the National Liberation War.

Why should the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Party of Labour of Albania be accused then of intervening in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, when in fact they have not intervened, when Moša Pijade himself, the closest comrade of Josip Broz Tito and a distinguished member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has expressed his opinion with the quote mentioned above? Could it be that Moša Pijade wanted to give a blow to the Federation of Yugoslavia or undermine Yugoslavia? It is impossible for this to be the case, as Mr. Minić claims, when the PSR of Albania and PLA are wrongly accused of making this request, giving a serious blow to the Federation of Yugoslavia and committing a brutal act of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. These documents found in the archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are valid and cannot be hidden. But have they been implemented? No, they have not been fully implemented.

After this, in parentheses, we should include quotes on how during the war, the people of Kosova and Metohija, represented by the Albanian National Liberation Front of Kosova and Metohija under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, held their first meeting in Bujan, where they made a decision (and here, this should be quoted), which was considered as a decision of the representatives of the people of Kosova in the war against the occupiers in 1944. This was then presented in Belgrade, but there it was rejected.

Next, the letter from the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of Yugoslavia to the Regional Committee of Kosova and Metohija should be included, explaining that the decision made at the Bujan meeting was not entirely correct and providing the reasons why it is not correct (the reasons written in the letter).

Further, quotes from Miladin Popović should be included, and it should be mentioned that manuscripts of his writings are found in the archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, and one of these documents is also in the archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

After Liberation or on the eve of Liberation, Miladin Popović was killed in Prishtina by an agent of the UDB or OZNA, as it was called at that time. After this event, the army went into Kosova, weapons were collected and the concentration camps were filled with Albanians.

Below, the quote of Dušan Mugosa should be presented, who went to Belgrade and “in the name of the people of Kosova” demanded that the region of Kosova should be annexed to Serbia. This is the first document where Dušan actually says that he did not have the approval of the people of Kosova for reasons of military occupation, but still adding that he will get it later. So he did not convey the voice of the people of Kosova but the voice of a Great-Serb. Later, after three months, another document presented by Dušan in the meeting claims that he had obtained the approval of the people of Kosova for it to join Serbia, remaining one of its provinces. Here, this manipulation about the so-called will of the people of Kosova and “self-determination” should be emphasized.

Based on all these events, the peaceful demonstrations in Kosova, which later turned into political protests, need to be explained. The authorities of Belgrade hide all these documented events, so they should not try

to claim that the instigators or organizers are “reactionaries,” “irredentists,” “nationalists” or “chauvinists.” But what are all these individuals mentioned above? And why wasn’t this analysis done within the Central Committee of the League? What about the accusations against the People’s Assembly of the PSR of Albania and the PLA that never raised territorial issues?

After stating all this, let us come to the conclusion: We believe that the Yugoslav leadership has lost its cool, which is not in its interest, nor in the interest of Balkan and European security. The Yugoslav leadership, which is one of the “most prominent” protagonists of the Helsinki movement, is making a lot of noise about this.

On this occasion, we can express once again the idea that socialist Albania has declared and is determined that, in case Yugoslavia is attacked by an aggressive imperialist force, it will stand side by side with it. It should be emphasized that the Yugoslav leadership must understand that the Albanians, whether they are in the PSR of Albania, the Autonomous Province of Kosova or the Republic of Kosova, as well as those in Macedonia and Montenegro, will undoubtedly stand side by side with the peoples of Yugoslavia to defend the borders of the Federation. We must say that the Albanians of Yugoslavia cannot be against the peoples of Yugoslavia, let alone against their Albanian brothers, with whom they will fight as one. The Yugoslav leadership, which does not like this situation and has other intentions, may think the opposite. But they are wrong, so the peoples of Yugoslavia will condemn them.

Viewed in this context, we say that the Albanians of Kosova and other Albanian areas of Yugoslavia constitute a stabilizing factor regardless of the state status that may exist in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leadership, it should be mentioned in the article, should make every effort to ensure that

the people of Kosova and other areas in Yugoslavia, for the good of the country, become friends on the correct path and not enemies. We, their brothers in the PSR of Albania, are fighting to be friends with the brotherly peoples of Yugoslavia, so we also say to be friends with them.

Then, what Tito said should also be used when he raised the issue of Kosova and other areas inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia, that “now is not the time to raise state borders,” and later continued to say that “they are territories that belong to Albania,” while later he told the Kosovars that “by staying in Yugoslavia, they will be the same as if they were in Albania.”

With this, Tito does not deny that Kosova and other areas in Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians cannot belong inside Albania, but at that time, the situation was such that “the Great-Serbs prevented this from being realized.” Tito even tells the Albanians that “they are an important factor in strengthening the Federation of Yugoslavia.”

Once again, we are obliged to tell the Yugoslav and Albanian leadership in Kosova and other areas to maintain an objectivity in thoughts and actions. We do not want to give you advice or interfere in your internal affairs, but we are telling you for the common good of our two countries that you have greatly disturbed issues with the Kosovars and Albanians in other areas of Yugoslavia and with the economic emigration of Albanians outside Yugoslavia. You are creating divisions among the latter. It is not the “diplomatic agencies” from the outside, Mr. Minić, who are causing this division — it is you. We emphasize once again, and we are fully convinced of this, that Kosova can never undermine the federation, if it studies and resolves this great issue which the Kosova Albanians have put on the table, an issue which Tito, Moša Pijade and Miladin Popović have spoken about both theoretically and practically.

Kosova must be calmed down, but this will not be achieved by removing Mahmut Bakalli and bringing in a Mahmut Çakalli. Kosova will be calmed down only if the state of emergency is lifted, the army and the punitive Serbian police are withdrawn, the situation is normalized, the innocent prisoners who have filled the prisons are released, and their families are returned to their homes in the demonstrations, as this is a sacred and humanitarian issue. Study the request of the people of Kosova for a republic with attention and justice, solve its economic problems fairly. Only in this way will Kosova be calm, only in this way will it be a friend to the other republics of Yugoslavia and within the Federation.

We feel obliged to tell you these truths as friends. If you wish, you can dismiss them, attach whatever epithet you find convenient. We want brotherhood with the peoples of Yugoslavia. Let the progressive world judge us and you accordingly.

Mr. Stane Dolanc, in an interview with foreign journalists about the events in Kosova, said, among other things, that "the PSR of Albania has no hand in these events." Mr. Dolanc is one of the main leaders, if not the main one, in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and what he affirmed was based on facts.

In all meetings of the high state and party forums of the SFR of Yugoslavia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, voices were raised saying, "relations with Albania should be reconsidered," etc. Twice within thirty years, you have broken the cup with socialist Albania.

Do you think you can scare us? Do you think that the PSR of Albania breathes thanks to you? You are mistaken! Your eyes have been blinded by Great-Yugoslavia megalomania.

Peter Stambolić spoke as an incorrigible Great-

Serb. He knew how to defend Serbian interests at the expense of the Albanians, and among other things, he said, "the attempt for ethnic purity objectively leads to nationalism." He described this attempt as fascist.

We ask Mr. Stambolić: Is the Serbian people not an ethnicity? Does he not consider the Albanian people an ethnicity? Undoubtedly, these two peoples are two ethnicities. If Mr. Stambolić does not consider the Serbian people a "pure ethnicity," why should they coexist with Albanians, Montenegrins, Bosnians and Turks? Just as the Albanian people are not a "pure ethnicity," they live together with a Serbian, Montenegrin and Turkish minority in Kosova, where the overwhelming majority is of Albanian nationality. In these circumstances, Mr. Stambolić is making a target: "The Albanian ethnicity is nationalist, fascist," while "the Serbian one is not."

Why doesn't Mr. Stambolić openly say that the larger ethnicity should dominate the smaller one, that the first should be sovereign in the constitution, and the second not, because it is for the good of the larger ethnicity to exploit the smaller one?

Furthermore, this Great-Serb ultra-reactionary theoretician, following the same line as the infamous academician Čubrilović by claiming that a "pure ethnicity" leads to fascism and nationalism, in practice means that the "Albanian ethnicity should be shattered, lose its national characteristics and degenerate, because it has become a thorn in our side."

For Mr. Stambolić, only the Serbian ethnicity can live in friendship with the peoples he considers third and fourth hand, while the sovereign Albanian ethnicity in Kosova cannot live in friendship with the minorities of Kosova, such as Serbs, Montenegrins and Turks.

"The relations between the Albanians, Serbs and Turks have been seriously shaken," Mr. Stambolić claims. This is true, but these relations have only been shaken between Serbs and Albanians and not between

Albanians, Montenegrins and Turks.

Why have relations between Serbs and Albanians been shaken? Read La Fontaine's fable "The Wolf and the Lamb," and you will find the reasons, Mr. Stambolić.

The Albanian people were not raised by the Romans of the Caesars, nor by the Slavs of Stefan Dušan, nor by the sultans of the Ottomans, nor by the fascist Italy of Mussolini. The Albanian people have their centuries-old history, full of wars for freedom and their existence. Its enemies wanted and acted to erase it, but they failed. The Albanian people fought and survived for centuries and remained a compact ethnicity, despite being fragmented and divided. Anyone who denies this reality not only causes laughter throughout the world but also shows their wild chauvinistic feelings.

The Albanians of small Albania with nearly 3 million inhabitants or "Greater Albania" (an appellation used by the Italian occupier, and now you are using it to accuse us of being chauvinists) with more than 5 million are all Albanians. Mr. Great-Serbs, you cannot do anything about this. 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. But no one doubts that there is only one German people and one Korean people. The Albanians are one ethnicity, one people, call it small Albania or greater Albania. These Albanians of this small or large Albania, who constitute a compact people and have all the characteristics of a true nation, have neither occupied the lands of others nor violated anyone's rights. They have only sought, defended and will defend their own rights. You find this unnatural, you call it "Great-Albanian," "nationalist," even "fascist." When Kosova seeks the status of a republic within the Federation for which 50,000 partisans fought and made sacrifices, you dare to call this a counter-revolutionary demand, Albanian

nationalism and other epithets.

May 12, 1981

TITOITE INTRIGUERS, SLANDERERS AND KNOWN LIARS

In an interview given by the Interior Minister of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Franjo Herljević, he accused our embassy in Belgrade and all our diplomatic representatives worldwide of “organizing and inciting events in Kosova.” Naturally, everything claimed by Herljević and his colleagues are entirely lies and slander. Their goal is to conceal the truth about the situation in Yugoslavia, as well as the heinous crimes that Yugoslavs commit in Kosova and in other areas inhabited by Albanians. We will treat this Great-Serb with kindness greater than his own belly. Titoite intriguers are known to be slanderers and liars.

May 13, 1981

ANOTHER MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU ON EVENTS IN KOSOVA

Today, after lunch, I called an extraordinary meeting of the Political Bureau, where I presented the third article on the recent events in Kosova. After the article was read, the comrades fully agreed with it and approved it once again.

May 16, 1981

THE DEMAND TO RECOGNIZE KOSOVA AS A REPUBLIC IS JUSTIFIED

I read once again the article titled “The Demand to Recognize Kosova as a Republic is Justified.” In this article, we politically and historically analyse the reactionary and baseless stance of various Yugoslav leaders towards events in Kosova and the rightful demand of Kosovars for the declaration of Kosova as a republic. In fact, even though they have been talking continuously about this issue these days, none of them has explained why Kosova cannot be a republic. The article will be published tomorrow.

May 21, 1981

CHAUVINISTIC AND OBSCURANTIST ACTIONS OF THE GREAT-SERBS TOWARDS CULTURAL TIES WITH KOSOVA

I spoke with Ramiz about a group of our professors who have lectured at the University of Prishtina and a group of our colleagues from Albanian Television who should write a special article refuting the accusations of the Yugoslav Great-Serbs against their work in Kosova.

Our professors and educators emphasize that all their lectures have had a scientific character and content. The delivery of lectures, speeches and similar presentations has been very necessary and a practice between scientific institutions, not between Albania and Kosova. Speaking about the successes of education and culture in Kosova, about the mastery, intelligence and cultural horizon of Kosovar students and educators, this is something that has been noted in symposiums and academic discussions held in Albania and Kosova and beyond, where Kosovar scholars have distinguished themselves.

In other words, our professors state that the work they have done in Kosova has had only a scientific character and not a political one. The Yugoslavs call it “nationalist”; well, let them allow “non-nationalist” Soviet, American and British “scientists” to give lectures. Our activity and its value have been judged by Kosovar students and educators. This is our satisfaction. We only emphasize that the decision the Yugoslav government is taking in this matter, brutally severing these ties, is an act which does not happen anywhere in the civilized world. It is clear that this is done only to cast a shadow over the youth of Kosova. This is a futile attempt of

chauvinism and obscurantism.

Our television colleagues also defend the good work done by their representatives in Kosova and by the Kosovars here. There has been no evil intention, no "subversive" preconception in this work. There has only been a desire for Albanian cultural development from both sides, a great affirmation of patriotism, of our songs and dances, and of our common folklore. We have sung to our people, to our common heroes, we have expressed our common feelings and we have never insulted the feelings of the peoples of Yugoslavia. They call this development, this collaboration, approved even by the Yugoslav government, an incitement to "nationalism, chauvinism and irredentism." It cannot be said more clearly that Serbia does not want Kosova to develop its own education and culture but wants to Serbianize it with the history of the Milans, Dušans and Rankovičes, so forget Skanderbeg, the heroes of the League of Prizren, Bajram Curri, Isa Boletini and others. For the Great-Serbs, singing the history of these is a crime, it is "sick romanticism," it is "remembering fantasies."

All these absurd slanders should be rejected by our television people, and kind words should be given for the talented Kosovar singers and dancers who should continue to develop the tradition, as we are doing.

It should be emphasized that Albanian television will not break the signed protocols but will continue and expand the established programs.

Such an offensive should also be made by our distinguished people in various literary, artistic, cultural and theatrical fields. This issue should be kept constantly raised, not only as a polemic but also on the high platform of art and culture.

This work should be done in addition to the lectures and presentations that our educators and professors will give at the University of Prishtina, as I have

recommended, through special broadcasts of Albanian Radio-Television.

May 22, 1981

WE MUST WORK FOR INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION TO BE IN FAVOUR OF THE KOSOVAR ISSUE

We notice that Quai d'Orsay,* in general, is not showing goodwill towards our cause and is currently not maintaining an impartial stance. On the contrary, it is favouring Yugoslavia. This is not in our interest. But in France, we have friends like Robert Escarpit, who speak with great sympathy and publicly for Albania. It is known that such important personalities as Escarpit, as well as well-known writers, journalists and professors, have their circles of influence. Therefore, our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, first and foremost, must consider how to work with these friendly personalities in favour of our cause.

Now that Mitterrand has come to power in France, significant changes will certainly take place in the government.

In this direction and regarding this issue, our Ministry of Foreign Affairs should provide information to our ambassador in Paris, instructing him on how to negotiate, what to negotiate and what connections to maintain with various personalities.

For example, let us take the events in Kosova. We should not just inform and persuade them about the fairness of our positions, but, considering the influence and possibilities of each one to influence others in our favour, we should present our political positions and this presentation should have the spirit of a dialogue among colleagues and friends.

* The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

This work is of great importance to us. We must not allow the spread and echo of our political positions to remain only in the hands of the opinion of this or that journalist, or this or that trend. Instead, we must process this opinion and strengthen our conviction about the justice of our politics. Therefore, we must keep in mind one thing: public opinion abroad is not created without guidance. It is a lie that the press is free and democratic. In bourgeois democracy, it is free and democratic to a certain extent because, fundamentally, it is oriented and manipulated by someone, not by just anyone but by someone in the concrete sense. In bourgeois democracy, the interests of financial and monopolistic groups exist. These interests are confirmed and subordinated to the press as well as the general politics of bourgeois governments, and as a result, journalistic opinion conforms to and serves the general politics of its own country's government. We must not forget this.

Therefore, we must work seriously in this direction, and we should not move, as the French say, *à la dérive*,* to say our word, let it go where it goes, or further, that we don't need anything! No, not like that. We not only need to say our word, but we also need to work so that it takes its place in public opinion, to process it so that it understands and supports us.

Currently, there are events in Kosova, and the issue of Yugoslavia itself is related to them. We have followed and must pay special attention to the echo, the impressions that they create in journalistic circles worldwide and especially in Europe. Starting from the fact that these circles represent the opinion of their governments, in the form I mentioned above, we must differentiate which newspaper, which press has shown itself more in our favour, to our just cause, that is, to the just cause of the people of Kosova and our expressed views

* Adrift (French in the original).

in support of our Kosovar brothers and their demands.

We must also analyse the positions that different chancelleries have taken, in other words, determine and recognize which ambassadors of the countries of the world, especially those countries that have or may have influence on the Yugoslav government, have been shown to be pro-us, against the actions of the Yugoslavs, and have condemned them. Let us not forget that there are also those who have shown neutrality.

Until now, we have seen that some newspapers have written more realistically in favour of the issue of Kosova and our stance. Such are some newspapers and journalists from the Federal Republic of Germany, that is, the West Germans, and then the Austrians. We have no diplomatic relations with West Germany, while our relations with Austria are good. The Austrians maintain this stance because they have contradictions with the Yugoslavs over minority issues, whereas the West Germans do not. Therefore, we must judge why West Germany maintains a more realistic stance towards the Albanians of Kosova and towards Albania, which has always criticized it and is in disagreement with it.

What I said about the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, I said based on the reactions that the first two articles had there. Now let us see what other reactions there will be after the last article. But last night, I read an article that was very good, and it seems to me that it was written in such a way that it implied the author was expressing his own thoughts and had not read our article. But I became convinced that he had read it and, with specific intentions, did not mention it. This is a diplomatic manoeuvre. So we must understand these things and not act impulsively.

Thus, after reaching accurate conclusions about these favourable attitudes, we must find out which of our ambassadors has, for example, connections with the West Germans. They all have connections, but our

ambassador in Vienna, where, as is known, the issue of compensation is also addressed, seems to have more concrete connections. In our last article, by stating that there is only one people and one nation in Germany, we sent a gentle signal to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and it seems that this was immediately noticed there. In other words, in West Germany, we created, as it seems, a friendly atmosphere towards our country, which may have political consequences not only in defending our current issue against the Yugoslavs but also for the issue of compensation.

Then our ambassador, in a chance meeting he might have with the German ambassador, may open this issue without passion, as the French say, *déceusement*,* but saying approximately: "We have noticed that your press has written favourably about the issue of Kosova and our stance on it, and although we do not have such good relations with you, we have appreciated this as a realistic judgement of the press in West Germany. It may be like this," our ambassador continues, "but I have come to the conclusion that, regardless of the disagreements we have between us, about this issue, even the government of Bonn thinks realistically and realizes that the actions of the Yugoslavs are very wrong, and this is not for our sake but for the general interest of peace in Europe. We, on our part, have expressed our thoughts on these events and the Yugoslavs' stance in three articles so far." And continue: "Despite our disagreements, relations and discussions have always been friendly, so I speak openly, and if you wish, Mr. Ambassador, I can give you our latest article. But please, read it carefully and reason realistically about the goals of our government. There, we defend our brothers who are in the majority, we defend the Federation of Yugoslavia, we defend peace in Europe. The Yugoslav leadership does

* Reasonably (French in the original).

not want to see the issue this way. In the article, we also provide ways and means of how the demand of the people of Kosova should be resolved and who should resolve it. Kosova cannot be pacified, as the Yugoslav leaders think. On the contrary, if some measures are not taken, it will become a dangerous gangrene. We openly say that the Serbian leadership does not want to find the right path to a solution, and this will cause great damage to the Federation of Yugoslavia itself, which we do not want. Therefore, someone else must intervene here. Read our article, and you will see that we make differentiations there. For example, we understood Mr. Dolanc when he spoke for the first time and rightly said that we had not participated in the events in Kosova. He was sure of what he said then. At the same time, he gave us to understand that we should not speak. We,” our ambassador continues, “understood this and did not speak. But Dolanc’s comrades did not understand him. They started harsh and continuous attacks against us, so we were forced to respond to them.”

“After all these things that are happening, in our latest article, we again state that we know how to judge with cool-headedness and make differentiations, and we are making these differentiations. We believe that for current events and the just demand of the people of Kosova, someone should reflect cool-headedly so that they are resolved properly, and the rights demanded by the people of Kosova are granted to them in a just manner. The leadership of Serbia does not want to do this. As a result, things will become tense.”

In this way, we do not directly tell the German ambassador to intervene, nor anyone else. “I, our ambassador says, “speak to you as a colleague because, as I told you, I observe that West Germany looks at these issues rationally. We think that the issue should be resolved as the Kosovars demand. We openly declare that we will defend the rights of the Kosovars, which are denied

and suppressed. With insults, slogans and demonstrations of force, with the closure of the university, with false trials, for which it is known what purpose they are done, by whom and for what purposes they serve, this issue will not be resolved. But in Yugoslavia, there must be people who have authority, and they must use this authority for the good of the Federation of Yugoslavia. We have said this sincerely, and we neither speak two-faced nor are we. We speak the truth openly, just as I am speaking to you now, even though, as I told you at the beginning, we do not have such good relations with you, but I do it because for these issues. I see a logic of justice on your part and an the interest of peace in Europe. We also closely observe the stance that Chancellor Schmidt maintains regarding the overall policy between the USSR and USA. Why hide this? Therefore, we are telling you, and you should know that we are on the right path, and no one can sway us from this path. We are not afraid of anyone, not even the Yugoslavs. When we express that we do not want the Federation to break up, the Kosovars do not want it either, and we believe that you do not want it either."

The German ambassador might say to our ambassador: "Why are you telling me these things?"

"I tell you," our ambassador must reply, "to clarify our position, and I repeat it to an ambassador with whom I have had discussions about issues that are still unresolved, although we have the right to them, because I see that your press looks at this issue favourably."

"What can I do?" the German might say.

"I don't know," our comrade must reply. "I am only telling you as a representative of Albania, explaining some issues to you, repeating them, as the articles in our newspaper have presented them well.

In this way, we undertake a diplomatic action so that this issue is resolved in our favour, meaning in favour of Kosova, which is in its right. By doing so, we

are not alone with the articles we have published and dispel the belief that these articles are supposedly supported by everyone without exception, supposedly supported by the entire world press. But we can tell which press is more in our favour because we know that not all the world press, without exception, is in our favour. There are also newspapers that are not in our favour but conclude in this case that our position is correct. So our enemy says that you are right, and this enemy has great influence in Yugoslavia, has given it credit and accepted 700 to 800 thousand workers, most of whom are Albanians working and living in Germany. Therefore, we should not wait too long to see what they will say, so that the article does its job, the Yugoslavs and others do their job, and then we act in one way or another. No.

I say that this matter constitutes a specific objective of our diplomacy towards the Federal Republic of Germany. We can take such a step with Turkey as well, but the Turks do not have much influence in Yugoslavia; they do not have much influence there.

France is silent. The press of this country says that it has an order from the government to be "neutral"!

Greece both speaks and does not speak in our favour. In Greece, those who speak, even those who have influence, do so because they do not want Yugoslavia to break up. In the USA, there is also talk in our favour, but we do not address it. The German Chancellor can tell the U.S. ambassador what is happening in Yugoslavia with Kosova and the Kosovars and express the opinion that this is not right.

With the Austrian government, we are a bit closer; we can take this step, but in a different form because the Austrians do not have the influence of the West Germans in Yugoslavia, and besides, they also have a minority problem with Yugoslavia.

I am returning to the issue that one of our ambassadors should discuss, make contact with one of the

ambassadors of the Federal Republic of Germany. But the plan for this discussion must be carefully crafted, as I consider this action a diplomatic attempt aimed at weakening Great-Serb chauvinism. We specifically choose West Germany as a country that has the potential to influence the Yugoslav leadership, but how it will influence it is something we cannot know. Our goal, aimed at establishing a peaceful stability in Europe, is to engage West Germany, which has economic interests in Yugoslavia and is against the Soviets, to interest itself in exerting its influence over this country regarding these events. But in which direction to exert influence? That Kosova becomes a republic? It should not even cross our minds that West Germany would do this. However, it may come to mind for them to tell the Yugoslav leaders to lower tensions in Kosova, not to provoke them, and also not to strain relations with Albania. This would be positive for us and a weakening of the positions of the Great-Serbs.

We believe that if West Germany intervenes in this issue, it will do so in those circles where its word is more likely to be heard, namely among the Slovenes and Croats, and not among the Serbs. So, its pressure on the Serbs, if it can be done, will be indirect, meaning it will be exerted by the Slovenes and Croats.

But the issue also depends on the Kosovars themselves. If they continue their demand in various forms, and continuously for the republic, then, in addition to pressure from us and why we would respond to the measures that the Serbs might take against the Kosovars, the pressure that will be exerted against the Yugoslavs by international opinion, and especially, if we achieve it also from West Germany, this will force the leaders of other parts of Yugoslavia to seek a review of this issue. But what should they review? To make Kosova a republic? No, this will be the final point, but now the point is to make Kosova a more important element, much

more important, a hundred times more important than it is now, under the subjugation of Serbia. Even after reviewing this issue, Kosova may remain under Serbia, but economically, it will be assisted more, the national and educational issues in Kosova will be seen more fairly, and thus gradually, every other issue will follow.

Therefore, this problem should be considered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from now on, then we will determine when this separation should be made. But this step must be taken in such a way that the German ambassador understands why we are saying this. We also let him understand that we are saying this without any intentions, although he will understand that we are aiming for something, and that is why we raise this issue with him. In presenting this problem, diplomatic tactics play a significant role.

May 23, 1981

PROVOCATION AT THE YUGOSLAV EMBASSY

Tonight, the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana carried out a provocation. The ambassador announced that at 9:17 PM, two bomb explosions occurred on the embassy's kitchen terrace.

He requested representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to go to the scene and allowed experts from our side to participate in the investigation. The investigations began and will continue tomorrow during the day.

May 24, 1981

WE WILL SUCCESSFULLY CONFRONT THE PROVOCATIONS OF THE REVISIONIST ENEMIES

Investigations by our experts regarding the explosion that occurred last night at the Yugoslav embassy continue. They are being conducted in the presence of the diplomatic staff and technicians of the Yugoslav embassy.

Preliminary findings confirm that the explosion was not caused by a bomb, as claimed by the Yugoslav ambassador, but by two sticks of dynamite, the blast of which caused a 1 cm rupture in the asphalt of the roof and the fall of a small piece of the kitchen ceiling. The kitchen is inside the embassy courtyard, 14 metres away from the surrounding wall of the embassy, which is 2 metres high. On both sides of the embassy building, there are police guards who did not observe any movement on the street but heard the explosion. Therefore, all ongoing expertise confirms that it was not a bomb explosion.

We believe that the objects that exploded were placed by the Yugoslavs themselves to accuse us if, while “attacking their embassy here in Tirana,” we are also responsible for everything happening in Kosova.

Their hostile intentions are clear. Today, on May 24, the Yugoslav ambassador protested at our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Our Deputy Minister dismissed the protest as hasty, especially since the expertise they themselves requested is still ongoing.

We will reject the Yugoslav protest even if there is a one per cent possibility of explosive objects being thrown from the outside, as the perpetrator could only be an agent of the Yugoslavs, Soviets or Bulgar-

ians. We will successfully handle any and all of their provocations. These dirty deeds have been carried out against Albania by these wild enemies of our country and people throughout their entire lives.

May 27, 1981

RESPONSE TO THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS' PROTESTS

(Notes for the response that a representative of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs should give to the Yugoslav ambassador in response to the Yugoslav protest dated 27.5.1981, delivered to our ambassador Sokrat Plaka in Belgrade.)

1. We strongly reject your repeated and unfounded protests.

2. We have never attacked, nor will we attack, the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana. Anything in this regard is slander and fabrication on your part, driven by pre-determined motives that do not intimidate us at all.

3. We have already provided our response regarding what happened in the annex of your embassy, and we stand firm on our statements, as it has been investigated, controlled and documented.

4. Regarding the Vienna Convention, there is no need for anyone to mention it to us, as we are familiar with and meticulously adhere to it. We have applied and will apply it to the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana, just as we expect you to apply it to the Embassy of Albania in Belgrade.

5. We accept your experts to come, if you wish, to investigate the incident on the spot, on the condition that our experts, called by your embassy, assist in this expertise, along with your ambassador in Tirana and his advisor, who participated when our expertise was conducted. Our expertise is complete, documented with photographs and videos.

6. The articles in “Zëri i popullit” are three, and they could be thirty-three. This matter falls under the competence of the Central Committee of the Party of

Labour of Albania and not ours. We emphasize once again that we have not intervened and will not intervene in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We will always defend the rights of our thousands of Albanian brothers when these are brutally violated, even to the point of drowning them in blood.

7. As for the tales of the Hani i Hotit incident and a balloon released into the sky of Tirana on May 1, supposedly reaching the sky of Struga, I do not even want to mention them because they are too ridiculous.

May 31, 1981

ON THE YUGOSLAV EMBASSY INCIDENT IN TIRANA

Response to the newspaper "Politika" in Belgrade

Notes and Theses

1. On May 26, 1981, you published an article full of fabrications, slanders and shameless lies about what happened at the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana. There was nothing political in this article except for a typical publication of the Yugoslav state security (UDB). So "Politika" reflected the policy of the Serbian chief of police, Herljević.

2. Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs has officially declared that we adhere to the Vienna Convention, etc., etc., while you write the opposite in your press. We state that we have never attacked and will never attack the Yugoslav embassy. The article states the opposite. We say we will defend the Yugoslav embassy, just as we demand you defend ours in Belgrade.

3. Regarding this tragic intrigue at the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana, we want to emphasize that it was orchestrated and carried out in the absence of the head of the State Secretariat of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Verhovec. Someone else pulled the strings.

It is clear and well-known that the chief of the Yugoslav police, Herljević, was the first to publicly accuse the Albanian embassy in Belgrade, as well as our embassies in other countries around the world. Finally, he accused the People's Socialist Republic of Albania of inciting unrest in Kosova. The world opinion and world chancelleries did not buy this great lie of the Yugoslavs. This terrible tragedy in Kosova, the true causes of

which were analysed by everyone, revealing who were the perpetrators of this act of genocide, discredited Titoite Yugoslavia severely and highlighted its dangers.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Yugoslavia implicated almost all Yugoslav leaders in this dangerous plot and turned the matter into an international issue for the entire SFR of Yugoslavia. No Yugoslav leader had the courage to condemn this Serbian plot against Kosova, against the SFR of Yugoslavia, and against the PSR of Albania, except for the youth and intelligencia of Kosova, who were imprisoned.

In this very dangerous plot for the future of the Federal Yugoslavia, the Kosovars and the PSR of Albania not only defended their rights but were the only ones defending the unity of the SFR of Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the Great-Serb attack had two objectives: genocide in Kosova and an attack against the PSR of Albania. With one stone, they wanted to kill two birds, but instead they killed themselves, and the wound will have serious consequences.

The infamous and false boasting of “Politika” was exposed. The shepherds could not follow the flock that died, and they continue to sing unheard-of anthems for a person who brought Yugoslavia to the brink of the abyss. The artificially inflated cults come to an end quickly and easily. And those who were deceived by the slogans of Tito’s “world and domestic” politics were disappointed. The “greatness” of the Yugoslavs, who dreamed of becoming the “navel” of the world, turned to dust and vanished.

4. Nevertheless, we have thought and still think that Yugoslavia must be saved. But this great deed cannot be done by the UDB or people like Herljević, Stambolić, Ranković and Vukmanović.

“Zëri i popullit,” the organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, wrote three fundamental articles, speaking the truth and calling

for moderation, for cool-headedness, for reflection to calm down tensions and establish peace in Kosova, to re-evaluate the demands of the Albanians fairly and objectively.

The organ of the CC of the PLA emphasized nationally and globally that "Albania has not intervened and will not intervene in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia," that "it has never made territorial claims," that "the Albanian people are not for the undermining of the SFR of Yugoslavia, and that it will fight side by side with the peoples of Yugoslavia if they are attacked by anyone."

It seemed that we were saying true and important things but in the wilderness. The Yugoslav leadership of all ranks and types, as well as Yugoslav diplomacy, judged and spoke with the head and language of the Yugoslav secret police under the apparent leadership of the Great-Serbs.

We maintained cool-headedness before the shameful chorus inside Yugoslavia which barked against the Albanians: "Eureka!", we found the culprit! But this chorus was false, and world opinion, even those states who do not wish us well, sided with us and not the Yugoslavs. Only the sworn enemies of the peoples, the Soviet revisionists, remained silent when the whole world spoke. Why they remained silent, we will return another time and reveal the threads of the Great-Russian and Great-Serb plot.

Before this abundant disgrace, the Chief of Police Herljević organized, with his people, in the absence of the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Verhovec, and without the knowledge of the Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana, Komatina, the incident at the Yugoslav embassy in our country, "gilding" his copper and coming out with tin.

Our experts, along with employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, stood by the Yugoslav ambassador, went to the scene and, in the

presence of all the personnel of the Yugoslav embassy, conducted a thorough investigation. Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed over the response and this expertise to Mr. Komatina. The Yugoslavs did not like this response and expertise. They demanded that their experts come to Tirana, which we allowed. But many days have passed, and they are not showing up. Instead, the article in question from the Belgrade newspaper "Politika" appeared. We say to "Politika," the organ of UDB, in our response it was categorically excluded that explosive materials, two special TNT blocks with special ignition, not available in Albania, were thrown from the outside. Out of politeness, we did not declare that they were placed from within. The Yugoslavs did not want to consider our statement. Therefore, since you are trying to blame us for deceiving world opinion, we are telling you that two people in the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana and a third person of Russian origin did these things. You can find the names yourself. We also emphasize that everything related to the incident on May 23 at the Yugoslav embassy is documented, photographed and filmed.

We also tell "Politika" that daily facts show that the spirit of Helsinki was a soap bubble. These facts have done right by socialist Albania. We will also show the world with facts that socialist Albania is not a threat to Europe, as you claim, the sycophants of Belgrade, but that Titoite Yugoslavia is a danger to the Balkans, Europe and the world.

June 2, 1981

KOSOVAR EMIGRANTS, THE SERBS LABEL YOU TERRORISTS

Notes

The history and reasons for Albanian economic emigration from Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro.

1. Economic hardship in your homes and chronic, hopeless unemployment forced you, or compelled you, to emigrate to any country in the world which accepted you in the most degrading jobs, that is, which accepted you as servants and slaves of modern times.

2. Tito encouraged emigration and categorized the unemployed in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into two groups: the simple unemployed domestically and the emigrant unemployed, whom he expelled abroad, exploiting them throughout all four corners of the globe.

The bankrupt Titoite regime needed loans, it needed currency. By taking loans, it ended up deeply in debt. The ruling cliques stole from these loans as much as they wanted and sold the country to foreigners. They created currency through tourism and degenerated the population. Locals were thrown into emigration to become slaves of foreigners merely to obtain currency from them. The bankrupt Titoite regime signed special agreements with the countries where it sent you to absorb your sweat and blood. It created its consulates everywhere to control and threaten you. A new and systematic regime of spiritual and physical slavery.

The largest Yugoslav emigration is Albanian. This shows the great economic misery of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, but it also shows a major political action of the Titoite regime — to scatter the Albanian part of the

nation that is forcefully left within Yugoslav borders, to harass it around the world through forced expulsion and to expel it from its own lands through emigration. The old policy of the Serbian kings continues with the new Titoite kings. In every country where you, Albanians, settle, the Titoite regime has also established clubs in which they force you to enroll. In these clubs, they indoctrinate and threaten you that if you don't do as the club (UDB) advises, they will revoke your passport and consider you stateless. The UDB, with its measures, also threatens your families back home.

Your Homeland, Kosova, has been drowned in blood by the Great-Serbs. They barbarically killed your sisters, wives, brothers, fathers and uncles because they demanded their rights. The prisons of Kosova are full, people tortured are abundant there, repression continues ruthlessly, but Kosova and all the Albanians living in their territories resist and will continue to resist with even more force against the Great-Serb terror and violence.

Why are you united and defending your people? Yugoslav propaganda labels you "terrorists." Don't be swayed by the insults of the Serbs. If you don't defend your brothers and sisters, if you don't defend your nation, you cannot be called Albanians.

You are always correct and just according to the laws of the countries where you work, but you must tell the people of these countries that "we can no longer tolerate the barbarities of the Great-Serbs. They have declared war on us, and we are responding."

The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has defended and will defend the rights of our Albanian brothers living in Yugoslavia. If we did not do this, we would commit a crime and betray our nation. Let the Yugoslavs and the whole world know this, even the French newspaper "Le Monde" and the Italian newspaper "La Stampa," sold-out to the

Yugoslavs.

Before the Yugoslav genocide in Kosova, the PSR of Albania raised its voice for the Yugoslavs to stop the killings, tortures, imprisonments, persecutions and suppression of Kosovars. We urged them to lower their weapons, to maintain cool-headedness, not to become enemies with the Albanians. The Yugoslavs accuse us of interfering in their internal affairs, claiming that socialist Albania encourages the Kosovars, encourages you, Kosovar brothers, and people from other regions in emigration, to defend your sisters and uncles who the Serbs are killing. We have not done this and do not do this, but the whole world must be clear that Albania is a nation, that the Albanians are a people, and not whatever Herljević, Ristić, Stambolić, Koliševski, Vukmanović, Fadil Hoxha and Xhavit Nimani say or want. Albania will never allow the “world” to play with its destiny, as described by the magazine “NIN” and the newspaper “Politika” of the Yugoslav secret police and especially the Great-Serbs. Albania will never allow itself to become a miserable Palestine but will remain brave with dignity.

June 2, 1981

AN IMMEDIATE HALT TO REPRISALS AND SERBIAN POLICE TERROR IN KOSOVA

In the articles of “Zëri i popullit” dated April 8 and 23, as well as May 17, in a friendly manner and within the framework of the policy of good neighbourly relations, the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania has requested that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia stop the terror, killings, massacres, torture and mass imprisonments of Kosovars by the Serbian police.

Nothing has been done, and nothing is being done. Intimidation and terror against Albanians are increasing every day. By the order of the Belgrade Serbian police, students, teachers, professors and Albanian citizens in Kosova and in every part of Yugoslavia where they live are being arrested, imprisoned and tortured. Hatred against Albanians is being spoken with animosity in every corner of Yugoslavia. This surpasses every limit and has become unbearable, turning into a true tragedy.

The traitorous leadership of Kosova, servants of the Great-Serbs, is creating categories for Albanians and creating files on them as in the darkest times, even darker than the time of Ranković.

A question: Will the Great-Serb government of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the federal government of Yugoslavia endure this wild and barbaric action?

Will the Kosovars and all Albanians in Yugoslavia tolerate this violence and terror, to be killed, imprisoned, tortured and have their daughters and sons labelled as criminals? We are convinced that the Albanians in Yugoslavia will no longer tolerate this situation.

We are and will be with them until the end, until

reason and justice triumph. Reason and justice do not seem to be on the side of the Yugoslavs. They have responsibility for what has been revealed. The words, slanders and accusations against us, Kosovars, and all Albanians living in Yugoslavia, no longer work. We consider world opinion to be on the side of Albania; it is no longer that world opinion of 1912, 1913 and 1918, nor that of the League of Nations. Times have changed, and the fate of Albanians and the Albanian nation can no longer be played with.

June 2, 1981

THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE AND THE GOALS OF THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS

Theses

To debunk the slanders of the Yugoslav revisionists regarding our country's stance on the Helsinki Conference for "European security," when conditions permit, an article should be written that takes into account the following issues:

a) We have written articles about this conference. The true reasons why we did not participate and condemned the intentions of the major powers, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and United States, etc., which organized and manipulated it, should be released and emphasized when the conditions are ripe. Time has proven us right.

What were the results of Helsinki and the subsequent conferences that followed?!

b) After the Yugoslav genocide in Kosova, the Yugoslav revisionists "discovered" the "true" reason why we supposedly did not go to Helsinki, claiming that "we did not want the current status and borders of Europe." Therefore, according to them, "we would have raised territorial claims against Yugoslavia."

This is Titoite demagoguery of peace, unfounded and orchestrated to cover up the killings and persecutions of Kosovars and all Albanians living in their lands in Yugoslavia.

c) On the other hand, this shows that the Yugoslavs are well aware that the SFR of Yugoslavia is a concoction built on mere feathers, a state with multiple nationalities created by imperialist powers and their in-

trigues, manipulating the fates of other peoples.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia is plunged into a major economic crisis. Its form of self-administration has created international conflicts and leadership disputes. Yugoslavia wants to hide this by accusing us about why we did not go to Helsinki!

d) On this occasion, expose the magazine "NIN," which claims to be historians around the origin of Albania and concludes its article in a few words like this: Whatever happened against Albania, it was torn apart, split by imperialist powers, by Montenegrins, Serbs, the Russian Tsar, etc., but this problem must be closed, and the Albanians in Yugoslavia and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania should not make any fuss. Rather, they should "be silent."

"Kosova has no right to demand status as a republic," and the PSR of Albania has no right to defend the Albanians in Yugoslavia, because for the Yugoslavs, "this is interference aiming at the division of the SFR of Yugoslavia."

e) Harshly criticize the thesis of "NIN" about the origin and unity of the Albanian nation and state. The unity of the Albanian nation and state (although it has had all states against it) cannot be equated with the unity of the Yugoslav nation and state (although it has had all states for it).

The SFR of Yugoslavia is a national mosaic without any connection to national unity, while the PSR of Albania has been, is and will be strong, indivisible and united both in time and space. Whether the Yugoslavs like it or not, this is how it is and will be.

June 3, 1981

THE TREATY OF SAN STEFANO AND THE DANGEROUS GAME OF MAPS BY THE REVISIONIST GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

Notes

Considering the chauvinistic claims of the Bulgarian revisionists, let us indirectly mention to the Yugoslavs, perhaps through the press, that the lands from point x to point y, which they present as part of Macedonia, are Albanian, inhabited solely by Albanians and have never been called Macedonian. Those who annexed these lands to enslave the autochthonous Albanian people label them as "Bulgarian Macedonians" or "Yugoslav Macedonians."

This fundamental idea will be indirectly exposed by attacking the Treaty of San Stefano (its disadvantages for Albania, benefits for Bulgaria, advantages for Yugoslavia and damages to Greece).

In this brief but precise exposition, the "historical" definition of Vardar Macedonia and Aegean Macedonia must emerge. Neither of them includes the Albanian lands defined above by us. They have always been and remain Albanian lands, inhabited by Albanian ethnic groups, regardless of the names given by different invaders and used as a bargaining chip by major imperialist powers.

After laying out the problem historically and in scientific accuracy, we must move on to the dangerous game of "Bulgarian maps," supposedly historical but always chauvinistic, claiming Bulgaria and Mace-

donia's territories up to the Adriatic shores, including a large part of Albania.

We strongly condemn and expose this chauvinistic act by the Bulgarian revisionists, behind which lurks the heavy shadow of Marshal Kulikov. Of course, this is not the first Bulgarian map of San Stefano. There is another Bulgarian map published in Sofia, in which all of socialist Albania is included within the borders of the Federal Yugoslavia. It was this Bulgarian promise that "socialist Albania would become the seventh republic of Yugoslavia." Behind this Bulgarian promise in 1960 stood the heavy shadow of Malinovsky and the tragic clown Nikita Khrushchev.

Our protests: Examine the practice in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and my speech at the 1960 Moscow meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties, where I attacked Zhivkov over the publication in Bulgaria of a map of the Balkans, including Albania within the borders of Yugoslavia, and Khrushchev over the Sremska Mitrovica meeting, where the bandit Ranković attacked us and the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors were present. The same stands for the issue of Kosova, which can be used in this case or in another case.

Regarding the Sremska Mitrovica meeting, we must emphasize how Khrushchev caressed the Great-Serb Ranković and his pro-Russian clan.

The conclusion of this article should be an exposure of the Bulgarians without going on the defence or attack over their current claims on Macedonia, which is a matter for Yugoslavia and Greece. However, in this context, we should highlight what we said above, that in this or that "Macedonia," there are Albanian lands inhabited by the autochthonous Albanian people. The article should not have the slightest allusion to territorial claims.

Documents to be used:

— Works, Vol. 19

— Verbal note given to the Soviet ambassador in Tirana about the anti-Marxist stance of the Soviet ambassador and military attaché in Belgrade regarding the Sremska Mitrovica meeting, July 3, 1966.

— On the Sremska Mitrovica meeting and the second Bulgarian map. Also, see the protest note to the Bulgarian government.

— Speech at the 1960 meeting of 81 parties, which contains our determination on the issue of Kosova and other regions.

P.S. The map of San Stefano should come to us from Sofia and be studied.

June 4, 1981

**ON THE PREPARATION OF A
THEORETICAL-HISTORICAL
ARTICLE IN A SHARP
POLEMICAL FORM AGAINST
BASELESS ATTACKS BY THE
BITTER CHAUVINISTS OF
BELGRADE**

Notes

Now is the time to use historical facts for polemics. Therefore, after preparing all these articles we have in hand, we must write another lengthy one which will not be published immediately after these we are preparing, but after some time.

We need to speak about the great and continuous struggle that all Albanians have waged to secure their national independence. It should be written in a polemical form about the League of Prizren and the great injustices done to our people, who committed these injustices, which were the result of the great intrigues of the Great-Serbs, the Serbo-Croat-Slovenian monarchy. Then, the bitter nationalism and chauvinism were so pronounced that they committed great crimes against the Albanian people in general and, in particular, against the majority of the Albanian people left within the borders of the Serbo-Croat-Slovenian kingdom. Here, we need to talk about the agreement between Stojadinović and Ciano, highlight Čubrilović's theses and their application for the complete destruction of the Albanians. The notion of "integral nationalism" by the Great-Serbs aimed at the elimination of Alban-

ians in Yugoslavia, a population who numbered in the millions, an action which could not but result in mass killings. We must state these historical truths, and they did exist.

Then, the forced migrations of hundreds of thousands of Albanians to Turkey and thousands of others who came to Albania, in line with its regime at that time, financing the kingdom of Zogu for this purpose, should be emphasized.

The Albanians had significant reasons to fight for the independence of their Homeland and oppose this wild and liquidating exclusivist nationalism against an entire people. Here, we should blame the Yugoslavs.

World War II came, the Stojadinović-Ciano conspiracy was realized, and “Greater Albania” was created, which the Communist Party of Albania fought against, but so did the Kosovar Albanians. The fact is that initially, the Kosovar Albanians did not trust the Yugoslavs, and they were right for it. They doubted that the Serbs or anyone else from the Slavic nations in Yugoslavia would grant them national rights in the future. The entry of Kosovar Albanians into the national liberation war occurred, but with delay, and the actions of the Kosovar Ballists against the national liberation war were not the only actions; those of the Četniks in Montenegro, Serbia and the Ustašes in Croatia were even more terrible and impeded this. In the article, we must highlight that the Albanians in Yugoslavia understood that the “Greater Albania” of Mussolini could only be achieved through blood because Albania did not belong to Mussolini, but had the right to exist itself.

In these matters, we must go on the offensive, not staying in our previous positions, explaining them historically. And after all these wild nationalist and chauvinist stances of the Great-Serbs against the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, with the aim of gaining the trust of this people, Tito made the declaration we have

mentioned. Let us reiterate what he said at that time, emphasizing that his promises were not kept. Moša Pi-jade held a more flexible, less radical stance than Tito's when he declared that after the war in Yugoslavia, the Republic of Kosova should be created, but this did not happen either. But why wasn't this realized? It was not realized because the Great-Serbs acted, the goals stated in Jajce were changed and revenge against the Albanians was implemented, accusing them of being Ballists. The Great-Serbs thus carried out genocide against the Albanians. We should list who they killed and how many they killed, which we know but need to document in this text. This happened in 1945.

Then came Ranković's second genocide in 1966, which has been discussed in my materials, and now it must be addressed again.

What does this show? It shows that Great-Serb chauvinism and Great-Yugoslav chauvinism against the Albanians in Yugoslavia has been so terrible that it has reached the point of genocide. Hence, the desire for irredentism arises spontaneously from within them. This desire for irredentism has been caused by the integral nationalism and chauvinism of the Serbs, which has been and is condemnable. Therefore, the Albanians are completely blameless in this matter, and although they are not at all guilty, they are suppressed and killed by a so-called socialist regime, which in fact is nothing more than a barbaric regime.

Albania itself has sought, continues to seek and will continue to seek until the end the rights that belong to our brothers in Yugoslavia according to the constitution. The minimum they have demanded is the recognition of Kosova as a republic.

The preparation of this material is of great importance. In it, we must raise the issue of why the magazine "NIN," as they understand it, lists all the crimes committed against the Albanian people and ends the lec-

ture with the words, “Whatever happened in the past, the Helsinki meeting closed it, it decided the status quo.” No, Helsinki did not at all close this issue. No unacknowledged treaty signed by the imperialists can put an end to such a significant issue where half of an entire people living in their own lands is brutally suppressed. Helsinki also decided on human rights. The Yugoslavs do not like to hear about this and continue to brutally suppress the Albanian population of about 2 million and violate their rights.

In the article, let us emphasize that these are not the reasons given by “NIN” as to why we did not participate in the Helsinki meeting, but since you accuse us of not going for this reason, we give you the answer for this issue as well.

June 5, 1981

YUGOSLAVIA, THE SICK MAN OF THE BALKANS, MANOEUVRES TO SET THE PENINSULA ON FIRE

Serbo-Russian intrigue fuels Albanian-Greek hostility

Here is what Tanjug said yesterday, on June 4: "Tirana, through its diplomatic missions in Washington and the United Nations headquarters in New York, as well as through various scientific and scholarly institutions in the United States, has distributed a political map of 'Greater Albania,' which includes Greek Epirus territories, including the cities of Janina, Igumenica, Konica, etc., which it calls the 'Çamëria region' occupied by Greece. It added that a question has been raised in the Greek parliament about this matter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the newspaper 'Akropolis' has published a commentary against 'Albanian expansionism' and 'persecution of the Greek minority in Albania,' etc."

— This is one of the nastiest and most dangerous intrigues orchestrated by the secret police of Serbia (UDB), allowed by the government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the worst chauvinistic reaction of the Greek diaspora living in the United States.

— The lies of the Yugoslav UDB place the scenario in the United States, especially in Washington, where we do not have a mission, and our mission near the United Nations cannot go because it is not allowed to step outside the Manhattan area, defined as the apostasy for our mission members. Supposedly, these latter individuals have also distributed these so-called maps

at the United Nations headquarters. However, this dangerous deception can be easily uncovered by its authorities. The individuals who put them here are tasked with investigating the matter and denouncing the authors.

— With this writing, we do not intend to engage in a polemic with Mrs. Cuderos, who asked a question to Mr. Micotaqis in parliament. She has the right to ask not just one but a hundred questions, and it is up to Mr. Micotaqis to answer them.

— Similarly, we do not want to engage in a polemic with those Greek press organs mentioned by Tanjug to illustrate its dangerous intrigue. We will not argue about their absurd claims regarding the territorial claims of Albanian lands, which they call “Northern Epirus.” This story has died long ago, is unfortunate and has no chance of being used as a tool for conflict by the Yugoslav government and its secret police to devise the “ingenious” discovery of the mysterious map they prepared.

— Never has the reactionary Greek diaspora, whether in Greece or the United States, stopped slandering us. They have said many evil things against the Albanians, accused us of many crimes against the Greek minority happily living in the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania. They have published various maps to define the “borders of Northern Epirus” of theirs but have never published a map for our so-called territorial claims in Greece, demanding Arta, Preveza, Janina and even Follorina or beyond, as Tanjug claims. Not only that, but no Greek presses or governments have ever spoken about such an issue because there have been no claims from our side, and this issue has never been raised by us.

— As if by chance, one morning, after the tragic events caused by the Yugoslavs in Kosova, where for the third and fourth time, the secret police and the Serbian army carried out a terrible genocide against the Alban-

ians living in their lands in Yugoslavia, they claimed that we Albanians had distributed in Washington and the United Nations headquarters a “map, including Çamëria, within the borders of the PSR of Albania”!

— The satanic Yugoslav secret police’s “ingenious invention” to break the good friendship between socialist Albania and democratic Greece, which does not benefit the Yugoslav government and its secret Soviet allies, who devised this action to hide their genocide in Kosova and to “prove” that “Albanians are not only interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but they also have territorial claims in Greece.” To complete the theorem, they conclude that “Albanians are nationalists, chauvinists and irredentists.” We advise the Serbian secret police to spread this “Albanian chauvinism” even in Turkey, where Albanians live, why not even in Italy, where Albanian Arbëreshë migrated five centuries ago. So, maps can be made for these and distributed in the streets of the United States or any other country.

— We tell the Yugoslavs that the friendship between the Albanian and Greek people has been one of the best and most sincere throughout the centuries. Similarly, such a friendship is being rebuilt today, which you are trying in vain to ruin with your secret allies. (Write a history of this friendship, do not forget to include quotes from both sides and the Greeks.)

— Such a friendship has never existed with the Great-Serbs because they have been cunning, chauvinist and oppressive. (Talk about Tito’s conversation with the Greek king in Corfu, about Khrushchev’s conversation with the son of Eleftherios Venizelos. Talk about the fact that in his time, right after World War II, Tsaldaris, a fierce anti-Albanian chauvinist, expelled the Çams from their lands and threw them into Albania, but it is correct to say that neither did he kill them with machine guns nor did he press them with tanks, as you Great-Serbs are doing with the Albanians in Yugoslav-

ia.)

— Precisely to hide the bloody crimes they are committing in Kosova, you speak through the mouth of some chauvinist Vorio-Epirus journalist, ready and paid by you to invent the “crimes, genocide and almost the entire Greek minority imprisoned” by us!

— Messrs. Yugoslav agents, these lies and slanders are very thick, but we do not find them harmful to ourselves because in fact they expose you in the eyes of world public opinion, and we publish them for the Greek people, the Albanian people and the Greek minority to know you well.

— How the Greek minority lives in its Homeland in the PSR of Albania. (To be praised.)

— These regions have been visited by Greek citizens of every rank and profession who have come from Greece. They have integrated into the minority, freely conversed with them, eaten bread in their homes, sung and danced together, and continuously written with great empathy for the Albanian people and for what they have seen and heard in Albania and in the communities of the minority. Surely, they will be offended by the unfounded slanders of the Yugoslav Titoites.

— Whether the Yugoslavs and their allies like it or not, relations between Albania and Greece have strengthened and will continue to strengthen in every aspect of life.

— In conclusion, let this vile fabrication be indignantly rejected, which is a continuation of many other falsehoods of the Titoites.

At the end is Yugoslavia, born from the Treaty of Versailles, which, despite its people waging a heroic war against nazi-fascism, inherited, preserved and is now putting on the table, stained with blood, all the intrigues from old times in the name of “Balkan problems.” Titoite Yugoslavia, and especially its post-Tito version, is striving to turn the Balkans and itself

into a powder keg. Facts show that within the SFR of Yugoslavia, among various clans, there are divisions which can erupt into international conflicts. Disputes with Bulgaria have begun over Macedonia, they are attacking Kosova senselessly, and, in collaboration with a Vorio-Epirus chauvinist, they incite and revive old Greek-Albanian quarrels.

— Yugoslavia has lit the fuse and started the fire. We are doing our best to prevent the catastrophe that the Yugoslavs want to cause, but every day they escalate actions against the Albanians living in Yugoslavia and against the PSR of Albania.

— We warn world opinion not to remain indifferent, as unprecedented events may occur. But if something happens, not because of us, Yugoslavia will be harmed, and peace in Europe, possibly globally, will be jeopardized. Sarajevo must not be repeated!

Lessons must be drawn for humanity, and the event in Sarajevo will be a lesson when what caused it and what happened afterwards are studied objectively and realistically. However, with the fate of socialist Albania and the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, Sarajevo should not be played out again, just as after the Treaty of Versailles.

June 10, 1981

THE SERBIAN CHIEF OF POLICE SPEAKS

Franjo Herljević's report is in every sense a police report, a report from a secret agency that, with its intricate network, has covered all Albanians in Yugoslavia, both inside and outside. It is a ruthless and shameless report, in which, without restraint, the ways and forms used by the UDB to surveil an entire people are laid bare, such as the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia, as well as those parts of this people who have been expelled from Yugoslavia and sold like market goods, as modern slave traders operate.

In addition, this report unscrupulously highlights how, through consulates and clubs, the Serbian police have organized their spy agency in foreign countries. This agency's purpose is not only to control, indoctrinate and terrorize its citizens but also to exert control over other embassies in all those countries with which it has diplomatic ties, thus creating within them a multi-faceted espionage agency.

June 16, 1981

WE WILL NEVER ALLOW THE YUGOSLAV TITOITES TO KILL AND TORTURE OUR KOSOVAR BROTHERS

For almost three months, the Yugoslav press has been launching police and gangster attacks and fabricating accusations against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, blaming it for offences it has never committed and for terrorist acts organized by Yugoslav secret police, as was the case with the dynamite explosion at the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana.

In addition to these, the Yugoslav secret police (UDB), through forgeries and intrigues, attempts to stir up discord between socialist Albania and neighbouring Greece. Here, I do not want to mention the wild terror that continues, especially in Kosova, as well as the numerous provocations against our people travelling through Yugoslavia.

But here, I want to speak a little about two speeches given by the Serbian Chief of Police of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in Yugoslavia in recent days, Franjo Herljević, the content of which is fully reflected in the report made by the Deputy Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Milorad Pešić, on the same day. These two reports have the same content, but while the latter is dressed in diplomatic phrases, Herljević's is a report in every sense of the word, a report from the head of a secret agency that has covered with its intricate network all the Albanians in Yugoslavia, both inside and outside. It is a ruthless and shameless report, in which, without restraint, the ways and forms used by the UDB to surveil an entire people are laid bare, such as the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia, as well as those

parts of this people who have been expelled from Yugoslavia and sold like market goods, as modern slave traders operate.

From discussions among all Yugoslavs in every forum, it is clear that the opinion of the secret police of this country dominates. Everyone speaks its language, indicating that the Yugoslav people and the entire Yugoslav state are under the thumb of UDB. They talk about “freedom” and “democracy” to cover up this police state.

At the beginning of the events in Kosova, there were Yugoslav voices authorized to hint, among other things, that what happened in Kosova also had an economic basis. Now this significant reason has been removed from the discourse, and police law has been established: “For what happened in Kosova, the PSR of Albania is responsible, with their call for ‘Greater Albania,’ with their ‘organization’ of intelligence centres in Kosova and in Kosovar emigration, with its ‘collaboration’ with political emigrants such as Ballists, Zogists, Ustašes and Četniks, with the Albanian professors it sent to Kosova, with Albanian books,” etc., etc. All these UDB lies and fabrications have spread throughout Yugoslavia.

In addition, the slogan of the Yugoslav police has emerged that it “was caught off guard, that it had lost vigilance and had shown generosity to Albania because it hoped that it would become Titoite in politics, ideology,” etc. The UDB slogan that dominates all Yugoslav stratas is: “War against Albanian chauvinism, nationalism and irredentism.” There is no other enemy, no other chauvinism in Yugoslavia. The UDB openly set programs and terror measures against Albanians, who are classified in files and computers. “The great crisis of the Titoite regime has been covered up by the crisis of Kosova,” and the Serbian UDB dominates the Yugoslav scene.

Yugoslavia has begun to decay; it is discrediting itself and will collapse, either from outside or from within. The UDB thinks, like the police, that with its actions, it will eliminate internal contradictions with its unparalleled savagery exercised against the Albanians of Yugoslavia. The opposite will happen. It believes that by accusing and slandering the PSR of Albania, it will turn the world opinion in its favour. But the opposite has happened, and in the future, this will be emphasized even more. The Albanians living in their areas in Yugoslavia can hardly bow to the barbarism of UDB, and we will never allow the Titoites to kill, imprison and torture our Kosovar brothers. We will defend our socialist Homeland, the PSR of Albania.

June 17, 1981

CURRENT AND FUTURE POSITIONS WE SHOULD TAKE ON THE ISSUE OF KOSOVA

Immediately after the last Plenum of the Central Committee, which approved the report of the Political Bureau "On the project directives of the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania for the seven-year plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for 1981-1985," I discussed with the comrades the positions we should take regarding Yugoslavia and particularly the issue of Kosova. They agreed with the issues I raised.

1. Our positions with regards to the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remain unchanged. What we have declared, we will maintain for as long as they maintain theirs.

We do not change our ideological positions against Yugoslav revisionism and the politics that stem from it. We will expose any manifestation they present, which our Party deems necessary.

We will maintain trade relations when they are mutually beneficial. We must never allow the Yugoslavs to propagate, as they have done recently, claiming that in our trade, they were generous, and they saved us from a bad year! We should not have cultural relations with the SFR of Yugoslavia and, within it Kosova, for now. First, because they attacked our culture as "Albanian chauvinist and irredentist" and made it the cause of unrest in Kosova. Second, under current conditions, our socialist culture in Kosova, through various forms, will be restricted and controlled by Serbian and Kosovar UDB. We have no intention of building a culture like that of Yugoslavia. Our visits to Kosova and other areas

where Albanians live in Yugoslavia will be exploited by the Titoites whenever possible to accuse us of things, just as they have accused us before. Also, to record even the applause in performances. Under these conditions, our assistance in the field of culture and education for Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia should be provided through our radio and television. We can participate in some scientific conferences in the SFR of Yugoslavia if they invite us, and if they wish, they can come to similar meetings we organize.

2. The polemic we engaged in with the Yugoslav revisionists over the tragic events in Kosova was necessary because our Kosovar brothers and sisters needed to be defended, the Serbian genocide in Kosova needed to be exposed, and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania needed to be staunchly defended against the accusations of the Great-Serbs as "instigators of the revolts in Kosova," etc.

Our polemic was timely, just, sharp, revealing and advised calmness in "keeping cool heads," finding a solution to the rights of Kosovars and Albanians in other areas of Yugoslavia, in a just and fair way. Our mature, calm and principled stance against the slanderous hysteria of the Yugoslavs and especially the Serbs made world opinion and diplomacy judge us correctly and condemn the political positions and barbaric actions of the Yugoslavs in Kosova and against the PSR of Albania and PLA. The Yugoslavs were politically discredited worldwide; the demagoguery of their entire domestic and foreign policy was exposed.

We won in international opinion, the Yugoslavs lost. We also won in internal Yugoslav opinion, and despite the overwhelming propaganda, the Great-Serbs lost. Contradictions in the Yugoslav leadership deepened; the Croatian-Slovenian clan showed prudence in attacks against PSR of Albania and PLA, while the Serb-

ian clan tried with all means to make the PSR of Albania a "Turkish head," both inside and outside Yugoslavia. They were not able to achieve their joy. Just four days ago, Stane Dolanc said he still held his initial opinion "that Albania has no hand in the events in Kosova." In this latest interview, Stane Dolanc expressed several other contradictions with the actions of the League of Communists of Serbia, etc. This interview, given on television, was not published in the press. Why? This is understood.

Our mature and principled positions had their effect in Kosova; they gave heart to the Kosovars and, at the same time, hindered the violent surge of the Yugoslav army and UDB.

The Yugoslavs, on the wrong path, confused and muddled in domestic and foreign politics, made one blunder after another, actions and agent provocateur fabrications like the "bomb in the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana," "map of Çamëria," etc. that no one believed, and which the international press itself exposed as false and fabricated by the Yugoslavs.

The issue of Kosova became an international problem. It shook Yugoslavia and will have repercussions in its other republics, as well as in the conflicts among them.

3. Our international positions, which have been strong, were further strengthened.

The Great-Serbs continue and will continue their attacks against Kosova. We cannot stop them. They will continue by covering them with the lie that the resistance of the Kosovars continues to be "incited by Albania" through the articles it continues to publish. We need to remove this weapon, reduce some polemics, as we have clarified all the issues, and we have taken all the correct positions. We leave the crimes that the Yugoslavs have committed and may continue to commit in Kosova in the Kosovars' hands.

They hope to continuously use this “Turkish head,” and we must remove this possibility. The world can see that we have neither incited in the past nor today incite those actions that may seem to be happening in Kosova. Who caused the tragic events in Kosova and the reasons for them only become even more apparent.

The Yugoslavs want an “escalation” in their disagreements with us. This interests the Soviet social-imperialists, friends and allies of the Great-Serbs in this delicate issue. It interests the Soviet-Serbs who yesterday raised their trade exchanges to \$32 billion.

The world will see, as it has seen so far, the maturity of our socialist state and the decomposition of the Yugoslav state, which resembles the old Austro-Hungarian Empire of the Habsburgs, which dominated dozens of states, nations, ethnicities and various interests, and eventually collapsed like the rotten core of an old apple. Like Franz Joseph, Tito, who bore the name of Josip, brought Yugoslavia to the state it is in today, and it will crumble even further tomorrow.

July 2, 1981

FIVE MISTAKES OF THE TITOITES REGARDING THE ISSUE OF KOSOVA

Panorama

Naturally, the regime to be built after the Second World War had to change fundamentally, not only in form but especially in content, from that of the old Serbo-Croat-Slovenian monarchy. The form of the new regime, as declared, would be a federative republic with the characteristics of a truly democratic regime. In other words, it would realize, based on Leninist principles, the unity of several republics created by different peoples, based on the principle of self-determination, from unity to secession.

This grand principle liberated by struggle to solve the major and difficult issue of different nationalities, previously suppressed — self-determination from unity to secession — was not implemented in Yugoslavia. On the contrary, the slogan “brotherhood and unity” prevailed. The will of the Albanian people living and fighting in Yugoslavia for “self-determination up to separation,” approved at the first founding meeting of the National Liberation Council of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, held in Bujan from December 31, 1943 to January 2, 1944, was not taken into account by the central leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. It was labelled as unpatriotic, incorrect, not in the spirit of the decisions of the AVNOJ in Jajce, even though during the war, this leadership had extensively propagated that it would respect the “rights of peoples” and “national equality.” Subsequent developments showed that it had propagated this to cover its hidden chauvin-

istic intentions and to deceive the diverse peoples that constituted Yugoslavia. In fact, even at the second AVNOJ meeting in Jajce in November 1943, it was publicly announced that "the policy of the equality of peoples" would be followed. However, in reality, an old, chauvinistic and counter-revolutionary policy was approved there, to the detriment of the non-Serbian peoples and nationalities within the borders of the former Yugoslavia of the Karadjordjević dynasty. Therefore, these decisions were kept extremely secret from the public and from Yugoslavia's allies at that time. Precisely on the basis of these secret decisions, Kosova and the other Albanian territories would remain within the borders of the old Yugoslavia and would not be connected to their Homeland, the new Albania, which emerged from a war just as glorious, if not more so than that of the Yugoslavs, and regardless of the expressed will of the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

A union with Albania, therefore, was decided by the historic meeting in Bujan, while the Titoites decided the opposite, violating all the supposedly fundamental decisions they had solemnly taken in various "constitutional" meetings during the war.

This was the first serious political and ideological mistake of the Titoites in their work on the formation of the future Yugoslav state, in the solution of the national question that existed in the old Yugoslavia, and a serious violation of the Leninist principle of the self-determination of peoples.

As a result of this first major ideological error, a second equally fundamental mistake was made in determining nations and nationalities, that is, in determining the "nation" and "national minorities." Who should be called a nation, and who should be called a minority? On what basis should ethnicity be determined, "legitimate ethnicity" and "illegitimate ethnicity," as the current Great-Serbs are theorizing?

Even in the new state, these issues retained the old solution, that of the Serbo-Croat-Slovenian monarchy. Based on this solution, a state of federated republics in the new post-war Yugoslavia was formed. Thus, from above, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro were determined. A new republic was also created, with many nationalities, named the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

The Serbian Republic, as always, retained “ownership” of the majority of Albanian territories, and Kosova was derogatorily referred to as a “region” of Serbia. Later, after the determined protests of the Kosovars and the genocide committed during the time of Ranković, this designation was changed to the “Autonomous Province of Serbia.” But again this was an anti-Marxist and nationalist-chauvinist solution; it was a fictitious political naming, ostensibly to weaken the Great-Serb trend by overthrowing Ranković’s group. The creation of two “autonomous provinces,” Vojvodina and Kosova (in Vojvodina, there was indeed a small Hungarian minority, and Serbs constituted the majority, while in the “Autonomous Province” of Kosova, over 80 per cent were autochthonous Albanians), was considered by the Titoites as a “just” solution, but, in fact, it did not solve anything because the solution given did not differ from the initial state: Serbia retained these two provinces under its control.

The third major mistake concerns the solution to the problem of the Albanian nation or “Albanian nationality.” The question was whether there was an Albanian nation or an “Albanian national minority,” and what would happen to the Albanians.

After the decisive anti-fascist war that took place both in Albania and Yugoslavia, this problem was approached differently. The peoples of both countries fought together against the common enemy. Their na-

tional liberation wars were led jointly by two communist parties, the Communist Party of Albania and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This joint liberation war was supposed to eliminate the injustices of the past, eradicate the slavery of the peoples, especially the Albanians suffering under the regime of the Great-Serb monarchy. It was time to solve the issue of the Albanian people and the Albanian lands annexed to Yugoslavia, not within the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia but outside it, and specifically by uniting them with Albania, an ally in the National Liberation War. At the same time, when the same new society of "new democracy," which was nothing but the beginning of the construction of socialist society, was being built in both countries, this was not done by the Yugoslavs.

The solution adopted and implemented was not a Marxist-Leninist solution but a nationalist-chauvinist one, pro-Serbian nationalism and chauvinism. It was an arbitrary decision outside the principles established and declared during the war, opposed to the Albanians in Yugoslavia as a compact part of the Albanian nation who lived next to their Homeland, the new socialist Albania. However, for the SFR of Yugoslavia, this unjust and arbitrary decision was a *fait accompli*. In 1946, Tito covered up this anti-Marxist action, even though he agreed that "Kosova and other areas of Albanian population in Yugoslavia are Albanian lands belonging to Albania and should be returned to it," with the groundless justification that "we cannot do such a thing now because the Serbs cannot understand it." In other words, Tito defended the thesis that principles could be violated, but the desires of the Great-Serbs should not be touched. Time showed that the Tитоites not only had no intention of resolving the issue of the Albanians in Yugoslavia correctly, but their reactionary and annexationist plan, in the longer term, was to globally resolve

the issue of the Albanians, including within socialist Albania, by incorporating it into the orbit of the SFR of Yugoslavia as its seventh republic. This diabolical, chauvinist and annexationist plan is documented.

The fourth major mistake of Tito and the Yugoslav leadership, related to the national question, was the unscrupulous manipulation and chauvinistic exploitation of the Albanian population living in their own territories in Yugoslavia. They used it as a bargaining chip to settle the interests of various clans that would form the "new Yugoslavia."

The Albanians were labelled as a "nationality," reduced to a "minority," and, as in the old capitalist regimes of the Serbian kings, who played with the fate and rights of the peoples constituting Yugoslavia, the Albanian population living as a significant ethnic group in their own lands in Yugoslavia, connected as a whole with the borders of their Homeland, was divided into three parts: the majority was left to the SR of Serbia; a part, to strengthen both in terms of population (this time as an "Albanian minority") and territory (when-ever Albanian), was given to the SR of Macedonia, newly created; and the other part was attached to the SR of Montenegro, the smallest and poorest republic both in land and population, to somewhat strengthen it with an "Albanian minority" and Albanian lands.

So, in the "new" Yugoslav state system, the Albanians not only disintegrated as the compact unit they were even during the time of the Karageorgević monarchy, but national exploitation and suppression continued from the republics attached to them. Now, Albanians in each republic were considered and treated as a "minority." Moreover, the Titoites, to cover their anti-socialist actions in these matters and to give the impression that they were not only "principled" but super-principled, even considered believers and nomadic shepherds as a "nationality" themselves.

It is understandable and evident that from this republican and federative system, the Albanian element was extensively used to create two republics of the federation, Macedonia and Montenegro. In other words, in new and supposedly socialist forms, the old Great-Serb plan for the disintegration of the Albanian nation, clearly formulated by the monarchist academician and later Titoite Čubrilović, was being implemented.

Even the failed Titoite attempt to integrate the PSR of Albania into the sphere of the Yugoslav Federation was only a new version of the old project by the Great-Serb fascist Stojadinović.

Any legal demands of the Albanians, within the laws and constitution in force, were considered crimes by the Yugoslav authorities. Against lawful demands, especially those of the Kosovars, police and military terror and violence were used, along with genocide, imprisonment, concentration camps and torture. This occurred on the eve of the liberation of Yugoslavia when the National Liberation Army conducted "cleansings" and killed thousands of Kosovars without discrimination, under the pretext that they were Albanian "Ballists." At that time, to increase terror against the Albanians, the war against the slogan of "Greater Albania" was exploited, a slogan that is widely used even today to stigmatize any rightful demands of the Albanians living in Yugoslavia and any defence made by the PSR of Albania for the rights of Albanians that were violated and taken away by the Yugoslavs.

In this Titoite logic, fuelled by deep-seated hatred against anything Albanian, the Albanians were labelled as "nationalists," "chauvinists," "irredentists," "Greater Albanians," etc., while they, the Yugoslavs, and especially the Serbs, were "seasoned and principled Marxists," who had everything figured out and solved in every direction and at all times. They, and only they, were right; they were right even when ruthlessly exploit-

ing the Albanians, even when killing them in the streets and camps, even when throwing hundreds of thousands of Albanians into emigration! Every atrocity on their part represented “justice,” and every demand for justice from the Albanians was and is “injustice”!

After 1948, the Serbs and all of Titoite Yugoslavia carried out a new genocide against the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Thousands of innocent people were killed by the Serbian UDB, by Ranković, and other killings followed in the subsequent years. The goal was to instil terror in the Albanian population living in Yugoslavia, to completely subjugate it, severely hinder and minimize the development of the Albanian language, culture, customs, traditions and even erase its centuries-old history. Such was their program, the policy of terror and extermination that Titoism and its Great-Serb regime used against the Albanians. This is a reality that nobody can hide.

It is understandable that the Albanians in Yugoslavia did not submit to this terror. However, even the PSR of Albania did not stand idly by. Without interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, it exposed this capitalist-revisionist state system, exposed this chauvinist fascist policy and firmly defended the rights of the Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia.

Tito, compelled by internal and external political circumstances, by the monumental failures of the state system he was building and by the major setbacks he was experiencing in the economic fields, then used Albania several times. Initially, he used it to weaken the Great-Serb clan in the Federation, in 1968 by striking the Ranković group, and later the other Great-Serb group, Nikezić, to “liberalize” somewhat the reins that tied Kosova. This tactic represented the period of Titoite demagogy, so desired during the crisis that Yugoslavia was going through at that time.

But the Albanians in Yugoslavia did not have many

illusions because what was given to them was a negligible thing compared to the great rights that were denied and taken away from them. However, they used this break from terror to develop knowledge, culture, science, to educate themselves and to rise up within the laws that continued to hang over them like the sword of Damocles, the abyss where Titoism and its barbaric regime had submerged them.

The development of culture, education and acquaintance with the history of the Albanian people did not progress uniformly in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro. In these last two republics, harsh oppression and maximum suppression of any basic rights continued, while in Kosova, despite significant economic poverty, the development of Albanian education and culture showed a noticeable escape from the darkness that the permanent Great-Serb rule had imposed there. Meanwhile, Serbia worried and tightened the reins like a wild beast. Anything that even slightly resembled progress in Kosova, the Great-Serb view perceived with an anger that it barely contained, a view with the eye of perpetual Great-Serb revenge.

The Yugoslav economic system, self-administration, a system of capitalist anarcho-syndicalism, went from one defeat to another and reached the peak of an economic bankruptcy, bringing with it all the evils of a capitalist regime that stands on the crutches of major powers. It created economic chaos, exploiters and the exploited, organized state control, the economy, the market, the life of all of Yugoslavia, created internal political contradictions and brought to light the Serbo-Croat-Slovenian rivalries. The conflict for economic and political hegemony emerged within Yugoslavia.

In this disintegrated capitalist Yugoslavia, Kosova and the entirety of the Albanian nation, unjustly attached to it, remained the poorest out of all the republics and regions. The system of self-administration in

the so-called autonomous Kosova did not work, the SR of Serbia greatly hindered the economic development of Kosova, not to mention the "Albanian minorities" living in Montenegro and Macedonia.

The demands of workers, students, teachers, professors and the entire population of Kosova were economic and political. They were legitimate, within the Yugoslav constitution. The rights of the Albanians were suppressed, and they were taken away through economic discrimination and policies under the guise of self-administration, which, in reality, ensured the administration and economic and political exploitation of Kosova by the SR of Serbia and the other republics rather than by the Kosovars themselves. In such a spiritual and economic state and in this political discrimination, demonstrators demanded republican status for their region.

This natural and rightful demand, both in terms of size in population and other factors that constitute a nation, as well as legal and constitutional forms, to become a republic within the Federation, was brutally suppressed and drowned in blood. This was the fifth major mistake of the reactionary leadership of the SFR of Yugoslavia, and especially of the Serbs.

If we follow the dialectical development of the formation of the SFR of Yugoslavia and analyse the mistakes made one after another against the Albanians in Yugoslavia, we will undoubtedly reach the final act of the drama, where the entire intrigue becomes apparent.

Based on documents known during the war and shortly after liberation, to determine these major problems, there must have been debates within the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Moše Pijade, for example, was and proposed that the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, who were about 2 million people, form a republic. This, as it seemed, was not accepted, because if this happened and the principle of "self-determination up to secession" was followed, it would

lead to the approval of the decision of the First National Liberation Conference of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau held in Bujan. This would mean not only that the entire Albanian territory in Yugoslavia should form a republic on its own but, if the principle of self-determination were to be followed, it would signify unification with Albania.

Tito, in discussions I had with him in 1946 on the issue of Kosova and other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, falsely suggested that the solution that had been decided was temporary, while not only was this not the case, but, as mentioned earlier, Tito and his chauvinist collaborators had even more advanced and more anti-Albanian secret plans: to create a seventh republic within the Federation, where even Albania would be included. In this way, the problem for all Albanians would be “solved” once and for all.

To realize these plans, Tito’s emissaries worked from Tempo and Velimir Stoinić, Ranković with his agency, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and others. The entire diabolical plan failed and was exposed badly, thanks to the vigilance of our Party, its determined and heroic stance.

Socialist Albania was saved from a great danger, but the situation in Kosova and in other areas inhabited by Albanians in Yugoslavia worsened immeasurably. Kosova remained a suppressed region of Serbia, and the other part, in Macedonia and Montenegro, suffered the same fate.

July 2, 1981

THE ISSUE OF KOSOVA AND THE ALBANIAN TERRITORIES IN YUGOSLAVIA

Notes

When we speak of Kosova and the Kosovars, we do not only refer to it as a geographical region, but to the issue of all lands and all Albanians living within the current borders of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, adjacent to the borders of the Homeland, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

In the broadest and fullest sense, we are talking about Albania and the Albanians as a nation that constitutes a unique historical, political, economic and ethnic problem. The Albanian people have an ethno-genesis and a defined national formation that spans centuries, with all the necessary characteristics of a nation. They have a history, economic development, culture and centuries-old national traditions, as well as their own politics, etc.

This is an undeniable reality both in historical and political terms.

The issue of Albanians living in their lands in Yugoslavia is not a problem of a "minority," arrived or settled somewhere as economic immigrants or caused by the Ottoman Empire's expansion or the natural demographic growth of Albanians that concerns the Malthusian Great-Serbs. The Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute an ethnicity, a people formed over centuries, with their own history, language, culture, an autochthonous people who, as is known, were fragmented, separated from their Homeland and annexed to Yugoslavia by imperialist powers. This is something no one

can hide. Any other interpretation of this problem and this issue is arbitrary; it is a distortion, a serious and harmful falsification of history. Therefore, the problem of the Albanian nation, the Albanian people, and especially the Albanians in Yugoslavia, who are a significant component of the Albanian people, has been and is a uniquely historical problem. The Albanian people have fought relentlessly for centuries against wild and much larger enemies in number. In all these centuries-long struggles, whether in defeat or victory, years of slavery, the Albanian people have never compromised their existence as a nation. On the contrary, in every circumstance, they have manifested extraordinary and exemplary vitality. They did not lose their unity, nor their existence as a state in formation and development.

World empires and great powers could not erase the compact ethnicity of the Albanians, nor could they assimilate them, change their culture, language, appearance and customs. The very existence of the Albanian people confirms this. History shows that, alone and without any support from foreign powers, which they always faced, they resisted and fought successfully for the freedom of their nation and its unity. They fought to protect their independence as a sovereign state, their culture, and their natural and legal rights. Only through their struggle and the shedding of their blood did victory come.

In the Second World War, the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia fought on their land and in close alliance against the fascist Italian and nazi German invaders. Even Albanians living in Yugoslavia fought heroically alongside us and all the peoples of Yugoslavia against this common enemy. They not only fought on their land, but our National Liberation Army went to the aid of the Yugoslav partisans and Kosovar brothers, shedding the blood of the sons and daughters of the Albanian people in their lands. We acted as our

Communist Party of Albania taught us, with a high sense of internationalism. We believed that victory in the struggle for liberation in both our countries would be achieved, that slavery would be eradicated and the tragic mistakes of the past history would be corrected. We believed that after victory, everything would be resolved on the Marxist-Leninist path.

The guarantee for this was the communist parties leading the national liberation war in both countries. However, our conviction in “communism and internationalism” from the Yugoslav leaders, our trust in their words were not justified. In fact, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia never looked at the future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia on the Marxist-Leninist path, so they chose, as they did wrong and crooked, the completely anti-Marxist nationalist and chauvinist path.

The wrong solution to this major and fundamental issue began in the Second Meeting of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia, held in Jajce in November 1943, where Albanian areas in Yugoslavia were used as a tool to regulate the land and population proportions of the Republics of the Federation, especially Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was predetermined from above, without the approval and self-determination of the Albanian people in Kosovo and other Albanian territories in Yugoslavia, and without the slightest consultation with the ally of the peoples of Yugoslavia directly interested in this issue, the PSR of Albania. The leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, in contrast to the “policy of national equality” declared at the second AVNOJ meeting in Jajce, unjustly violated the will of the Albanians in Yugoslavia expressed in the founding meeting of the First Conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosovo and the Dukagjin Plateau, held in Bujan from

December 31, 1943 to January 2, 1944. This was in line with the right of "self-determination up to secession" of the peoples constituting Yugoslavia, as determined in the fundamental documents of the Communist Party and the Yugoslav National Liberation Movement.

As for consulting People's Albania to solve this historical problem, the Yugoslav leadership considered it a priori unnecessary. It was against such consultation because it knew that a principled, Marxist-Leninist and friendly discussion between the leaders of our two countries, taking into account the free will of the Albanians residing in their territories in Yugoslavia, would lead to a just and by no means chauvinistic, arbitrary and nationalist solution like the one undertaken by the Yugoslav leadership.

Nothing can cover or justify the bloody reprisals against the Albanians in 1945, 1966 and again in 1981, their discrimination, impoverishment, national oppression, and significant differences in education and culture within Kosova and other Albanian areas in Yugoslavia. The fall into misery of the Great-Serb group of Ranković, and later the other Great-Serb group of Niškić, marked the period of Titoite political demagoguery towards Kosova and the Kosovars. The need to balance different forces within the Federation led to a formal reassessment of Kosova's status, which, from a simple region of Serbia, was designated as an "autonomous" region.

Whether willingly or unwillingly by the Serbs, this new situation provided the Albanians in Yugoslavia, especially the Kosovars, the opportunity to expand education, establish the University of Prishtina, develop culture, learn their people's history, establish contacts and educational, cultural and economic relations with Albania, based on the laws of the Federation and official agreements between the PSR of Albania and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova and other

Albanian areas in Yugoslavia. However, the economic basis of the SAP of Kosova remained very weak, neglected. Its resources were again exploited ruthlessly by other republics of the federation, especially by Serbia. All the "solutions" presented during this period were washed out, conjunctural and beneficial for Belgrade and Shkup. Depending on the case, without being explicitly stated, they were considered either as "Tito's opportunistic concessions," as was the case with the Serbs, or as "victories achieved thanks to Tito," as trumpeted by the Albanian leaders of the SAP of Kosova.

The events after Tito's death have shown how wrong and on what anti-Marxist path the issue of nations in Yugoslavia, especially the issue of the Albanians, was resolved. Their legitimate demands within the constitution were met with a heavy and bloody hand by the Great-Serb and entire Yugoslav leadership after the demonstrations in Kosova in March and April of this year. Now more than ever, on the Kosovars and all Albanians in Yugoslavia, in addition to the miserable economic situation that has covered them, the harsh national oppression weighs. The law of police terror has been imposed on them, Serbian police, militia and army have been deployed, prisons are filled with young men and women. The measures taken and being taken are heading not only towards the elimination of any legitimate right but also towards the denationalization of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Today, such demands are public, made in the highest republican and federal instances of Yugoslavia and by Serbian and Yugoslav official personalities at the highest level. Among the Albanians, only those who speak in favour of Great-Serb chauvinism have the right to earn a crust of bread in their self-administered SAP of Kosova.

What did the Albanians ask for in the massive demonstrations held in various cities and villages in Kos-

ova?

The Albanians in Yugoslavia, more than once, through peaceful and non-violent demonstrations, have sought the correction of their constitutional, economic and socio-cultural conditions. They demanded that their status be rectified within the laws of the Federation. They wanted the status of these demonstrations to be acknowledged, they did not want to reach situations to which the Great-Serb leadership and the Federation of Yugoslavia led them, they did not demand secession from the Federation nor unification with Albania. However, no one paid attention to the rightful and legitimate demands of Kosovar students, workers, villagers and intellectuals. Not only that, but whenever they presented such rightful and legitimate demands, they were labelled as nationalists, persecuted and drowned in blood. No political solution was given to these demands, nor could it be given, in a case where negotiations were not between equals, but between the all-powerful master and his obedient servant. The direct opinion of the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia has never been taken, only the opinion of the new Titoite aristocracy of Kosova was taken.

But can these problems be solved in this way in our time? Absolutely not. It is impossible to keep a people, whose land is rich and is plundered by others, in poverty and misery. It is impossible to hold a brave people like the Albanians under the fear of tanks and bayonets. It is impossible to distort or erase their ancient history and culture. It is impossible to eradicate their patriotic feelings and love for their Homeland. The Yugoslavs label all the demands of the Albanians in these directions as nationalist, chauvinist and irredentist, while their own ruthless oppressive actions are called "socialist," humane! This is truly strange!

Now, why do we openly state these truths and insist that this wrongly solved problem be re-examined with

goodwill and not by resorting to violence and terror? Why do we demand an end to persecutions and the release of Kosovar boys and girls? They call us “chauvinists” and accuse the PSR of Albania of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. They even accuse it of inciting disturbances in Kosova and beyond! And how does it incite these disturbances? Through official educational and cultural relations! It goes so far as to claim that the PSR of Albania is making a common cause with the political reaction of Albanians in exile, whom we have fought and continue to fight against with all our might.

We have never intervened in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, the opposite has happened from the side of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav revisionists conspired to eliminate the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania and to incorporate Albania into the Yugoslav Federation as its seventh republic, thinking that in this way they would once and for all solve the problem of the entire Albanian nation through annexationist and imperialist methods. But these conspiracies were neither realized nor will they ever be. Albania is and will never become a means to regulate conflicts and contradictions between the Yugoslav clans. Today, it has its own people, a people that, in terms of vitality, bravery and patriotism, will not be surpassed by anyone.

Albania has never made territorial claims against Yugoslavia; no request for border rectification is found in our documents. But we have solemnly declared and will continue to declare that by presenting the problem in this way and by maintaining this position, we have not denied and will never deny the fact that a large part of the Albanian nation and people live in Yugoslavia. In this sense, we have defended and will defend in the future, with all our Marxist-Leninist forces, the legitimate rights of our Albanian brothers across the bor-

der, and this is not interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is our undeniable right.

There is another truth. After the war, in 1946, a delegation from our country, led by me, made our first official visit to Yugoslavia. In the official discussions held with Tito on this occasion, he wanted to know what I thought about the solution to the issue of Kosova and the other Albanian territories in Yugoslavia. I gave the Albanian side's opinion that Kosova and the other areas inhabited by Albanians belong to Albania and should be returned to it. The Albanians fought for a free and sovereign Albania, to which the Albanian territories in Yugoslavia should now join. President Tito replied, "I agree with your point of view, but for now, we cannot do this because the Serbs will not understand us." This official promise from Tito regarding this major and principled issue was not accompanied by any further action on the part of the Yugoslavs. Everything was a deception on their part. Josip Broz did not even invite me to visit Kosova on this occasion but sent me to see Croatia and Slovenia. Is there any sincerity, good intentions or communist stances here? No. On the contrary, it is hypocrisy and an attempt to cover up the crimes committed, the violation of the rights of an entire people, and to hide all these conspiracies for the future. Tito and his chauvinist clique learned the open stance of the Albanian leadership on the issue of Albanians in Yugoslavia, so they did not want this leadership to meet with the Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia and learn from their mouths the problems that concerned them and to tell them its determined stance in support of their rights.

That is why we have said and say that the entire period of "good" relations with Yugoslavia has been the period of Yugoslav plots against the Party of Labour of Albania and the PSR of Albania, and this is true in all fields.

The breaking of friendship between Albania and

Yugoslavia originates precisely in the Yugoslav policy of evil intentions and dangerous, chauvinist-imperialist, annexationist plots against Albanians and Albania under Tito's rule. We have fought and continue to fight to expose the chauvinist and anti-Albanian policy of the Yugoslavs and the pseudo-socialist theory at the core of the system of Yugoslav self-administration. We have the right to openly state our viewpoint on this. Others also have the right to express their views, just as they have for our system. Our state relations with Yugoslavia have been built on these bases. They have also been built with other states. As for the Yugoslavs, they have never kept silent against us. On the contrary, we have heard all kinds of slanders and accusations from them, openly and behind our backs, even in the farthest corners of the world.

The issue of Kosova is a tragedy. We will defend the legitimate rights of our brothers, and this is not interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavs must cease the terror and persecution of Albanians, eliminate national oppression and grant to the Albanians all the rights that belong to them.

July 6, 1981

A COMPROMISING DECLARATION BY DUŠAN DRAGOSAVAC

Dušan Dragosavac, one of the leaders of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership, in the speech he delivered in Plitvice on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the “general armed uprising,” among other things, stated the following:

1. “Our people’s war, regardless of the different specific conditions and temporary failures in some regions and periods, was a common war of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.” With this, he certainly refers to Kosova and other areas inhabited by Albanians because there, according to him, “there existed a tendency for Albanian dominance.”

2. “We have neither created nor could have created a republic based on nationalities because this would constitute artificial creations of separate nations and two states from one nation.” By this, he means that a new Albanian republic could not be created when one already exists. If this were to happen, according to him, Kosova and other Albanian regions annexed to Yugoslavia by the Great Powers and imperialist treaties should unite with Albania; therefore, the issue was resolved in a Great-Serb manner.

According to Dragosavac, this “cannot be done today” because it would disrupt the Federation since their constitution speaks of a certain “brotherhood and unity” and the right to self-determination “up to secession.” Therefore, Yugoslavs are not interested in a republic of Kosova, as this is a stage in the unification of Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia, and then their unification with the People’s Socialist

Republic of Albania.

August 7, 1981

“REPUBLIC OF KOSOVA”

According to the Yugoslav theoreticians, as indicated in an article published on July 30 in the Belgrade newspaper “Borba,” which I read yesterday, with the slogan “Republic of Kosova” the so-called “vertical connection” of all members of the Albanian communities within the socio-political community in which they work and live is brought to the forefront. This means political organization based on the principle of nationality and not based on territorial principles.

The problem is clear; it is turned upside down or, better yet, it is decapitated and amputated. This is how the objective historical reality is hidden. The regions inhabited by the Albanians in Yugoslavia are an organic unity, whether based on the principle of nationality or on a territorial basis.

What anti-Leninist element is there in the slogan “Republic of Kosova” and the vertical connection of all members of the Albanian nationality within the framework of the Federation? Nothing, except that this disrupts the “framework” upon which your federation is built. And here, you admit it yourselves: “This essentially means the territorial concentration of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia under an ‘umbrella,’ meaning the annexation of parts of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro into the ‘compact Albanian regions’ within the ‘Republic of Kosova.’” Can we talk about a “solution to the Albanian national problem in Yugoslavia” when the League of Communists of Yugoslavia not only used the Albanian issue as a chess piece but also states that the “Republic of Kosova” will annex parts of three republics, Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, and when it smashes “compact Albanian regions” into pieces? No. Thus, the Albanian issue is denied in fact,

both as a nationality and as territory.

In this article by "Borba," they also state that the "Republic of Kosova" would become the second national Albanian state but within the framework of Yugoslavia.

But was the National Liberation War that both our peoples waged fought so that one or two Albanian states would be created? If we refer to Lenin's theories and my discussions with Tito on this issue, there should be one Albanian state, not two.

According to us, the creation of an Albanian state is the right solution, while according to the Yugoslavs, this is "reactionary, nationalist, national-isolationist and national-chauvinist." What a reactionary logic they present upside down!

The Albanian regions and Albanian people can be divided among the three republics, but the realization of their unity in a "Republic of Kosova," according to the "great theorists" of "Borba," would mean an artificial and mechanical division and disintegration of the multi-ethnic community. Above all, the "theoretical" organ of the LCY states that "this (the Republic of Kosova) would be the basis for closing off the Albanian nationality within the framework of its 'ethnicity' and establishing a 'Chinese wall' between its territory and the other peoples of Yugoslavia." This is a strong reason for the division of Albanian territories! This chauvinistic and enslaving reasoning proclaimed by their mouths has nowhere else to go.

This reactionary reasoning follows its own iron logic.

"The Republic of Kosova would be an isolating detachment from life and communication within Yugoslavia, and as a reconstructed national state, it will be multi-ethnic again." According to them, this means that the Albanians of Yugoslavia are wild and have no concept of coexistence with other minorities. Clearly,

this is a continued logical extension of the reactionary thesis of Vladan Gjorgjević that “Albanians are people with tails.”

Building on this, “Borba” says: “The Albanians will tend to absolutize the interests of the Albanian nationality, which will strengthen the position of the newly created state. This will put members of other nations and nationalities in this recreated state in the position of national minorities in relation to the Albanian nationality.” This is considered a great crime! While the Albanians being a national minority in Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro is, according to the opinion of “enlightened” Yugoslav politicians, normal and natural. Moreover, these gentlemen go further: “This would lead to reciprocal conflicts and the incitement of chauvinism, the consequence of which would be the rule of the greater and stronger over the smaller and weaker national groups.” If the Yugoslavs say this about the Albanians, then it applies equally to the Serbs, Macedonians and Montenegrins. “Borba” states this, not us. This is how, with their distorted and undesired chauvinist logic, they explicitly confirm the ongoing suppression of Albanians as a minority by Serbs, Macedonians and Montenegrins.

With their chauvinist logic, there is also a threat to others: “National disagreements within the framework of the ‘new republic’ cannot be resolved but would elevate the larger nations and nationalities in number compared to the Albanian nationality,” etc.

In other words, the 2 million Albanians of Yugoslavia have no right to seek solutions to their problems. These have been and continue to be solved by the Great-Serbs!

January 8, 1982

OUR STATE'S POLICY TOWARDS YUGOSLAVIA IS CLEAR, UNCHANGING AND DECISIVE

Our state's policy towards the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not changed. The lies, fabrications and distortions directed at our state's policy by the Yugoslav leadership do not sway our stance towards the state and peoples of Yugoslavia. The leadership of the SFR of Yugoslavia has initiated and is fuelling a cold war against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This is done to conceal the bankruptcy of the pseudo-socialist system of Yugoslavia, its economic and political failure, and consequently, the failure of the policy allegedly aimed at solving the national question in Yugoslavia. This cold war waged by the Yugoslavs brings harm and risks not to Albania but to the SFR of Yugoslavia and its peoples.

The leaders of Yugoslavia blame us for its deplorable state. This is both a slander and an absurdity because unrest is not only happening in Kosova and other areas inhabited by a part of the Albanian nation but in all four parts of Yugoslavia. The reasons presented for these disturbances are so slanderous and evident that no one, even those who do not favour Albania, accepts them and blames Albania.

We have stated before and affirm once again now that we have contradictions with the Yugoslavs. We highlight these and will continue to do so. We do not accept their system and policy, just as they do not accept ours. This is clear from our side, while they attempt to cover up the sun with a colander. But we have wanted and wish to have good neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia — to have normal diplomatic, trade

and cultural relations. All of these would be mutually beneficial (according to the well-known formula). The Yugoslavs, due to their fault and not ours, have strained and thrown these relations into the crossroads.

We have declared and still declare that we want friendship with the peoples of Yugoslavia, that we have not intervened and will not intervene in their internal affairs. We demand that they also do this toward Albania, where in the not-so-distant past, they forcefully and through intrigues interfered, as historical documents confirm. We declare that we have never made territorial claims or sought border rectifications. We have never been and are not in favour of destabilizing the SFR of Yugoslavia. These positions cannot be stated more clearly and solemnly. We declare and affirm that whoever attacks the SFR of Yugoslavia has also attacked the PSR of Albania, and in this case, our two countries will be at war against the same enemy. The Yugoslavs have never made such a clear statement.

The Yugoslav leadership, with great shamelessness, accuse Albania of instigating turmoil and interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs to cover up the Great-Serbian terror that erupted against the Albanian people living in their own territory within the SFR of Yugoslavia. It is not Albania that sought the status of the Republic of Kosova within the framework of the SFR of Yugoslavia, but the Albanians of Kosova themselves who sought and continue to seek this. They demand this because their sovereign rights, recognized within the Yugoslav constitution, have been violated and continue to be violated. The demands of the Kosovars and Albanians living in other areas of Yugoslavia were drowned in blood, the prisons were filled with Albanians, a revanchist, chauvinist and terrorist spirit rose against them. And from those who commit these condemnable acts, shreds of lies were spread, fabrications, various theories and baseless suppositions were

made to prove what could not be proven, and occurring not only in Kosova and Vojvodina but in all the republics of Yugoslavia. We defend and will continue to defend our Albanian brothers living in Yugoslavia without hesitation, within the bounds of laws and international norms.

May 25, 1982

AN INTERVIEW WITH MILOVAN DJILAS

I spoke to the comrades on this occasion about an interview that Milovan Djilas gave to a West German newspaper a few days ago. In this interview, despite being one of the prominent leaders of the Titoite clique that has done many wrongs to the Albanians of Kosova and other Albanian regions and has advocated for the disintegration of Albania at Jajce, today, he admits that the Albanians of Kosova are not Yugoslavs. He signals to the current Yugoslav leaders that they have chosen the wrong path to solve the issue of Kosova, even revealing their plans. According to Djilas, they “expect that when Enver Hoxha is no longer the leader of the Party in Albania, the influence of Albania in Kosova will weaken,” etc. He also considers this as a wrong orientation. Explicitly, Djilas also admits the bankruptcy of Titoism.

October 1982

ALBANIA CANNOT BE TOUCHED AND DISMEMBERED AS IN THE PAST

It was not in my intention to speak today about our relations with Yugoslavia, because we have expressed the stand of our state towards that country a thousand times and we stand by what we have said. However, I am obliged to speak about them, because the Belgrade chiefs not only have turned a deaf ear to what our Party and government have pointed out, but have built up a whole campaign of slanders and attacks against socialist Albania and its policy which is as clear as the light of day, with all their propaganda and diplomatic means. For at least 40 years on end, not to go further back, the Belgrade chiefs have incited the southern Slavs, and especially the Serbs, to live in constant enmity with the Albanians inhabiting their own territories in Yugoslavia, as well as with independent socialist Albania. This hostility towards the Albanians, this savage chauvinism and contempt towards them, this unrestrained tendency and appetite to annex Albania is something atavistic in them. What makes the issue still more dangerous is that the other southern Slav peoples lack the courage to stop this wave of savagery.

In the time of the National Liberation War we sincerely loved the Yugoslavs, and respected and honoured Tito more than he deserved. We sent large partisan units which fought side by side with the Yugoslav and Kosovar Albanian partisan units in Southern and Central Yugoslavia. Hundreds and hundreds of heroic sons and daughters of Albania were killed or wounded for the liberation of Yugoslavia, but now a Serbian dog called Sinan Hasani, comes out and dares to insult

the blood they shed. He even goes to such lengths as to claim that the Yugoslavs formed our Party, organized the Albanian National Liberation War and gave Albania everything. But let the dog bark, that is what he is paid for.

Both in the past and right up to this moment when I am speaking to you, Tito and company have always rejected our hand of friendship and done everything in their power to cut it off. Openly or through their secret agents, for 40 years on end Tito and his successors have constantly hatched up plots to destroy socialist Albania, to wreck our Party, to physically liquidate some of its main leaders. This they tried to do through their longstanding agent, the traitor Mehmet Shehu, too. But all their plots failed and they will always fail.

In the past the Serbian king, Karadjordjević, together with Wrangel's Great-Russian bands, brought to Albania his agent — the bandit Ahmet Zogu, who, as a great traitor to the Homeland, gave Yugoslavia Shën-Naum of Pogradec and Vermosh as a gift in return for this assistance. The Belgrade chiefs want to do the same thing today with the criminal terrorist gangs of a certain hooligan and trafficker in arms, drugs and white slaves, Leka Zogu,* to whom, astounding though it may seem, a country friendly to us gives shelter and allows him to give interviews to the press and to call for the overthrow of the people's power in Albania. We have facts to prove that it was the Yugoslav Titoites who sent Xhevdet Mustafa's group of gangsters to our coast, whom we wiped out mercilessly without giving them time to draw breath or see the sun of Albania. At the appropriate moment the world will be told the details of this affair and what it was intended for. However, the dangerous thing about it is that the Yugoslavs, violating the sovereignty of two countries friendly to us and with-

* Son of the former king Ahmet Zogu.

out their knowledge, trained these criminals and landed them in our country. To train terrorist gangs and send them into another country is a grave criminal act condemned in the practice of international relations.

Now we have only this to say to the Yugoslav Titoites: don't play with fire, because if a conflagration breaks out, you will get yourselves burnt in it. For our part, we defend ourselves and we know how to do so, we know how to fight and triumph over any enemy. But we do not like this ominous course, full of dangers, which you are following. Nevertheless, if you force our hand we shall give you the reply you deserve. But we tell the Yugoslav leaders not to take this hopeless course which is fraught with many dangers for our two countries, for the Balkans and perhaps even for Europe. You, the southern Slav peoples, are responsible because, instead of making the Great-Serbs see reason and forcing them to change course, to adhere to the principles and practice of good neighbourliness with socialist Albania and to establish normal, peaceful relations with the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, you allow them to fan up the flames.

We are convinced that there are progressive elements among the other southern Slav peoples, as well as among the Serbs. There is no other way to solve the problems apart from a change in the political stand towards Albania and the Albanians living in Yugoslavia. We shall continue on the course set by the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the main report of which the Yugoslav leaders have read upside down. Our proposals were as wise as they were conciliatory, whereas your course is fraught with many dangers for Yugoslavia, which we want to remain as it is. You do not pay serious attention to our words which are an expression of the sincere feelings of the Albanian people. So much the worse for you. The world will charge you with grave responsibility.

Some governments of European countries and the United States of America are trifling with our feelings and interests. We say to them that nobody is allowed to trifle with Albania and its interests, as was done in the past. The old times when the fate of our country could easily be trampled underfoot and Albania could be attacked and partitioned have gone by for good.

We shall continue, as always, to defend our Albanian brothers living on their own territories in Yugoslavia, with all the strength of our hearts, in their rights which the Constitution grants to them. Let the Yugoslavs and world opinion have no doubts about this. This is recognized by international law and this is how all those states which have national minorities outside their borders act.

At the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania we made our stand towards Yugoslavia clear and we remain unshakeable in this stand. The destruction and disintegration of Yugoslavia will never come from us. We are for the stability of the Federation. But with the Great-Serb, Macedonian and Montenegrin chauvinists our conciliatory words go in one ear and out the other. Their eyes have been blinded by their chauvinism and megalomania. When we appealed for reason and common sense, they pressed on with even more savage terror against the Albanians living on their territories in Yugoslavia. They have thrown thousands of heroic young men and women of Kosova into jail whom they torture barbarously and to whom they apply a thousand insulting epithets. We tell the Yugoslavs to free the young people from prison, for the Albanian cannot tolerate such violations of the honour and rights of his young men and women for long. Let them not fill the cup, because the response may have very dangerous consequences.

All Kosova and the Albanian regions of Yugoslavia have been placed under savage chauvinist military

pressure. Now the “differentiation,” which means making Albanians spy on Albanians in favour of sinister Serbian forces, is going on on a large scale. But the people of Kosova cannot accept this shameful course, because it leads to fratricide while the Great-Serbs will rub their hands in glee.

The Serbs are inciting blood feuds among Albanians. Kosova is being plunged in poverty and covered in graves. People do not know where their sons and daughters are. The Albanian intelligentsia is being decimated, insulted, humiliated and thrown out in the street. Only in the time of the Inquisition have such persecutions occurred. No, the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia will not allow anything of their sacred national heritage to be suppressed. Never at any time or in any place has the Albanian bowed in submission to or fled from the enemy when his freedom and legitimate rights have been violated.

You, gentlemen of Belgrade, have sent 60 thousand Serbian soldiers to Kosova to suppress and kill the people of Kosova and to intimidate socialist Albania. But we are not intimidated, we are ready, vigilant to a man. You speak with the language of force, while we try to speak with the language of reason. But we know how to speak in the language of force, too.

Albania is a sensitive strategic point. Europe must keep this in mind. Some sneer at our fortifications, while arming themselves to the teeth with every kind of weapons, and others underrate our strength. So much the worse for them. Certain journalists whose pens are for hire, certain café politicians with their “analyses of strategic plans,” and the Great-Serbs in the first place, spread the idea and insinuate that in these or those circumstances, indeed in all circumstances, Albania will be gobbled up by the Russians, will lean to the Soviets, etc.

We tell the Great-Serbs, the secret firm friends of

the Russians, that there are two ways for the Russo-Bulgarian revisionists to attack Albania in order to reach our part of the Adriatic coast. The one way is through the Vardar and Kosova and the other through the Straits of Otranto. In the first case, without the slightest doubt, the whole Albanian people living in Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia — in Shkup and Kaçanik, in Tetova and Gostivar, in Llap and Plava-Gucia, will meet the aggressors with guns. The whole of Yugoslavia will be ablaze and the Russo-Bulgarian revisionist invaders, if they ever succeed in reaching our Alps, will be in the same shape as the German nazis after the battle of Stalingrad.

In the second case, we Albanians hold the key to the Straits of Otranto, Sazan Island and the Karaburun Peninsula — and do not fear that I am revealing any secret, our rocks are clad in iron and concrete which the Soviet naval fleet cannot pass.

If our Russo-Bulgarian enemies and others want to embark on such adventures they ought to know that the Albanians are not a state of three million, but a nation of six million people. Ours was a small people in the time of the Second World War, but although alone and unarmed, they defeated and liquidated a considerable number of Italian fascist and German nazi divisions. Now the times have changed in favour of socialist Albania, hence: Hands off Albania!

Albania threatens nobody, it wants to live in friendship with the others but, if anyone violates its rights and borders, it will retaliate in kind. Likewise, it will reply in the sternest manner to the injustices or insults anybody might employ against it.

I am speaking openly and this is the firm opinion of all our people. We say what we think; others have not failed to speak against us and moreover to slander us. We make no unfounded statements and do not indulge in slanders. Herein lies our strength, and that is why the

progressive peoples respect socialist Albania just as we have great respect for them. For this just and benevolent stand we offer them our heartfelt thanks.

Messrs. the Yugoslav leaders arrogate to themselves the right to raise their voice about the “injustices” the Bulgarians, Greeks or Albanians allegedly commit against the Macedonians of Pirin and Aegeus or the tiny Macedonian minorities in Albania, while we, according to them, have no such right. They accuse us of “interfering in their internal affairs” when we defend the rights, under the laws of the Federation, of our brothers, whom they not only deny their rights, but whom they kill, imprison and force into emigration, while Serbian and Montenegrin colonists are brought into their birthplace to replace them.

It was Mr Stambolić who launched the slogan of an “ethnically pure Kosova” which the “Albanian nationalists” allegedly demanded. This is not a slogan of the Albanians, but of the Great-Serbs, launched in order to drown Kosova in blood. The Serbs and Montenegrins were rightly frightened by this policy of terror and began to flee from fear and because of the poverty that prevails in Kosova. The Great-Serbs are now trying to saddle the Albanians with this crime, although they themselves are responsible for the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins.

January 21, 1983

A MOVE BY THE YUGOSLAVS MADE AT DAWN

In the meeting I had today with the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party, I spoke about the note-memorandum from the nationalist-chauvinist positions that the Yugoslavs gave to our ambassador in Belgrade regarding my electoral speech on November 10 and the book *The Titoites*.

Well, I told the comrades, our Yugoslav ambassador responded to it. He had dismissed the content of the note and had itemized it point by point. I think the Yugoslavs were compelled to take this step, primarily for international public opinion, which has had a significant and favourable echo in regards to my November 10 speech and the book *The Titoites*. The world now knows who the Titoites are. International public opinion has formed a clear judgement about Yugoslavia's policy towards us and the extent of that policy. The Yugoslavs know this, and they must face it, but they have no documents, no arguments to attack our facts, our stance. Furthermore, the world concretely recognizes the work of the notorious UDB agents who operate everywhere, committing crimes and murders against the political opponents of the Titoites. Even in the so-called non-aligned world, the authority of Yugoslavia has fallen.

I emphasized that the Yugoslavs may know something partial about our internal thoughts on Kosova, but they cannot publish them, or else they would expose themselves and their agents, Mehmet Shehu, Kadri Hazbiu and Feçor Shehu, who have conveyed our positions to them.

In conclusion, what we have said, we have said openly, not only now but also before. In none of our

documents, not even in the internal ones, have we made requests for border rectification, destabilization of Yugoslavia or the unification of Kosova with Albania.

February 16, 1983

AS ALWAYS, WE MUST CAREFULLY CONSIDER OUR EVERY MOVE REGARDING THE TRIALS IN KOSOVA

Today, I spoke to the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party about the propagandistic schemes that the Yugoslavs are conducting against our country with specific purposes. We must be attentive that they will use any statement from our side, so let us weigh each of our actions carefully. As an example in this matter, I brought up the stance we should take regarding the recent trials in Kosova. If we don't write about them, I told the comrades, the world opinion will say that the Albanians are being reasonable, while the Yugoslavs know what they are doing. On the other hand, the Yugoslavs will use this against us, especially in Kosova. "Albania abandoned you," they will say to the Kosovars. "You are Marxist-Leninists, you formed a party, but Albania didn't speak at all. This shows that you are on the wrong path." In other words, the Yugoslavs will use our stance for their internal interests, while in the international opinion, they will propagate that we silenced the Albanians.

The trial currently taking place in Prishtina is, in my opinion, very interesting, especially because the Titoites lack any evidence, which works against them. Moreover, the accused have followed a path that is also disadvantageous to the Yugoslavs. They have acted almost legally, and everything is documented. The accused, being members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, have addressed two or three letters to its Central Committee. In these letters, they emphasized, "We raised the issue of our rights, meaning the issue

of the 'Republic of Kosova'; do we deserve to be a republic, or do we not meet the conditions? The leadership of the LCY did not respond. Measures were not taken against us, but no response was given either. We also addressed the leadership of Kosova, but it did not respond either. In essence, we presented the healthy opinion of the Kosovar people through legal channels, for Kosova to gain the status of a republic. No one responded. The Kosovar opinion took to the streets. One hundred thousand people participated in demonstrations. You attacked us with tanks. The blame for what happened is yours, not ours." This is how the accused dismiss the first accusation against them.

They also accuse them of being "nationalists," but they did not accept this epithet. "According to the constitution," they said, "we, the Kosovars, are a nationality. This is a nationality with its characteristics, traditions, language, etc., and which also has the quantity to be considered so, so it can be called a nationality and, like other nationalities in Yugoslavia, it can have a republic. It is an injustice for us that should have been rectified, so we demanded that Kosova be declared a republic. For this, you condemn us and call us 'nationalists,' but in fact, we are not." Therefore, they did not accept this accusation either.

They were also accused of being "irredentists." "But why are we irredentists?" ask the accused. "For what reason do you label us as such?"

Even in Tanjug's announcements, there is no mention that these individuals sought unification with Albania. In fact, they did not seek such a thing, so we reject the accusation of "irredentism" as well.

Another issue raised in the trial is the coexistence of nationalities in Kosova. "It is not us," said the accused, "who do not want to coexist with Serbs, Montenegrins and Turks; on the contrary, they are a minority in this region, just as Albanians are a minority in Montenegro.

Albanians there coexist with Montenegrins, so there is no reason for Serbs and Macedonians not to coexist with us. But the Great-Serbs do not want this. They are the ones who think that we are for a pure ethnic republic, but that is not the case; we haven't even raised this issue. And if Serbs and Macedonians are leaving Kosova now, the cause of this departure is not our pressure but the situation created in Yugoslavia," etc.

By addressing and treating these issues in this way, they are standing as representatives of a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party, even though most of them did not admit that they are its leaders.

The accusers also accuse them of forming the party. They dismiss this by saying, "We have read the materials of this party, but we did not form it, and we do not know who formed it. You put us in prison and initiated a trial that is unacceptable to us and world opinion, which will judge it harshly."

We agreed not to publish a separate article but to express our stance by publishing in the "Events in Kosova" section of the newspaper "Zëri i popullit" materials taken from the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug and comments from the world press with titles like "A Trial Against Albanians" or "Persecution of Albanians."

November 24, 1983

WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS IN DEALING WITH THE YUGOSLAVS

Today, I discussed again with the secretaries of the Central Committee the construction of the Skavica hydro-electric power plant and the problems arising from this construction in our relations with Yugoslavia. The comrades reported to me that the Yugoslavs have conducted relevant studies on the damages caused by flooding in their lands and have submitted claims for compensation. They also mentioned that today, negotiations with a Yugoslav delegation begin to address all issues related to the construction of the hydro-electric dam. During the exchange of opinions, it emerged that the Yugoslavs have almost agreed to raise the dam to the quota we have requested. According to our comrades, this is because the Yugoslavs are in need of hydro-electric power.

I emphasized that the reasons the Yugoslavs are getting somewhat closer to this work lie in their internal situation, which is extremely difficult both economically and politically. In this situation, the issue of Kosova and the Albanians living in their national territories in Yugoslavia is not easy for them. Moreover, the Yugoslavs know our positions, so they make such approaches to us. "They may think that with this agreement, we will arouse some interest among the Albanians and they can become more reserved about the events in Kosova," they assume. We have always been cautious in this direction. In fact, it was the Titoites themselves who ignited the events in Kosova. Their basis is the miserable economic condition they have spawned in Kosova. If Belgrade had supported Kosova properly, at least on economic issues and concerns, the

Kosovars would not have risen with the force they did.

Regarding the issue of language, the flag, history, i.e., efforts for nationalism, etc., etc., surely the Kosovars would resist, but the level of resistance would be lower. Now people don't have bread, they don't have jobs, they are forced to abandon their lands and go into emigration to make ends meet, etc. Then all these coercive measures — persecutions, trials, imprisonments, the contempt shown to the Albanians, etc. — have become problems for them. Therefore, indeed, the Yugoslavs have economic interests, but they want to soften the somewhat tense situation in Kosova and with us, a situation they have created themselves.

As for the specific issues arising from the construction of the Skavica hydro-electric power plant, I told the comrades to be careful, make accurate calculations, and not accept everything the Yugoslavs propose or claim. Our competent people who will negotiate with them must be very well prepared with persuasive arguments. Do not let the Yugoslavs deceive them!

January 3, 1984

ON OUR RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

Today, I discussed with the Secretaries of the Central Committee issues related to our relations with Yugoslavia.

I told the comrades that in my opinion, the article commemorating the 40th anniversary of the First Founding Conference of the National Liberation Council of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau, held in Bujan of Tropoja, which was supposed to be published but was not prepared on time, should serve us to prove that Kosovars and other Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia fought heroically against the fascist Italian and German occupiers, as well as against Albanian reactionaries and Great-Serb chauvinism. With this idea, we should highlight the struggle of the divisions of our National Liberation Army to liberate various regions of Yugoslavia in close unity with the Montenegrin and Bosnian partisans, wherever they went, especially with the Kosovars and Albanians living in Macedonia. Here, we should emphasize the sacrifices and great battles fought by Albanian partisans in Yugoslavia. We should emphasize that the deployment of our divisions and brigades in Kosova and Macedonia further intensified the National Liberation War of the Kosovars. It led to the formation of special partisan brigades and the recruitment of many Albanians to join our brigades there.

We need to concretize the war of our units of the National Liberation Army for the liberation of various regions in Yugoslavia and not leave it in oblivion.

This work needs to be done because there is fragmented talk about the war our people waged for the

liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia. I remember that when our partisan units went to Montenegro, if I am not mistaken, the partisans of that region had been defeated. Blažo Jovanović and his comrades had withdrawn from Tivar, and where else I do not know, while our comrades fought once and came out successfully against the Montenegrin reactionaries.

All this needs to be written not just for the sake of polemics with the Yugoslav revisionists and chauvinists, but also for history. For the liberation of the peoples of Kosova, Macedonia and Yugoslavia itself, we have shed blood that should not and cannot be forgotten. Therefore, we must write about the war of our people in Yugoslavia because it is an internationalist struggle that is not at all reconciled with the Yugoslav revisionists. They even ask us for an account: Not "we liberated Albania!" nor "our partisan units fought for you!" etc., etc. But who are these Yugoslav partisan units that fought against us? None, they did not exist. Not even a partisan unit from Kosova came to Albania to fight against foreign invaders. Only Gani Kryeziu came together with a British officer. Fadil Hoxha may have come with the "Perlat Rexhepi" battalion from somewhere around Tropoja and Krasniqi, but they came more for shelter, for protection.

The Yugoslav revisionists clearly highlight their interests and exaggerate themselves. Therefore, we should also clearly highlight the wars and sacrifices of our people, even as they say, "better late than never."

There was a period when we did not think well and right about these things. We had dulled our minds at that time with the thought that the Yugoslavs are our friends, while in fact they were wild and unreliable enemies. When we saw shameful actions, we said to ourselves: What are these things being done to us by them? Yet, we still thought that Tito did not know about these things: "Tito does not know these things because if he

knows, the Yugoslavs will not behave like this.” We were thinking wrongly then, we did not recognize these events as they were.

Let us publish in our press, on one page of the newspaper, three articles from Western newspapers, “Frankfurter Allgemeine,” “Herald Tribune” and “Le Monde,”* talking about the severe economic and political situation in Yugoslavia and the situation in Kosova, because they are interesting and in our favour. For example, the statement by the Macedonian about the Albanians that says, “If the Albanians cause trouble for us, we will cut off their heads,” published by an American newspaper, speaks to the reality of the chauvinistic and hostile attitude of Serbs and Macedonians towards the Albanians.

By publishing these articles in our press, we tell the Yugoslavs that we are not alone in highlighting the bankrupt situation in Yugoslavia, but that the world press is also doing it.

The stance of “Le Monde,” which immediately after the visit of the President of France, Mitterrand, to Yugoslavia, published four or five articles about the severe economic and political situation in the latter, with a language it had never used before, is interesting. This newspaper, representing the rich industrial bourgeoisie of France, which has its political opinion and views Yugoslavia from the perspective of the profit it can make, seems to tell Mitterrand: Before we give credit to Yugoslavia, we need to ensure whether it will be repaid and who will repay it.

* “Zëri i popullit,” January 5, 1983: “Nothing is Resolved in Kosova,” “Frankfurter Allgemeine,” December 29, 1983; “Economic Crisis Intertwined with Political Crisis,” “Herald Tribune,” December 28, 1983; “Pressing and Discriminatory Policy Against the Albanians of Kosova,” “Le Monde,” December 16, 1983 — I.H.

January 15, 1984

IN OUR IDEOLOGICAL LINE IN RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA, WE MAKE NO CHANGES

Our article "The Problems of Kosova Can Only Be Solved with Wisdom and Calmness" burned the Yugoslavs. The world press echoed it, and some newspapers have published significant parts of it, especially those criticizing the long-standing anti-Albanian attitudes and actions of the Great-Serbs. An article by an Austrian journalist* spoke openly about our stance and quoted particularly the part where accusations for the reasons behind the departure of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosova are dismissed.

The world press has also echoed our proposal for the restoration of cultural relations between the two countries, as stated in the article.

I am convinced that the Yugoslavs did not want us to make the proposal for the restoration of cultural relations. Therefore, in its concrete realization, they will undoubtedly raise obstacles and we will face them. Surely, without changing anything, they will make some completely insignificant concessions that do not touch their revisionist line. For example, Lazar Mojsov** declared, "The problems that exist between Yugoslavia and Albania should be examined through sincere dialogue..."*** With this, he tells us, "you are not

* Kristina von Koll, the article titled "Difficult Questions," published in the newspaper "Die Presse" on January 13, 1984 — I.H.

** State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia — I.H.

*** Statement made at a press conference in Belgrade on January 14, 1984 — I.H.

sincere,” when they know well that they are not sincere towards us. But we will continue on our path and will not change even a comma of our line. On the contrary, we will try to bring our line to the Albanians but also to the Serbs because not all Serbs are chauvinists; there are those among them who think well of us. We only expose the chauvinists. This is how we should think about our stance. Here is a new tactic to damage the Yugoslav revisionists and remove the illusion that we will leave them ideologically undisturbed for their general political positions and their anti-Albanian policy in Kosova.

January 17, 1984

THROUGH CULTURAL RELATIONS, AS THEY DESIRE, THE TITOITES ATTEMPT TO EASE THE SITUATION

Today, I discussed the issue of cultural relations with Yugoslavia with the Secretaries of the Central Committee of our Party. Ramiz spoke in detail about the draft program presented by the Yugoslavs regarding cultural relations, as well as the draft agreement prepared by our side. During the exchange of opinions on this matter, where our goal is to open the way to Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia, where there are Albanians, I recommended, among other things, to consider the following points:

— The Yugoslavs aim to include our entire political and ideological line in the cultural activities they propose, adapting it to themselves. We must make it clear that our Party, by offering cultural relations, which they have interrupted, does not change a single comma in its policy and ideology. We want to have cultural relations and only cultural relations.

— Yugoslavia is a state that serves world reaction and especially the superpowers. Through cultural relations, it seeks to ease the situation, meaning it tries to create an opportunist-liberal situation even with us. Therefore, when talking to them about folklore exchanges, we will only discuss folkloric activities and nothing else. We may accept exchanging some groups with classical pieces, but in no way should they bring us light music.

— We want these relations to serve us in two directions: To give the Albanians in Kosova and other Albanian areas in Montenegro and Macedonia the oppor-

tunity to better know our country. Secondly, to provide our scientific materials to other republics.

— Dismiss the claims of the Yugoslavs that in the past, we have only developed cultural relations with Kosova. Our relations with Kosova have been on an official basis, and at their request, we have provided our help, our little experience, yes, but at the same time, we have also gone to Montenegro and Macedonia. If they wish, we can even go to Serbia, Croatia, etc.

— Emphasize that we cannot exclude the issue of Kosova from our cultural relations. The agreements we had with Kosova were approved by the Yugoslav government, by Tito himself. Their claims that the cultural agreements with Kosova were unfair are unjust, and the issue of Kosova for us will remain and will be raised until the terror against the Kosovars stops and they are given their deserved rights.

— Tell them that in our cultural relations with Yugoslavia, we will insist that priority be given to cultural exchanges with the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova, and with the Socialist Republics of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia.

— Mention that the official cultural agreement we had with them was good, and the actions taken on its basis were positive. This should be the basis for negotiations. Therefore, the comrades who will be responsible for conducting negotiations with the Yugoslavs on this issue must prepared well, be able to present our positions and proposals and say what needs to be said, even diplomatically, for example, that in some cultural activities they propose, we cannot participate, etc., etc. It is important how we might reject their proposals and respond to their arguments.

May 17, 1984

THE GREAT-SERBS AIM TO COLONIZE KOSOVA

Today, I talked with comrades Ramiz and Adil about the situation in Kosova, especially its economic difficulties. In my opinion, through the deployment of specialists supposedly for assistance, the Great-Serbs seek to colonize Kosova, just as they did in the past, but using new strategies and tactics. Thus, this year, for the first time in many years, two Montenegrins were appointed to the head of the main organs of the League and the regional government.

We also discussed a written piece by a pseudo-professor from Kosova, Shefqet Plana, where he spreads falsehoods about artistic creation and the new literature in our country.

This article seems to be a cunning response from Belgrade's leaders to avoid making cultural agreements with us. But it may also be related to the fact that often in the Kosovar press, writings and declarations of some Kosovar personalities are published, speaking, of course not openly, about the need for cultural cooperation with us.

Ramiz told me how two notices with photographs of Bije Vokshi's death were published in the "Rilindja" newspaper, apparently not without purpose. Interestingly, they are accompanied by dedications that coincide with the words and thoughts contained in the condolence telegram Nexhmije sent to her family. Also, Ramiz read us a poem published in a literary journal from Kosova. The author of the poem, boasting about a Kosovar mother who gives birth abundantly, rises against the Great-Serb Malthusians who strive to stop births in Kosova. These are courageous and intelligent

protests by the people of Kosova against the anti-Albanian actions and persecutions of the Great-Serbs and their local servants.

June 13, 1984

THE YUGOSLAVS SEEK TO PREVENT US FROM RESTORING CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH KOSOVA

I exchanged ideas with Ramiz and Adil today regarding the issue of negotiations for the restoration of cultural relations with Yugoslavia. Ramiz informed us in detail about the recent proposal from the Yugoslavs, as well as some changes they have made to their initial program, some of which, apparently, are made with the intention of not finalizing the agreement.

I told the comrades that the Yugoslav tendency is to hinder us from restoring cultural relations with Kosova, and, if possible, to make us not care at all about what they do in Kosova and Yugoslavia against the Albanians. Meanwhile, they aim to stick their noses into our country by raising the issue of the alleged "minority" of Macedonians, Gorans, Vrakas, Gollobordas and others.

During these upcoming negotiations, the Yugoslavs will undoubtedly continue to level their well-known accusations against our country and the Kosovars, such as interference, "irredentism" and "nationalism," claiming that "we have violated the sovereignty of Yugoslavia," that "we are for its disintegration," etc. Therefore, it is necessary for our comrades in the delegation to prepare well not only to achieve, in the current circumstances of relations between our two countries, what is possible for Kosova in the new program but also to highlight that they are the ones who have violated existing agreements and to dismiss their accusations. We should present arguments about our rightful and determined position, officially declaring that not only have

we not violated Yugoslavia's sovereignty and sought its disintegration but have declared multiple times that, if the peoples of Yugoslavia are forced to rise in a defensive war against foreign invaders, wherever they may come from, we will stand by them because such an action is in the interest of defending the independence of our country.

I agreed with the comrades to accept the proposed start date and place for the negotiations by the Yugoslavs, and during these talks, not to delve into economic relations, etc.

During the conversation, I also spoke to the comrades about the press conference organized a few days ago in Belgrade with foreign journalists, where one of the current leaders of Kosova, Nebi Gashi, spoke about existing relations. The Yugoslavs often use this tactic whenever they are in a tight spot, especially with our country, to shape both internal and external opinion. However, in all fairness, we are superior to the Yugoslavs because we have respected the agreements we made with them, while they have violated them outright.

June 26, 1984

THE KOSOVARS ARE UNDEFEATED

What the most chauvinistic and barbaric individuals, through all the Tsars and medieval princes, have possessed, the Titoites have embraced; what is most wretched and dehumanizing in all fascist dictatorships and their organs of people's oppression, the Great-Serb UDB agents have adopted and implemented with brutality against the Albanians in Kosova and other Albanian regions. The capitalist powers of that time, arrogant and hostile towards our country and people, unjustly joined them in a greatest injustice to Yugoslavia. The wild persecution of Kosovar brothers by embittered Great-Serbs has been continuous. With trials and without trials, with sentences and without sentences, with assassinations, with disappearances leaving no trace, the number of victims has been very high. Even now, within two or three days, more than 30 Kosovars, all young people, students, workers, peasants, teachers, brave and courageous like their ancestors, were brought before the "court" in Kosova and sentenced to severe punishments. Accusations? The usual ones: "insurrection, irredentism, demands to unite with Albania, participation in the demonstrations of 1981, propaganda in favour of Albania," etc. Fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, brothers and sisters, in the same dock facing the UDB executioners for the same crime. It is like La Fontaine's fable "The Wolf and the Lamb."

When I read this news, my heart became deeply wounded. But at the same time, I am proud of the courageous stance of the Albanians in front of the Great-Serb judges. Without trembling, they rejected the accusations against them, boldly stating that they stand

for a “Republic of Kosova” and are not remorseful about it. They declare that the confessions extracted during the investigation were obtained through brutal torture and so on. The young Kosovar, brave before the Serbian kangaroo court!

The Kosovar is Albanian: No one can deny this. As such, no one can deny his right to think and live for his Homeland. The suppression of his national feelings, his sense of freedom and socio-political rights everywhere and at all times, under any oppressive regime, no matter how bloody it may have been, has led to the growth of his sense of nationality, freedom and justice. We have said this hundreds of times, and we repeat it to the Great-Serbs. Let them not forget it! We have neither intervened nor intended to interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but we have said and repeat that we will defend the constitutional rights of our Kosovar brothers and other Albanians living in their national territories in Yugoslavia until the end. The Kosovars and other Albanians in Yugoslavia, better than anyone else, feel the weight and consequences of the inhumane rule and oppression of the Great-Serbs. Terror, trials, punishments and assimilation measures will only spur them to increase the struggle for their rights. In this sense, today’s Serbian terror is an act of suicide by the Titoites.

It is not national hatred against the Serbian people, the feeling of revenge or the desire “to pluck Kosova,” as the Titoites pretend, that compels me to accuse and qualify their leaders, the anti-Albanian and chauvinist Great-Serbs, so harshly. No, my anger is a result of their barbaric, completely unjust and illegal actions against the heroic youth of Kosova, students, teachers, educators, workers, peasants, brave sisters and girls of Kosova — it is a result of their deep anti-Albanianism. I am convinced that time and the Serbian people, as well as other peoples of Yugoslavia, will condemn and

punish them even more severely.

Through the press, let us inform the public about the recent trials in Prishtina.

December 6, 1984

A SHAMEFUL ACT BY THE YUGOSLAVS

Today, I exchanged thoughts with comrades Ramiz and Adil about the negotiations to be conducted with the Yugoslavs in the meeting of the bilateral water commission regarding the technical and financial aspects of completing the construction of the Bushat hydro-electric power plant. With the completion of this project, and the alternative of deepening the Buna River, they gain a large area of arable land, as well as the Skavica hydro-electric power plant. The comrades stated that all the measures have been taken and necessary preparations have been made for these negotiations, as the Yugoslavs present some obstacles and try to evade certain obligations that they must definitely overcome. I told the comrades that the Yugoslavs should be reminded that the negotiations need to proceed quickly, as we have also prepared for the eight-year plan, and we need to decide on the hydro-electric projects to be built during the new five-year period.

On this occasion, I told comrades that the Yugoslav Titoites in their actions against our country are truly despicable. During the reception held by our ambassador in Belgrade on the occasion of the November holidays, not a single Kosovar among those invited was allowed to attend. Our ambassador must definitely convey this to Yugoslav officials, asking them: Is Kosova part of the Federal Yugoslavia or not? If it is, then why were no Kosovars allowed to attend the reception, while guests from other republics and regions of Yugoslavia were invited? He should tell them that their actions in this matter are shameful.

December 21, 1984

ON THE TITOITE MANOEUVRES IN RELATIONS WITH US

Our recent political activities, especially the visit to our country by the Greek Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and the successful conclusion of negotiations with the Greeks, as well as the visit to Italy by our Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and the arrival of several official trade delegations from different countries, have unsettled the Yugoslavs.

In this regard, we should consider the recent speech in Prishtina by one of the leaders of the current Yugoslav leadership, Stane Dolanc. He calls for us to make new advances toward Yugoslavia, but we have nothing to do. If they want, let them do it. We have made proposals for cultural relations, fulfilled common agreements with them, such as the completion of the Shkodra-Hani i Hotit railway, and proposed specific discussions on the construction of the Bushat hydro-electric power plant, from which they will benefit with thousands of hectares of arable land through the deepening of the Buna River and the diversion of waters from Lake Shkodra, etc. Dolanc, in what he says about us in this speech, appears to be "moderate." Apparently, he is also following the tactics of Tito and Fadil Hoxha with his comrades towards our country.

December 30, 1984

PANORAMA

Today is the last day but one of the year 1984. What I want to touch on briefly in this panorama of the year 1984 is the general situation and the various developments in the international political situation, which exert their influence on our country, too...

With Yugoslavia we have had and continue to have problems which are the direct result of the hostile stand of its leadership and of Great-Serb chauvinist circles. Even though the Yugoslav leading circles suffered defeat in the international arena, they continue to slander and accuse us, holding us responsible for the grievous events and the ensuing bloodbath which occurred in Kosova in 1981, calling us instigators of these events, supporters of nationalism and irredentism in Kosova and saying that we want the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation. With this pretext they have intensified the repressive measures and persecution of our brothers in Kosova and in the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, and are trying by all manner of means to damage and impede the building of socialism in Albania.

We have continuously made it clear, in an official and public manner, in speeches, articles and government documents, that we have in no way been involved in what occurred in Kosova in 1981. The events in Kosova at that time were the consequences of the chauvinist policy of repression and discrimination against the Albanians, of the exploitation of the colossal assets of Kosova and the abandonment of its Albanian population of Kosova in economic, cultural and social backwardness, they were the consequence of the negation of their historic past. We have done nothing other but have defended their just demands for the preservation of their national patrimony and traditions, human dignity,

their demand for proclaiming Kosova a republic, etc., rights which are recognized even in the Constitution of the Yugoslav Federation. We have given and will give this support in the future, too, without backing down an inch. Our stand over this question is based on international law and this does not constitute an interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We have rejected and again reject the accusation that we want the disintegration of Yugoslavia. No, we have never said so and have never desired such a thing. On the contrary, we have declared several times officially that we are against the disintegration of Yugoslavia, indeed, we have said that the Albanian people will go to assist the just war of the peoples of Yugoslavia if they are attacked by the imperialist superpowers or anyone else. The Yugoslav chauvinists have never pledged to do such a thing. On the contrary, their anti-Albanian policy has posed and continues to pose a grave threat to our people.

The Yugoslavs themselves, who sabotaged and then broke off cultural relations with us, and especially those we had with the Autonomous Region of Kosova, hoped that we would not accept their "proposal" for new cultural relations. But when we not only accepted them, but also presented our concrete proposals for the continuation, and indeed, extension of them, if they desired so, they made an about-face, raising many obstacles so that such an agreement should not be concluded by any means.

Our country has respected and fulfilled the joint agreements which we have signed with Yugoslavia. One of them was about the building of the Shkoder-Titograd railway. We completed our part of this railway with success. They raised many obstacles. Now they promise that they will complete their part in 1985. Let us wait and see!

Our stand towards Yugoslavia is clear-cut and completely correct. It has met with approval in the inter-

national arena too. There is no reason why the Yugoslavs should expect us to make a change, or demand that we open up. The ball, on this question, has been and remains in their half of the lawn. If they really want it, many things can be settled and relations can be placed on healthy and correct bases. But for this to be done, the Yugoslav leadership must desist from its anti-Albanian policy and from the denationalizing and repressive actions against the Kosovars and the Albanians who live in their own territories in Yugoslavia and should recognize the rights which the Yugoslav constitution gives them.

Why do the Yugoslav chauvinists maintain this negative, totally illogical and reactionary stand towards our country and people?

For their part, they have done nothing against our country without being conscious of it. The rabid Serb chauvinists are anti-Albanian in their very blood. They have never thought well of our people. On the contrary, they have thought and worked openly and undercover in order to subjugate them completely and, as documents show, to turn our country into the seventh republic of their Federation, that is, not to cede Kosova, but to gobble up the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, too, and to have them under the Great-Serb predatory and denationalizing savage rule. There is also another reason for this. The Titoites cannot tolerate that a socialist country such as Albania, a completely independent country, with economic and political stability, with clear perspectives, without debts and credits, which does not submit to the military-political-economic blocs and groupings of one or the other superpower, a country which serves as an example to the international proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world, hence, to the peoples that make up Yugoslavia, too, should exist and flourish on the border with them.

Yugoslavia today is the worst example of social, pol-

itical, economic and national degeneration in the Balkans and in Europe. We Albanians say this not because we want "to malign and discredit" Yugoslavia and its ideology, Titoism. No, this is said also by the Yugoslav press, officials, economists and politicians even in open talks and at official meetings, or even in their top-level organs. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other, they sound the alarm in order to avoid the economic catastrophe which threatens them at every step. Self-administration is now considered the root of all evils. Tito has become a target of attack, even though not quite openly as yet. Strife among nations has broken out all over the country and today the problem does not boil down to the question of Kosova and the Kosovars, or the Albanians in Yugoslavia. The Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and others are now demanding more rights and secession from the Great-Serb rule. The influence of the Catholic Church and the Pope has increased in Croatia, that of Islam in Bosnia, the pressure of the Orthodox Church in Serbia, etc.

The movement of dissidents, of those who allegedly demand more radical reforms and who, in fact, want to take the government of the country into their hands, is now under the protection of definite internal and external circles. International monopolies require and get double guarantee for the credits they have accorded and for the profits they expect to make, otherwise they threaten to turn off the tap.

This is not the place to make a comprehensive analysis of the catastrophic political, economic and social situation in which Yugoslavia finds itself today. I have made several such analyses, some of them even during this year, and, in general, the opinions of our Party about the situation in Yugoslavia have proved to be thoroughly true. Here I just want to stress that this situation of complete disintegration is the consequence of the capitalist-bourgeois system itself which

the Tito clique set up with so much ado and which it advertised throughout the world as the most democratic, most liberal, most advanced socialist state of a specific type. How liberal, how democratic and to what extent socialist this state is, this was revealed and is being revealed in the barbarous, oppressive and denationalizing actions which the Great-Serbs have perpetrated and are perpetrating against the Albanian population in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro.



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