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THE ALBANIAN KOSOVAR YOUTH IN THE FREE WORLD (RINIA SHQIPTARE KOSOVARE NË BOTËN E LIRË)

439 West 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

MEMORANDUM ON THE PERSECUTION AND THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF OVER 2.5 MILLION ETHNIC ALBANIANS IN THE SFR OF YUGOSLAVIA

Presented to:

His Excellency Javier Pérez De Cuéllar
Secretary General, United Nations Organization
United Nations Plaza
New York City, New York, 10017

Prepared by:

The Albanian Kosovar Youth in the Free World
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Dated: 19 September 1989 A.D.

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

The Albanian Kosovar Youth in the Free World, an association of human rights volunteers, exiles from their native land of Kosova (Yugoslavia) and presently living in the free world, presents its compliments to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization, and authorizes me to bring to the Secretary General's attention the following message:

"Since September, 1976, our association has seized the opportunity of the opening of the Plenary Session of the United Nations Organization to appeal to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to the delegations of the Member States asking to stop the persecution and the violation of human rights of over 2.5 million ethnic Albanians presently living in the SFR of Yugoslavia (better known as Kosovars). Today, we are repeating our appeal because the situation in Kosova has deteriorated: blood is being shed in the streets of Kosova, thousands of young people are being arrested, tortured, "isolated", and jailed, poverty is choking the large ethnic Albanian masses, their education is being curtailed. The entire local population is being attacked, offended, and inevitably alienated. In the midst of the SFR of Yugoslavia's agony, there is a tragedy unfolding for ethnic Albanians with a precision worthy of an ancient Greek masterpiece.

As late as February 27, 1989 (and for the fourth time since the end of World War II) the Yugoslav Government, acting under the naked pressure of the new Serbian chauvinism of Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic, declared the emergency state in the Socialist Autonomous

Province of Kosova where most of the ethnic Albanians live, sending its Army contingents equipped with tanks, planes, and helicopter gunships in addition to its Special Police Forces, first to provoke then to quell a rebellion by the local ethnic Albanians. Hundreds of people were killed, including children as young as seven. Although the rebellion was a spontaneous outburst of the extreme dissatisfaction with an administration which never cared for the victimized ethnic Albanians, let alone work for them, the Yugoslav Government saw fit to use a military expedition to settle the accounts, as the colonialist powers did before the war, rather than listen to the voices of the desperate people and eventually, through a civilized discourse, to reach an agreement satisfactory for both sides. On August 24, 1989, the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia resolved to extend the emergency state indefinitely in Kosova. Thus, more oppression, more suffering, and more resistance are in store for the unfortunate ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia. The policies of brinkmanship presently played by the Yugoslav Government are bound to bring new confrontations in Kosova and, inevitably, more bloodshed. **The new massacre must be stopped at all cost!**

The seriousness of the situation commands some explanation.

First, and foremost, the SFR of Yugoslavia is admittedly a political state, where the political dominance of the Yugoslav Communist League operates at the expense of the juridical state, or the rule of law. In a system as the

Federal system of Yugoslavia which was ruled by an overlord (Tito) and his court of lords (republican leaders) the frailty of the unnatural structure was bound to show up with the departure of "the monarch" The resulting weakness of the SFR of Yugoslavia has opened the doors of the present federal government for attempts by ambitious politicians to grab more personal power. This is especially the case of the SR of Serbia, where Serbia's party and government leader, Milosevic, represents a phenomenon all too familiar during the prewar years of the rise of fascism. "The Milosevic phenomenon" is a renewal of the traditional aggressive and exclusive nationalism, reminiscent of the 19th century. Old glories and past traditions still have deep roots in the Serbian people's memories and are susceptible to gather wide emotional support. The world has been watching with deep apprehension the 1988-1989 massive demonstrations in Serbia, the chauvinistic slogans they used, and the toppling of governments in two federal units: Vojvodina (October, 1988) and Montenegro (January, 1989), before it saw the Serbian onslaught against ethnic Albanians in Kosova (March, 1989). Reviving myths and legends of a past --perceived to be superior to their present and a model for their future --the intoxicated Serbian masses see Serbia's present equal status within a federation established to be the union of equal nations to be a priori unsatisfactory. Therefore, an urge for renewal responds emotionally to the populist appeal of a cynical demagogue, who, as Slobodan Milosevic is doing, combines it with a call for a strong government, --to restore Serbia's supremacy over the SFR of Yugoslavia. The silence that accompanied the mistreatment of ethnic Albanians by Serbia illustrates once more how an entire nation can go berserk under the influence of inflammatory rhetorics.

There is cause for concern if the new Serbian nationalism succeeds in bringing the destruction of the present Yugoslav Federation. With the decline of the League of Yugoslav Communists' power and prestige, the only real power remains the military, whose officer corps is made up of 67 percent Serbs and Montenegrins. The Army may very well end up as the most important political factor. The results would be a Bonapartist coalition of reactionary and repressive forces imposing the superiority of one republic over the others, and the inevitable repression of national minorities. In such a political scenario, the largest non-Slavic national group, the over 2.5 million ethnic Albanians, would then be the first target: the successive repressions of ethnic Albanians in 1945, in 1955-56, in 1968, in 1981, and more recently in March, 1989, are strong cases made to project that ominous possibility. We firmly believe that our fears are well-founded.

Second, The problem of the over 2.5 million ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia presents two aspects: as human beings their rights are being violated; and as members of a large national group their political rights are being denied.

The human rights aspect has drawn the attention of many human rights organizations all around the world, especially since the massacre of 1981. Leading among them, has been Amnesty International, whose frequent reports on Yugoslavia have substantially contributed to sensitize the conscience of large masses around the world.

More recently, two major legislative bodies the European Parliament (April 12, 1989) and both Houses of the Congress of the United States (House, June 28, 1989 and Senate July 13, 1989) have condemned Yugoslavia for the violation of its citizens rights, with a particular stress on the violations of the rights of over 2.5 million ethnic Albanians. Yet, on July 20, 1989, the Yugoslav Army newspaper *Narodna Armija* arrogantly wrote: "...It depends on Yugoslavia as a sovereign country to what extent human rights, and in this context, the rights of the Albanians in its territory, will be respected." This is the response by a country that has signed major international agreements including the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

The following figures are indicative of the intensity of prosecution of ethnic Albanians in the SFR of Yugoslavia in the last year alone:

- October, 1989: it was officially admitted that over 584,000 ethnic Albanians had passed through the hands of the Yugoslav police since March, 1981. More than 8,000 received jail sentences up to 20 years.
- March, 1989: In a bloody confrontation between peaceful ethnic Albanian marchers and the units of Yugoslav Army and Special Police Forces, maybe as many as 260 ethnic Albanians were killed, including a large number of minors. The wounded approach 1,000.
- April, 1989: It was officially confirmed that 238 Albanian intellectuals had been secretly removed from their homes and detained in undisclosed locations. Rumors of torture in Serbia's jails of Nish and Leskovate were lately officially confirmed by the Federal Government.
- May, 1989: Demonstrators attempting to present their views to the visiting commission of the European Parliament were attacked by Yugoslav police. Officially at least one was killed and 94 wounded by fire arms. The number of those arrested is not known yet. All the victims are students.
- June, 1989: It was officially stated that as of June 15, 1989, the number of those arrested since March 23, 1989 had reached the figure of 2,238. A witch-hunting campaign against ethnic Albanian intellectuals is now in full swing. The former Albanian "leadership" has been replaced with newly appointed careerists whose loyalty is to the Serbian leaders in Belgrade. There were no elections held in the SAP of Kosova.

The extremely difficult economic situation with a 50 percent unemployment has exacerbated the relations between Albanians and non-Albanians in the Province, all fighting for a job. Recently, it was reported that people are waiting on line for as long as 15 years (an Albanian girl, chemical technician). Productivity is low, raw materials and semi-processed products are missing, and strikes by workers unpaid for months are a daily occurrence.

In education, the use of Albanian is being curtailed for Albanian students. Their schools are being reduced to the point that 1/3 of Albanian children are left out -- especially the vocational ones -- illiteracy is climbing, and at the University of Prishtina students are screened to fit "the political and moral standards" required by the Yugoslav Communist League. Thousands of teachers, professors,

the Party... of the... the...

and students are expelled, swelling the ranks of the starving masses of Kosova. There are over 100,000 Albanians living in the capital of Belgrade who have not one single elementary school for their children.

In health services the near-total neglect has resulted in the increase of infant mortality (from 50.7% in 1987 to 51.8% in 1988). While in some areas of Yugoslavia the percentage of pregnant women and mothers who benefit from health care is 99.6%, among the ethnic Albanians this percentage is a dismal 51.3%. Pharmacies are empty, hospitals inoperative, preventive medicine nonexistent, as the attending physicians watch helplessly their patients die.

In addition, the insidious prejudice has found a fertile ground in Yugoslavia. Ethnic Albanians are seen as cruel, lazy, distrustful people, unable to organize and conduct government business in a civilized manner. Ethnic Albanians are forced to do the most difficult jobs with the lowest pay in most of Yugoslavia to provide the poorest standard of living for their numerous families. Even worse: they are expected to do it as if they were condemned by an invisible Slavic god. This is the unfortunate by-product of the way many minds - especially Serbian minds - categorize their experience with ethnic Albanians. Thus, these are seen as a category filling all previous and ugly perceptions, and not as individuals. Evidence to the contrary is disregarded as people seem to forget the facts that would change their assumptions. Educated Albanians, those who achieve or distinguish themselves, are seen as exceptions. It is not without conviction that many Serbs affirm that "only an illiterate Albanian is an honest Albanian" as reported in the local press. Today, in the SAP of Kosova schools are being segregated, kept separate and unequal, and the seed of discrimination is being planted in the minds of "superior" Serbian children, and the seeds of hatred in the minds of "inferior" Albanians. Where these attitudes will lead the next generations in Kosova is not difficult to predict!

From the political aspect, the over 2.5 million ethnic Albanians are the largest national group in Yugoslavia, after the Serbs and the Croats only. Yet, they are denied the right to have a "republic" of their own, while the smaller Macedonia and tiny Montenegro enjoy that right. There is no justification, of course, as to why in a "socialist" country such injustice must be institutionalized. The explanation given is that there exists an Albanian "nation" with its own republic, the PSR of Albania, and that ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia cannot be a second nation with a second "republic" (or "state" of their own). This, the Yugoslav Government argues, could lead to secession. The argument is weak, indeed! For, the Yugoslav Constitution stipulates that secession does not involve simply the demand for, but also the unanimous consent of the other federal units. In this case, the SR of Serbia alone could block it, and most definitely it will, if that situation arises. The denial of the right for a "republic" to ethnic Albanians and the Serbian insistence to treat Kosova as a "Serbian land" are the heart and the core of the entire problem. Presently, about 90 percent of the local Kosova population are ethnic Albanians, but the rulers are either Serbs, or Serbian

appointed Albanians.

(Serbia's influence has spread its nefarious effects also in the SR of Macedonia, where over 500,000 ethnic Albanians live and in the SR of Montenegro where the ethnic Albanian population is shrinking with every passing day. There is hardly an Albanian occupying any major position in Macedonia although they make up for 25 percent of the republic's population. Albanian schools are shifting to Macedonian, cultural activities either curtailed or closed down, teachers expelled, and dissatisfied Albanians put to jail and tortured every day. In Montenegro, ethnic Albanians are treated as if they do not exist: ignored, abandoned, forced to emigrate, assimilated.)

The 1989 Serbian onslaught on Kosova began with a big Orwellian lie! Serbs, the largest of a dozen ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, "rediscovered" that they had been deprived, confined, even cheated by the other Yugoslavs, of their right to play the leading role in a Yugoslav state.

They needed a cause to rebel, and Serbs themselves invented one: the alleged persecution of Serbs and Montenegrins by ethnic Albanians in Kosova. Horror stories were fabricated. Five murder cases (3 Serbs killed 3 Albanians and 2 Albanians killed 2 Serbs since 1981) were presented as "genocide" in Kosova. Although the SAP of Kosova had the lowest rape rate (Serbia Proper had the highest one) it was the Albanians who were blamed for rapes, arson, vandalism and alike. Overnight, Albanians became perennial terrorists. Even Serbia's intellectuals fell into this trap: petitions, appeals, leaflets, booklets and full size volumes competed to be best-sellers. To speak or to write against Albanians, their past and their present, became a lucrative business. Then the demagogues emerged: fiery speeches, "people's rallies", reminiscent of black and gray shirts, threatened the very fabric of Yugoslavia. They had an agenda: "the re-unification of Serbia", and a leader popped up in the person of Slobodan Milosevic. It is now clear that the Serbian onslaught in Kosova (and Vojvodina) was pre-planned and executed by Serbia's leadership with the consent of the other republics as part of a policy of appeasement reached among the republics of the Yugoslav Federation.

The political scenario of this shameful operation unfolded as follows:

1. In order to take over "the political autonomy" of Kosova (and Vojvodina) Serbian leaders decided to institutionalize the changes they were determined to bring about by force. A public discussion of the proposed "constitutional changes" began. The overwhelming majority of ethnic Albanians rejected them. Huge, peaceful, and dignified rallies of protest (called "Gandhi-like") reaching as high as 500,000 in one day, covered the Province of Kosova. The public debate ended up in a disaster for Serbia's leadership. Immediately, all opponents of the present leadership, including the President of Serbia and the party chief of Kosova were summarily dismissed or disgraced.
2. Once Serbia Proper was purged, huge street demonstrations brought down the recalcitrant leaderships of Vojvodina (October, 1988) and

Montenegro (January, 1989). The road to subdue Kosova was now wide open.

3. As the Serbian pressure grew, ethnic Albanian leaders who still had the confidence of the people were forced to resign under Belgrade's pressure. The local population took their complaints to the street. In the lead mines of Trepcha, 1,300 miners staged a hunger strike refusing to come up for eight days. Strikes spread all over Kosova paralyzing the life of the Province.
4. Albanian strikers demanded the removal of a newly appointed pro-Serbian leadership and the restoration of the old one. Serbia's leaders, embarrassed and powerless, played a trick: the new Kosova puppets resigned, and the strikers went back to work. Once this was settled, the Serbian Government forced the Federal Presidency to declare a state of emergency in Kosova (February 27, 1989). The former leaders were arrested and accused of counter revolution, a charge that could carry the death penalty. The discredited new leadership was reinstalled by the Serbian bayonettes. The Yugoslav Army rushed in its troops with tanks, airplanes and helicopter gunships, in addition to 5,000 new Special Police Forces.
5. On March 23, 1989, after a three week period of terror, arrests, and police intimidation, in an Assembly building surrounded by army tanks and police lines, the delegates to the Assembly of the SAP of Kosova, neglecting the message of the protesting masses, voted by a raise of hand to accept the constitutional changes imposed by the SR of Serbia. In so doing, they sealed the fate of the Province for many years to come!
6. The changes reduce the political autonomy of the SAP of Kosova to that of a mere district of Serbia. Furthermore, with the passage of Amendment 47 adopted without any discussion, the SR of Serbia reserves also the right to make future changes, affecting both Kosova and Vojvodina, without the consent of these two interested parties.
7. The popular reaction to this "political comedy" was first, a general strike then a violent uprising which lasted for six days. Government statements acknowledge 24 victims (2 of them policemen). Other sources give the 180 and 260 killed, all of them ethnic Albanians except for a Serbian militiaman). It is very important to stress the fact that either during the huge rallies of November, 1989 or in March, 1989, no incidents were registered affecting the local non-Albanian population. The entire popular anger was directed towards the Government, and especially towards the Serbian authorities.
8. The repressions in Kosova are not only a local tragedy, but also a demise of the Constitution of the SFR of Yugoslavia, since it exposed its inability to operate in a moment of crisis. The rule of the law had abdicated in favor of the barrel of the gun. A Yugoslav scholar wrote: "It is quite clear that here we have nothing to do with "an Albanian" or "Serbian" question, but with the very problem of democracy in Yugoslavia. What happened in Kosova is tantamount to a coup d'état." (DANAS, August 1, 1989, p.4)

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

The results of the senseless Yugoslav aggression against the over 2.5 million ethnic Albanians living in that country are very bloody: hundreds of people killed, maybe one thousand wounded. The use of expanding bullets (dumdum) by the Yugoslav police has been confirmed by outside observers visiting the victimized Albanians in several hospitals of Kosova. Mass arrests are in full swing. By now their number, for this year only, is over 3,000. Thousands of striking workers are thrown out in the street. Albanian scholars, educators, and their students have been dismissed, expelled, or sentenced to jail. Albanian intellectuals are "isolated" and later tortured in the prisons of Nish and Leskovate. Of them, 41 are being prosecuted, and eventually jailed. The party itself is being purged of "unsuitable" Albanians. As a result, the poor, neglected, and tortured land of Kosova inhabited 90 percent by ethnic Albanians is presently a genuine terrestrial inferno. Arbitrariness, fear, and police pressure reign supreme, and it could very well transform the SAP of Kosova into another Beirut or Belfast.

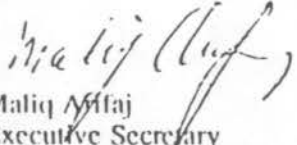
Considering the urgency of the problem, we plead with the Secretary General of the United Nations:

- a) to initiate and encourage an open debate at the present Plenary Session of the United Nations, on the situation in the SAP of Kosova.
- b) to propose the immediate formation of a fact-finding Ad Hoc Committee for the SAP of Kosova (as it was recently done with the Turkish-Bulgarian case) with the task of
 - investigating, on site, the persistent abuses of the rights to life, liberty, property, and security of the local Kosova population, without exception of any national group.
 - reporting, as soon as possible, to the appropriate organs, its findings with the necessary recommendations aiming at making public the real causes of the bloody events, as well as the necessary steps to be taken for the purpose of avoiding further bloodshed in the future.

The over 2.5 million ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia have full faith in the guiding principles of the United Nations Organization, and rightfully expect that these principles be applied towards them in these dark days of their history.

The contents of this Memorandum is not confidential. Copies of it will be made available to all Member States of the United Nations for their information and their much needed support.

Respectfully submitted


Malij Alfaj
Executive Secretary
(Authorized signature)

Done in New York City, N.Y.
On this 19th day of September, 1989

- ON THE BOOK 'KOSOVA, THE PAST AND PRESENT
'PUBLICATION OF THE REVIEW 'MEZHDUNARODNYA
POLITIKA' BELGRADE 1989 -

TIRANA, SEPTEMBER 3/ATA/.- UNDER THE ABOVE TITLE, THE NEWS-PAPER 'ZERI I POPULLIT', CARRIES AN ARTICLE ON SEPTEMBER 3, WRITTEN BY PROF.SOFOKLI LAZRI, DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDIES INSTITUTE. IT SAYS:

A FEW DAYS AGO, A BOOK CALLED 'WHITE', BUT IT CANNOT BE 'BLACKER' WAS PUT INTO CIRCULATION IN BELGRADE. THE BOOK ENTITLED 'KOSOVA, THE PAST AND PRESENT' IS ALSO TRANSLATED IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND IS QUICKLY DISTRIBUTED IN THE UNO AND VARIOUS COUNTRIES. IN FACT IT IS A BOOK MADE UP OF SOME TENDE-

NTIOUS, ANTI-SCIENTIFIC PROPAGANDA ARTICLES, SUITABLE FOR THE YELLOW PRESS.

THE YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL ORGANISMS, 343 19, '8, :3 '-68, THAT THROUGH THIS BOOK THEY WOULD CLARIFY THE KOSOVA PROBLEM, WOULD PROVE THAT THERE THEY HAVE ALWAYS ACTED CORRECTLY, THAT EVEN THE TERROR AND MURDERS OF THE ALBANIANS ARE JUSTIFIABLE.

USUALLY, YUGOSLAVIA TRIES TO CREATE FOR ITSELF THE IMAGE OF AN EMANCIPATED COUNTRY, AN ULTRACIVILIZED EUROPEAN COUNTRY AND EVEN AS PIONEER OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGIES OF THE 21ST CENTURY. BUT, WHEN YOU READ THE INSIGNIFICANT ARTICLES OF THE 'WHITE BOOK' ON KOSOVA, THAT VULGAR PHRASEOLOGY PERVADED BY SAVAGE HATRED FOR THE ALBANIANS, AS A PEOPLE AND NATION, YOU CANNOT FAIL TO THINK THAT THE WORDS FRIENDSHIP AND QUALITY AMONGST NATIONS, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EMANCIPATION, THE YUGOSLAVS USE FOR EXPORT ARE THE VILEST HYPOCRISY.

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See pages 16-20.

IT ALSO POSES AS STANDARD BEARER OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, IT EVEN CLAIMS TO SHOW THE OTHERS HOW TO PROGRESS, HOW TO SOLVE THE DISAGREEMENTS, HOW TO REALIZE THE CONCEPTS OF TIME, HOW TO MARCH TO PROGRESS. BUT IN THE 'WHITE BOOK' IT IS PRESENTED BELGRADE'S SECOND COUNTEenance, THAT OF VIOLATING THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF CITIZENS. THE BOOK CONTAINS OVER 500 PAGES BUT IN NO LINE IT EXPLAINS WHY SCORES OF PEAC7) 0:1 NIANS WERE ASSASINATED, WHY THOUSANDS OF BOYS AND GIRLS ARE JAILED, WHY THE ALBANIAN INTELIGENTSIA, SCIENTISTS TEACHERS, EDUCATION, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE ARE DISCRIMINATED. IN STEAD OF CLARIFYING THE PUBLIC OPINION WHY UNEMPLOYMENT AFFECTS 35 PER CENT OF THE ABLE BODIED POPULATION, WHY THE INCOME PER CAPITA IN KOSOVA IS ONE THIRD THAT OF SERBIA, EFFORTS ARE MADE TO DENY THE ALBANIANS' HISTORY (NO ONE KNOWS WHERE THEY HAVE COME FROM), TO DENY THEIR PRESENT (THE CONSTITUTION DEPRIVED THEM OF AUTONOMY), TO DENY THEIR FUTURE (NO ONE KNOWS WHAT LIES IN STORE FOR THEM.)

ACCORDING TO THIS BOOK, THE ALBANIANS HAVE HAD AND HAVE NOTHING GOOD. THEY OCCASIONALLY FOUND THEMSELVES IN KOSOVA. THEY HAVE ALLEDEGLY DESCENDED THE MOUNTAINS TO DISCRIMINATE THE THE SERBS. EVEN IN THE FIRST CENTURIES OF THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL TIMES, AT THE TIME OF OTTOMAN OCCUPATION, AT THE TIME OF SERB-CROATIAN REIGN OF KARAGEORGEVIC, EVEN AT THE TIME OF FASCISM, AND THE PRESENT FEDERAL YUGOSLAVIA AS WELL, THE ALBANIANS HAVE ALLEGEDLY BEEN REACTIONARIES, SAVAGE CONCERNING THEIR CUSTOMS AND MODE OF LIVING, WITHOUT CULTURE, WITHOUT HISTORY. NOWHERE, IN NO PAGE OF THE BOOK IT IS CONDEMNED THE CHAUVINIST ACTS EVER PERFORMED AGAINST THE ALBANIANS, THE LESS SO IN MODERN YUGOSLAVIA, FOR INSTANCE OF THE TIME OF RANKOVIC, EITHER IN THAT OF CETNIKS, EITHER AT THE TIME OF THE MOST OBSCURE REACTION, THAT OF KINGS, WHO ONCE WERE RESOLUTELY EXPOSED BY REVOLUTIONARY YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS AS D. TUCEVIC AND ILK.

IT IS A PITY THAT KNOWN SCIENTISTS AS V. GARASHANIN, DRUNK WITH THE CHAUVINISTIC VAPOURS, GO SO FAR AS TO DENY THEMSELVES. IT IS KNOWN THAT THIS AUTHOR UNTIL LATELY UPHELD THE THESIS ON THE ILLYRIAN ORIGIN OF THE ALBANIANS, WHEREAS IN THIS BOOK HE WRITES THE OPPOSITE. BUT IT IS NOT ASTONISHING. WHEN HE AS SCIENTIST PERMITS HIMSELF TO IDENTIFY HIS SIGNATURE WITH THAT OF A POLICEMAN, AS A CERTAIN SPASOJE GJAKOVIC, FORMER UDB CHIEF IN KOSOVA, CLOSE COLLABORATOR OF RANKOVIC, KNOWN FOR INJURING

THOUSANDS OF KOSOVA SONS IN 1945, HANGMAN IN THE CAMPAIGN OF GATHERING WEAPONS IN 1956, ONE CAN SPEAK NO LONGER OF SERIOUSNESS AND INTEGRITY EITHER INTELLECTUAL OR SCIENTIFIC.

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STILL UNKNOWN REMAINS THE FACT IF THE FOREIGN FORCES WILL INTERFERE IN YUGOSLAVIA'S HOME AFFAIRS, TO WHAT EXTENT WILL THEY INTERFERE, WHAT FORMS AND IMPACT THEIR INTERFERENCES MAY HAVE ON THE BALKAN RELATIONS, ON THE ACTUAL RELATIONS AND EQUILIBRIUMS IN EUROPE, ON THE PROCESSES AND DIALOGUES GOING ON THIS CONTINENT.

BUT WHAT IS ALREADY KNOWN IS THAT THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA CANNOT EASILY ACCEPT A HEGEMONY AND DOMINATION OF SERBIA. HARDLY CAN ONE THINK THAT THEY WILL EASILY GIVE UP AN IDEAL OF LIBERATION WAR AND AN HISTORIC 45 YEAR PRACTICE.

PRECISELY THIS WORRY JUSTIFIES THE CONCERN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING THE YUGOSLAV EVENTS, THE PREOCCUPATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND US SENATE ON THE DANGEROUS INCLINATIONS OF SERB NATIONALISM. THIS WORRY ALSO JUSTIFIES THE FACT THAT WRITERS AND REPORTERS FAR AND WIDE THE WORLD, DIFFERENT SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND KNOWN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PERSONALITIES HAVE CONDEMNED THE OPPRESSION OF THE ALBANIANS OF KOSOVA AND THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN YUGOSLAVIA.

SOME TIME AGO A YUGOSLAV NEWSPAPER WROTE THAT 'YUGOSLAVIA WILL TURN INTO KOSOVA, IN CASE IT DOES NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF KOSOVA'. THIS IS TRUE, BUT THERE IS ALSO SOMETHING ELSE TRUE. YUGOSLAV CRISIS CANNOT BE SOLVED IN CASE THE MISTAKES MADE AND BEING MADE IN YUGOSLAVIA ARE NOT OPENLY AND PUBLICLY ACCEPTED. THE AGGRAVATION OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IS INEVITABLE.

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THEY IN SLOVENIA AND CROATIA, AND SOMEWHAT LESS IN BOSNIA, HAVE STARTED TO BE AWARE OF THE DANGER SERBIAN HEGEMONISM POSES. BUT IT IS PARADOXAL THAT WHILE VOICING ALARMING CRIES AGAINST IT, AT THE SAME TIME THEY WHOLLY APPROVE THE BIG-SERBIAN PROPAGANDA THESE CONCERNING KOSOVA AND THE REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE ALBANIANS THEY TOGETHER WITH THE SERBIAN NATIONALISTS VOTED FOR IN VARIOUS ASSEMBLIES.

IN A SPEECH HELD AT THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST IN ALKAN, SINJ, IN THE ADRIATIC SHORE, THE MOST WELL-KNOWN CURRENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CROATIA, STIPE SUVAR STATED THAT DURING THE WORKING OUT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION, NO SOLUTION 'CAN BE IMPOSED FROM ABOVE AND NO ONE CAN DICTATE HIS DESIRE AND INTERESTS'. YUGOSLAVIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION, HE ADDED, CANNOT BE A CONSTITUTION OF CENTRALISM AND UNITARIANISM, BUT IT SHOULD GUARANTEE THE NORMAL AND EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION IT SHOULD EXPRESS THE INTERESTS OF THE MAJORITY OF OUR NATIONS, ON THE BASIS OF ALL OUR REPUBLICS' CONSENSUS.

WHEN READING THESE WORDS IN HIS STATEMENTS, YOU MAY THINK THAT HE DIRECTLY ATTACKS SERBIAN NATIONALISM, AND DEFENDS YUGOSLAV FEDERALISM.

BUT FURTHER ON HE DESTROYS THE CONTENT, MEANING AND ADDRESS OF THE WORDS BY ADDING THAT: 'ACCORDING TO MY OPINION, THIS IS A PRELIMINARY CONDITION FOR THE REPRESSION OF NATIONALISM, INCLUDING THE ALBANIAN NATIONALISM IN KOSOVA PROVINCE, WHICH MENACES THE COUNTRY'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY'.

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PAGE 3.-

EVERY NEUTRAL READER, IF HE IS PATIENT TO READ THIS BOOK FROM COVER TO COVER, CANNOT FAIL TO SEE THE DEGRADATION OF YUGOSLAVIA, HE CANNOT FAIL TO SEE HOW BACKWARD AND PRIMITIVE IS THE POLITICAL VIEW OF THAT PART OF LEADERSHIP THAT LEADS AND EXERTS ITS INFLUENCE UPON ITS PUBLIC OPINION.

IT IS ENOUGH TO READ THIS BOOK TO REALIZE THAT WHAT IS OCCURRING IN KOSOVA AND FAR AND WIDE YUGOSLAVIA REPRESENTS A REACTION AGAINST THE CONCEPTS OF THE TIME AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTS ON OUR CONTINENT AND FAR AND WIDE THE WORLD.

YUGOSLAVIA IS FACED WITH A GENERAL CRISIS: ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND AMONG NATIONS. IT IS ALSO FACED WITH A GREAT SPIRITUAL CRISIS, REGARDING THE LACK OF A CLEAR PROSPECT FOR THE NEAR FUTURE. BUT YUGOSLAVIA SUFFERS FROM ANOTHER SPECIFIC FACTOR. IT ALSO SUFFERS BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT IN YUGOSLAVIA DO NOT EXIST ANY LONGER THOSE CONDICTIONS FOR WHICH THE BIG POWERS IN RIVALRY AND CONTENDING WITH ONE ANOTHER ATTAINED A -FRAGILE PERHAPS CONJUNCTURAL EQUILIBRIUM, OF COMPROMISES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE DAY. FOR DIFFERENT INTERESTS AND CAUSES, ALL, THE EAST AND WEST, THE THIRD WORLD AND NON ALIGNED, THE YELLOW AND WHITE RACES HAVE CARESSSED YUGOSLAVIA. IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IT IS CONSIDERED AS THE SOLE AND SICK CHILD, WHOSE ALL MISTAKES ARE FORGIVEN AND CAPRICES ARE SATISFIED.

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PAGE 4.-

TT THIS SITUATION WAS VERY CLEARLY REFLECTED SOME TIME AGO BY A YUGOSLAV LEADER WHEN HE SAID: 'THERE EXISTS NO LONGER THE DANGER OF WAR. MOSCOW UNLEASHES NO LONGER THREATS. WE ARE MONEYLESS. NOW WE ARE REALLY ALONE AND IN ORDER TO SURVIVE WE MUST LEARN TO WALK ON OUR OWN'.

BUT PRECISELY NOW WHEN YUGOSLAVIA MUST WALK ON ITS OWN, IT IS NOT FINDING THE RIGHT ROAD TO TROD ON, TO MAINTAIN ITS INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM, TO ENSURE THE NECESSARY STABILITY FOR A DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT. THE WORST SO, IN YUGOSLAVIA SEVERAL POLITICAL PHENOMENA HAVE EMERGED WHICH ARE EMBARKING IT ON A DANGEROUS ROAD NOT ONLY FOR IT, BUT ALSO FOR THE OTHERS. SERBIAN NATIONALISM, A PRIMITIVE AND EXTREMELY AGGRESSIVE NATIONALISM, HAS APPEARED ON THE YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SCENE.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE SERBIAN NATIONALISTS IS CLEAR. THEY SEEK THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FEDERAL SYSTEM AND OF THE YUGOSLAVIA OF AVNOJ AND ITS RETURN UNDER THE PREWAR SERBIAN UNITARIAN, CENTRALIST AND HEGEMONIC DOMINATION, CERTAINLY IN NEW FORMS. THE FIRST ACT OF THIS TRAGEDY OF THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA WAS PLAYED. KOSOVA AND VOJVODINA, TWO CONSTITUENT UNITS OF THE FEDERATION WERE DEPRIVED OF AUTONOMY AND PRACTICALLY WERE TRANSFORMED INTO SERBIA'S ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONAL UNITS. MONTE NEGRO FOLLOWING THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE PREVIOUS LEADERSHIP ATTACHED TO SERBIA. MACEDONIA'S INCORPORATION SEEMS TO BE NEAR AND WITHOUT ANY GREAT RESISTANCE. THE SERB MARCH IS NOW HEADING TO THE NORTH. NO ONE KNOWS WHETHER AND WHEN IT WILL STOP.

/MORE/

PAGE 7.-

IT MAKES ONE FEEL LIKE CRYING AND LAUGHING. BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO PUT A QUESTION TO MR.SUVAR: DOES HE REALLY THINK THAT THE

ALBANIANS OF KOSOVA ARE NOT FOR THAT THAT THE YUGOSLAV CONSTITUTION EXPRESSES THE INTERESTS OF THE MAJORITY OF ALL NATIONS? BUT WHY WERE THEY KILLED BY THE TANKS DISPATCHED IN KOSOVA, MAY BE, BECAUSE THEY WERE DEMANDING ANOTHER CONSTITUTION FROM THAT HE AGREES WITH?

THE CROATIAN, SLOVENIAN STANDS TOWARDS THE EVENTS IN KOSOVA AFTER TITO'S DEATH, THE COMPROMISES ATTAINED, CONSESSIONS MADE, AND ABOVE ALL, ALL THAT OMERTA FOR THE CRIMES OF THE ANTI-ALBANIAN MAFIA, CANNOT BE EXPLAINED ONLY WITH A MERE POLITICAL NAIVITY. THEY CANNOT BE EXPLAINED AS A TACTICAL STAND EITHER, WHICH AIMS TO DIRECT THE NATIONALISTIC SERBIAN HORDES TOWARDS THE SOUTH SO THAT THE NORTH REMAINS TRANQUIL. THERE IS ONLY ONE EXPLANATION. ALL THESE OPPORTUNIST ATTITUDES ARE GUIDED BY THE THOUGHT THAT BY SATIFYING THE APPETITE OF SERBIAN NATIONALISM, IT WILL ACCEPT TO SHARE THE POWER. THE CALCULATIONS WERE NOT BAD, BUT THEY FORGOT THAT APPETITE COMES WITH EATING.

PRACTICE IS REVEALING THAT THE VIEW THAT THE YUGOSLAV CRISES CAN BE SOLVED BY CREATING A SERBIAN-CROATIAN OR SERBO-CROATIAN-SLOVENIAN AXIS TO EXERT A COMMON ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER IN YUGOSLAVIA PROVED TO BE BOTH ERRONEOUS AND HARMFUL,.

/MORE/

PAGE 8.-

ABANDONING KOSOVA AT THE MERCY OF SERBIAN NATIONALISM, WITHOUT DEFENDING THE PRINCIPLES OF FEDERALISM, THE EXISTING STATE AND SOCIAL PRACTICE, SANCTIONED IN THE 1974 CONSTITUTION, THE CROATIANS AND SLOVENIANS GAVE UP ARMS WITH WHICH THEY WOULD DEFEND THEMSELVES IN FRONT OF THE DIRECT ATTACK OF BIG-SERBIAN HEGEMONISM AND UNITARIANISM.

IN THE SPEECH THAT MILOSEVIC HELD ON OCCASION OF THE 600TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE KOSOVA BATTLE IN GAZI MESTAN, HE SAID THAT SINCE THE TIME WHEN THE TURKS CAME TO SERBIA IN THE 14TH CENTURY 'ONLY THIS YEAR THE PEOPLE IN SERBIA GAINED THEIR FREEDOM AND STATE, NATIONAL AND SPIRITUAL SOVEREIGNTY'. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR, THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA, TITO, AVNOJ, FEDERATION AND OTHER SYMBOLS AND NOTIONS OF NEW YUGOSLAVIA MIGHT BE ADDED TO THE TURKS OF SULTAN MURAT, THAT IS TO SERBIA'S ENEMIES. HE OPENLY SAID TO THOSE PRESENT THAT POST WAR YUGOSLA-N

VIA OUGHT

THROWN IN THE DUSTBIN AND IN CASE IT IS NOT REALISED PEACEFULLY THEN IT SHOULD BE DONE BY ARMS.

INTERESTING IS THE FACT THAT THE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FEDERATION AND THE OTHER REPUBLICS LISTENED WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST REACTION TO THESE STATEMENTS AND SEVERE THREATS OF THE SERBIAN PRESIDENT.

CERTAINLY ONE CANNOT THINK THAT THE ''COME TO ATTENTION'' STAN-
BEFORE THE SERBIAN NATIONALISTIC LEADER WAS AS A RESULT OF
THE LACK OF THEIR POLITICAL AND PERSONAL COURAGE, OR OF
NON-EVALUATING THE SAID WORDS.

THIS HAPPENED BECAUSE THEY PUT ON THE GREEN LIGHT AND INSTI-
GATED THE ARROGANCE OF SERBIAN NATIONALISTS SINCE THE TIME
WHEN THEY APPROVED THE AMMEDMENTS TO SERBIA'S CONSTITUTION
WHICH RESTRICTED THE AUTONOMY OF THE PROVINCES, SINCE THE TIME
WHEN THEY VOTED FOR THE IMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY
IN KOSOVA, SINCE WHEN THEY DID NOT DEMAND EXPLANATIONS FOR

THE ASSASSINATION OF THE ALBANIANS, WHEN THEY DID NOT UNDER-
STAND THAT THE DESTINY OF YUGOSLAVIA OF AVNOJ WAS DEPENDENT
ON THE STAND TOWARDS THE STARI TRG EVENTS.

THE ACTUAL LEADERS IN POWER OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA
ADOPTED A WHOLLY IRRESPONSIBLE STAND TOWARDS THE ALBANIANS AND
THE FUTURE OF THEIR COMPATRIOTS.

ALTHOUGH MACEDONIA IS UNDER THE DIRECT MENACE OF BEING ENGU-
LFED BY SERBIA AND THERE EXISTS THE DANGER OF ITS WHOLLY ASSI-
MILATION WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME, THEY HAVE LAUNCHED AN
ULTRA-NATIONALIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ALBANIANS, WITH WHOM
THEY SHARE THE SAME DESTINITY AND HAVE FOUGHT SIDE BY SIDE
AGAINST THE BIG-SERBIAN NATIONALISM AND HEGEMONISM.

/MORE/

IT IS A FACT THAT THE POLICY OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND OF
TT RESTRICTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE ALBANIANS
IN YUGOSLAVIA WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A GENERAL AND CONCRETE
PROGRAMME OF SERBIAN NATIONALISM TO ESTABLISH ITS DOMINATION
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. THE CURRENT SLOVENIAN-SERBIAN AND
CROATIAN-SERBIAN CONFLICTS WHICH KEEP AGGRAVATING VERY QUICKLY
CLEARLY TESTIFY TO THIS. PRESENT DAY KOSOVA IS A MIRROR OF
THE MORROW OF THEIR REPUBLICS.

IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY THE NATIONAL OPPRESSION IN KOSOVA THE
SERBIAN NATIONALISTS CLAIM THAT THE BLAME RESTS ON THE SOCA-
LLED ALBANIAN SEPARATISTS, WHO ALLEGEDLY WANT ITS CESSATION
FROM YUGOSLAVIA.

WE ARE NOT GOING TO JUDGE WHETHER THERE ARE OR NOT ALBANIAN
NATIONALISTS AND SEPARATISTS IN KOSOVA, HOW MANY AND WHERE
ARE THEY. PERHAPS THERE ARE, AS LONG AS THERE ARE SUCH EVEN
IN SLOVENIA, EVEN IN SERBIA, EVEN IN MONTE NEGRO. LET IT BE SO.
BUT, IF THERE EXISTS SEPARATISM IN KOSOVA, WHY SHOULD AUTONOMY
BE ELIMINATED, WHY SHOULD EDUCATION IN THE MOTHER TONGUE BE
RESTRICTED, WHY SHOULD THE ALBANIANS' HISTORIC TRADITIONS BE
DENIED?

IT WOULD BE MORE THAN NAIVE THAT A POLITICAL LEADERSHIP SHOULD
NOT UNDERSTAND THAT SUCH REPRESSIVE MEASURES DIRECTLY ASSIST
SEPARATISM, SUPPLY IT NOT ONLY WITH WEAPONS, FACTS, ARGUMENTS,
BUT ALSO WITH AN OBJECTIVE GROUND TO REVIVE AND JUSTIFY THE
CORRECTNESS OF ITS ENDS.

REPRESSIVE MEASURES ADOPTED IN KOSOVA WERE SUFFICIENT
 TO REVIVE IN SLOVENIA THE IDEA OF CESSATION FROM YUGOSLAVIA.
 THIS IDEA WAS EVEN TRANSFORMED INTO A MOVEMENT WHICH SEEKS TO
 OBTAIN IN THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTIONS THE RIGHT OF THE REPUBLIC
 FOR CESSATION. THE SEPARATISTS IN YUGOSLAVIA ARE OFFSPRINGS
 OF THE SERBIAN NATIONALISM, OF ITS HEGEMONIC CLAIMS OF NATIONAL
 OPPRESSION OF THE OTHER PEOPLES, IT IS THIS NATIONALISM WHICH
 IS FRAUGHT WITH THE DANGER OF DISINTEGRATING THE FEDERATION.

THERE EXISTS THE IDEA, MAINLY OUTSIDE YUGOSLAVIA, THAT THE
 IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION WOULD SOLVE ALSO ALL THE
 ITS OTHER PROBLEMS. THE CROATIANS AND SLOVENIANS TOO HAVE
 BEEN OF THE SAME OPINION UNTIL NOW, ALTHOUGH MANY OF THEM HAVE
 BEGUN TO DOUBT.

IT IS SUPPOSED THAT BY ESTABLISHING CERTAIN REGULATIONS
 OF FREE TRADE, BY RECEIVING ANY FOREIGN LOANS AND ANY OTHER

INJECTION OF THE KIND, TRANQUILITY WILL PREVAIL AT HOME. THIS
 IS AN ILLUSION BECAUSE UNTIL NOW NO ECONOMY HAS DEVELOPED AND
 PROGRESSED IN A NON-DEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT.

THE KEY PROBLEM IN YUGOSLAVIA ON WHICH DEPEND ALSO THE SOLU-
 TIONS OF THE OTHER MATTERS IS THE POLITICAL ONE, THAT IS THE
 CONFLICT BETWEEN SERBIAN FEDERALISM AND UNITARIANISM, BETWEEN
 NATIONALIST DEMOCRACY AND CENTRALISM. IN CASE FEDERALISM AND
 DEMOCRACY WIN, THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM TOO WILL BE SOLVED. ON
 THE CONTRARY THE ECONOMY WILL BE TRANSFORMED INTO A BATTLEFIELD
 OF VARIOUS POLITICAL GROUPINGS WHICH WOULD JUDGE AND ACT UPON
 IT, NOT ACCORDING TO THE LOGIC OF ITS LAWS, BUT ACCORDING TO
 THE LOGIC OF THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

/MORE/

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OWING TO ITS NATIONAL STRUCTURE, THE HISTORIC TRADITIONS,
 THE COMPOSITION OF ITS POPULATION, NONE OF THE NATIONS IN
 PRESENT-DAY YUGOSLAVIA CAN FORCIBLY MAINTAIN ITS DOMINATION
 OVER THE OTHERS. EVEN SERBIA, WHICH HAS THIS CLAIM, HAS NEITHER
 THE MILITARY POTENTIAL, NOR THE ECONOMIC ONE, THE LESS SO THE
 IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL ONE TO REALISE SUCH A THING.

EVEN IF ALL THE SERBS WERE POLICEMEN, THEY
 WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT TO PUT UNDER CONTROL THE ALBANIANS
 AND CROATIANS, MONTENEGRINS AND SLOVENIANS. ON THE OTHER HAND
 PEOPLE ARE NEEDED TO WORK TO MAINTAIN ALL THAT REPRESSIVE APPA-
 RATUS IT IS IN NEED OF.

HENCEFORTH, ONLY THE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE CAN SOLVE THE
 NATIONAL CONFLICTS AND BRING YUGOSLAVIA OUT OF THE CRISIS
 THEY BRING ABOUT. NO SOUND LOGIC CAN ACCEPT THAT KOSOVA'S
 AUTONOMY AS WELL AS THE EXISTENCE OF THE OTHER REPUBLICS WE-
 AKENS SERBIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, AS IT IS SAID AND WRITTEN IN BEL-
 GRADE NOWADAYS.

ON THE CONTRARY THE BROAD AUTONOMY OF KOSOVA, THE NATIONAL
 AND DEMOCRATIC EMANCIPATION OF ITS POPULATION, WOULD SPUR
 ABOUT A SPIRIT OF HARMONY AND CONCILIATION IN SERBIA AND YU-
 GOSLAVIA, WILL INFLUENCE THE DEMOCRATISATION OF THE STATE
 AND SOCIAL LIFE, THE UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE AMONG THE
 PEOPLE. WHEREAS THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE AUTONOMY, THE NATION-
 AL AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE ALBANIANS AND THE OTHER PEOPLES
 OBJECTIVELY AND INEVITABLY WOULD BRING ABOUT NOT ONLY FRINCTIONS,
 RESISTENCE AND REVOLTS AMONGST THEM, BUT THE VIOLENCE TO DEFE-
 ND THE RESTRICTIONS WOULD BE TRANSFORMED INTO A GENERATOR OF
 THE KACIST AND OBSCURANTIST IDEAS INTO DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS

TO DATE, IN THEIR UNRESTRAINED NATIONALISTIC EUPHORIA THE SERBIANS HAVE WRITTEN AND SAID WHATEVER THEY LIKED ON THE ALBANIANS. THIS IS REFLECTED ALSO IN THE SO CALLED 'WHITE BOOK' ON KOSOVA.

FOR INSTANCE THEY SAY THAT THE ALBANIANS, HAVE NO HISTORIC TRADITIONS, THEY HAVE NOT BEEN AN ETHNICALLY DEVELOPED CONSCIOUS PEOPLE, THAT THEY HAVE BEEN LACKING STATE FORMING ABILITIES AND OTHER INVENTIONS OF A CHAUVINIST RIDDEN FANTASY. THE AIM OF THIS PROPAGANDA IS CLEAR. BY DENYING TO THE ALBANIANS THE ANCIENTNESS OF THE TERRITORIES THEY ARE LIVING IN THEIR NATIONAL

HISTORY AND TRADITIONS, THEIR ORIGINAL WAY OF LIVING, THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE ANTI-FASCIST WAR AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF FEDERAL YUGOSLAVIA, THEY SEEK TO NEGATE ALSO THE DEMANDS OF THE ALBANIANS OF KOSOVA IN DEFENCE OF THEIR NATIONAL RIGHTS FOR EQUALITY IN THE YUGOSLAV STATE, FOR AUTONOMY AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS BELONGING TO THEM.

NOW THE SERBIAN NATIONALISTS HAVE BEGUN TO NEGATE EVEN THE NATIONAL AND HISTORIC INHERITANCE OF THE MONTENEGRINS, TO CALL THE BOSNIANS ISLAMIZED SERBIANS AND THE MACEDONIANS SERBIANS OF THE SOUTH. IT IS ALSO TAKEN AIM AT THE HISTORIC INHERITANCE OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY AND OF THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION, WHO ARE ACCUSED OF BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL EVILS BEFALLEN ON SERBIA AND YUGOSLAVIA. THE AIM IS THE SAME, TO REMOVE THE OBSTACLES HINDERING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ABSOLUTE DOMINATION OF THE SERBIAN NATIONALISM. THE IDEOLOGY IS THE SAME, IT IS THE IDEOLOGY OF CONTEMPT AND HATRED FOR THE OTHER PEOPLES.

/MORE/

IT IS REALLY A POLITICAL CRAZINESS THAT THE ETHNIC PROBLEMS IN A MULTINATIONAL STATE BE SOLVED TODAY BY NOURISHING THE MENTALITIES OF THE MEDIAEVAL PRINCIPALITIES AND THROUGH THE MEANS OF ONCE COLONIALISM AS THE SERBIAN NATIONALISTS ARE DOING. BUT WHATEVER MAY HAPPENS IN KOSOVA, IT CANNOT BE MAINTAINED AS A COLONY ,AND THE ALBANIANS AS EMIGRANTSEITHER.

THE PRESENT TIME IS NO MORE THAT OF THE FEUDAL KINGS, OF CONQUISTADORS, COLONIZERS, OF OPPRESSION AND ASSIMILATION OF NATIONS. WE LIVE IN THE EPOCH WHEN ALL THE CONTINENTS ARE AWAKENING, WHEN ALL THE PEOPLES ARE BECOMING CONSCIOUS OF THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL COUSE, IN THE EPOCH OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THE WORLD MARCHES FORWARD AND BACKWARD. THEREFORE ONE SHOULD GIVE UP THOSE STALE THESES WHICH SMELL OF MEDIAEVAL MOULD, BUT WHICH ARE TURNED INTO HEAVY CHAINS AND HAVE ALSO BOUND THE HANDS OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN YUGOSLAVIA TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT.

ONE OF THESE THESES IS THAT KOSOVA ALLEGEDLY REPRESENTS THE HISTORIC HEARTH OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE AND OF THE CREATION OF ITS STATE. THIS IS A LITERARY MYTH CREATED BY THE SERBIAN NATIONAL- ROMANTIC WRITERS AND POETS OF THE PAST CENTURY AND AN EXPANSIONIST SLOGAN OF THE SERBIAN STATE DURING THE BALKAN OCCUPATION WARS.

SOCIALIST ALBANIA HAS STATED THAT IT IS READY TO HELP YUGOSLAVIA BY EVERY POSSIBLE MEANS, BUT NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF KOSOVA. NOTHING WOULD BE SOLVED, EVEN IF IT DID THAT. BESIDES , IT WOULD BE AN ACT WHICH WOULD RUN COUNTER TO THE REALISTIC AND OBJECTIVE SOLUTIONS NEEDED TO OVERCOME ITS CRISES. THE FIRES IN YUGOSLAVIA WOULD NOT BE EXTINGUISHED. IT IS A FACT THAT THE FLAMES OF THE NATIONAL FEUDS ARE SPREADING FROM KOSOVA TO THE WHOLE OF YUGOSLAVIA, THAT THE NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS NOT ONLY OF THE ALBANIANS, BUT OF ITS OTHER PEOPLES ARE QUESTIONED. YUGOSLAVIA IS A STATE MADE UP OF MANY

NATIONS, OF VERY SOUND NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS, OF SEPARATE, ANCIENT AND STABLE ORIGINAL CULTURES, OF VARIOUS LANGUAGES AND BELIEFS, IT IS MADE UP OF PEOPLES WHO HAVE VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHIES, FRIENDSHIPS AND LINKS.

THEIR COEXISTENCE, COOPERATION, HARMONY MIGHT HAVE A SOLE BASIS-THEY MIGHT HAVE A POLITICAL BASIS THAT TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE PEOPLES, A BASIS THAT MUST HAVE A YUGOSLAV COMMON DENOMINATOR.

THE PROBLEM WHETHER YUGOSLAVIA WOULD BE A STATE UNDER THE DOMINATION OF THE SERBIAN MONARCHY OR OF ANY KIND OF SERBIA'S HEGEMONISM, OR A FEDERATION BUILT UP ON THE BASIS OF A BROAD AUTONOMY OF THE NATIONS, WAS SOLVED SINCE THE TIME OF THE ANTI-FASCIST WAR.

/MORE/

THIS WAS THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR. FOR ITS SOLUTION THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA MADE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE RECORDING A TOLL OF 1 MILLION AND 700 THOUSAND CASUALTIES. IT WAS SOLVED IN FAVOUR OF THE FEDERAL SYSTEM THAT RECOGNISED THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES WITHOUT EXCEPTION, OF THE SERBIANS, CROATIANS, SLOVENIANS, BOSNIANS, MACEDONIANS, ALBANIANS AND OTHERS, THAT RECOGNISED THEIR EQUALITY AND AUTONOMY.

THESE PRINCIPLES WERE SANCTIONED IN THE AVNOJ DECISIONS AND WERE FURTHER LEGALISED IN THE YUGOSLAV CONSTITUTIONS ADOPTED LATER. YUGOSLAVIA LIVED AND DEVELOPED IN THIS WAY UNTIL NOW.

THROUGH THIS STATE SYSTEM YUGOSLAVIA ENSURED FIRST OF ALL A COEXISTENCE ACCEPTABLE BY ALL IT NATIONS, IT WAS UNRESERVEDLY RECOGNIZED BY ALL ON THE INTERNATIONAL PLANE, IT ENSURED A NORMAL ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. THEREFORE, EVERY KIND OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION, ANY EFFORT TO ASSIMILATE THE OTHER NATIONS IN THE NAME OF ANY OF IDEOLOGY, WILL GIVE BIRTH TO RESISTANCE, UNRESTS AND CONFLICTS, WHICH WOULD NOT LEAD TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE SOCALLED 'STATE', 'PEOPLE'S', 'POLITICAL', 'IDEOLOGICAL UNITY', BUT TO A SITUATION WHICH ONE FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONSEQUENCES IT MIGHT BRING ABOUT.++++

IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE THAT THE SLAVS HAVE COME VERY LATELY TO THE BALKANS. THEY CAME AT A TIME WHEN THE ANCIENT AND AUTOCHTHONOUS PEOPLES OF THIS PENINSULA, THE HELLENES AND THE ILLYRIANS, HAD ACHIEVED THE CLIMAX OF CIVILISATION AND DEVELOPMENT. IT IS TRUE THAT THE OUT-POSTS OF THE SLAVIC ERUPTION REACHED PELOPONNESUS AND VLORA, AS THEY DID ALSO IN KOSOVA, BUT THIS CANNOT BE AN ARGUMENT OF CLAIMING THAT THESE TERRITORIES BELONG TO THE SLAVS.

ONE MAY GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IN EUROPE IF THE HISTORY OF ERUPTIONS AND MIGRATIONS OF THE ROMAN AND GREEK, SLAVIC AND GERMAN, ANGLO-SAXON AND NORDIC, ARAB AND OTHER TRIBES WAS POLITICIZED JUST AS IT IS HAPPENING IN YUGOSLAVIA WITH THE SERBIAN NATIONALISTS WHO ARE TOO ANXIOUS TO KNOW WHERE DO THE ETHNIC BORDERS OF THIS OR THAT NATION EXTEND TO, WHERE IS THE HISTORIC NUCLEUS OF THIS OR THAT STATE CREATED, WHICH IS THE

CRADLE OF THIS OR THAT PEOPLE, WHERE IS THIS OR THAT PRINCE OR SAINT BURIED, WHICH BATTLE HAS SAVED EUROPE AND SO ON AND SO FORTH. IF IN KOSOVA THERE IS A SERBIAN MEDIEVAL CHURCH, IN THE PRESENT TERRITORY OF YUGOSLAVIA THERE ARE MONUMENTS OF A MORE DISTANT ANTIQUITY AND OF A FULL NATIONAL IDENTITY AS THE ILLYRIAN-ALBANIAN ONES.

BUT THE CIVILISED NATIONS DO NOT LIVE ON MYTHS AND MORE OVER THEY DO NOT TURN THEM INTO CONCRETE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. CERTAINLY THE SERBIANS ARE NOT THE FIRST WHO DO NOT WANT TO ACKNOWLEDGE EITHER THE HISTORIC REALITIES OR THE EXISTING ONES. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN OTHERS, BUT AS KNOWN ALL EXPERIENCED AN ABORTIVE END.

/MORE/

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THE OTHER PROPAGANDA THESIS WHICH IS ALMOST TURNED INTO A LEGAL REASONING IS THAT THE ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA ARE ALLEGEDLY A MINORITY. ONE CAN FIND NO COLOSSAL ABSURDITY. COMPARED WITH WHOM DO THE ALBANIANS CONSTITUTE A MINORITY. COMPARED WITH THE SLOVENIANS, MACEDONIANS, CROATIANS OR MONTENEGRWNS? IF THEY ARE A MINORITY COMPARED WITH THE SERBIANS AS SUCH ARE ALSO THE CROATIANS, THE SLOVENES AND THE OTHER PEOPLES IN YUGOSLAVIA.

THE ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA WHO MAKE UP NEARLY 3 MILLIONS LIVE FOR CENTURIES IN A COMPACT TERRITORY, HAVE THEIR ANCIENT AND ORIGINAL CULTURE, TRADITIONS, LANGUAGE. THEY REPRESENT THE THIRD NATION AS REGARDS TO THE NUMBER OF THE POPULATION AFTER THE SERBIANS AND CROATIANS. THEY ARE, AS IS ALSO SAID IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE S F R Y, ITS CONSTITUENT ELEMENT.

IN THE YUGOSLAV LEGISLATION ITSELF THE ALBANIAN POPULATION IS NOT TREATED OF AND NOT IDENTIFIED WITH THE MINORITIES, BUT IT IS CONSIDERED AS A SEPARATE NATIONALITY, SOMETHING WHICH IS REFLECTED ALSO IN THE YUGOSLAV CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT, WHICH PUTS IT ON A PAR WITH THE OTHER SUBJECTS OF THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION.

IN A MULTINATIONAL STATE IT IS NATURAL THAT A NATION BE IN A GREATER NUMBERS, ANOTHER OF MEDIUM SIZE, AND ANOTHER SMALLER. BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEY SHOULD NOT BE EQUAL FROM THE HISTORIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL POINT OF VIEW. THAT ONE SHOULD BE

NOT ONLY THE POLITICAL MATURITY AND THE SOUND STATE REASON, BUT THE INEVITABLE OBJECTIVENESS AS WELL DEMAND THAT ALL THE NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES IN A MULTINATIONAL STATE, DESPITE THE TIME AND THE WAY OF THEIR FORMATION, DESPITE THEIR RELATIONSHIP, THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, THEY SHOULD ENJOY THE SAME JURIDICAL AND SOCIAL STATUS. THEY SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SELFMANAGEMENT, TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED THE RIGHT TO SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS IN AN INDEPENDENT WAY.

THERE EXISTS ANOTHER VERY MUCH SPECULATIVE THESIS. ACCORDING TO IT THE SERBIANS LEAVE KOSOVA UNDER THE PRESSURE OF THE ALBANIANS. THIS CLAIM IS A STALE AND GROUNDLESS STATEMENT. IT IS TRUE THAT MANY SERBIANS HAVE DEPARTED FROM KOSOVA, BUT STILL MORE ALBANIANS HAVE LEFT IT. IF THE SERBIANS WHO HAVE DEPARTED FROM KOSOVA ARE IN SCORES OF THOUSANDS, THE ALBANIANS MAKE UP HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS.

THE MAJORITY OF THEM HAVE EMIGRATED FROM KOSOVA BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC REASONS. THEIR PROVINCE IS UNDEVELOPED, BACKWARD AND WITHOUT ANY NEAR PROSPECT OF PROGRESS. THE SERBIANS FIND EVER BETTER JOBS IN BELGRADE, NISH, KRAGUJEVAC AND OTHER REGIONS OF SERBIA, WHICH HAVE EXPERIENCED A SPEEDY AND INTENSIVE INDUSTRIALISATION.

THE PHENOMENON OF THE EVACUATION OF THE POOR RURAL ZONES AND THE SETTLEMENT OF PEOPLE INTO THE ZONES OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IS NOT A PHENOMENON OCCURRING IN YUGOSLAVIA ALONE. BUT IT IS REALLY A YUGOSLAV PHENOMENON THAT SUCH A TYPICAL SOCIAL FACT IS TURNED THERE INTO A POLITICAL FACT, INTO A MOTIF FOR THE NATIONAL OPPRESSION OF A WHOLE POPULATION, AS IT IS HAPPENING WITH THE ALBANIANS IN KOSOVA.

/MORE/

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BUT IN YUGOSLAVIA THERE IS ANOTHER TRUTH ON WHICH THEY KEEP SILENT. SINCE THE YEAR 1945 UP TO NOW THERE HAVE BEEN FORCEFULLY EXPELLED FROM KOSOVA TO TURKEY SOME HUNDREDS UPON THOUSANDS OF ALBANIANS, WHO ARE DEPRIVED OF THE YUGOSLAV CITIZENSHIP AND OF THE RIGHT TO RETURN, SOMETHING THAT DOES NOT HAPPEN WITH THE OTHER YUGOSLAV EMIGRANTS.

THE HISTORIC AND ACTUAL REALITY IS CHANGED NEITHER BY PROPAGANDA NOR BY VIOLENCE. WE HAVE PROCEEDED FROM THIS PRINCIPLE AND THIS EXPERIENCE WHEN SAYING THAT WITHOUT THE ALBANIANS AND MORE OVER AGAINST THEM THE KOSOVA PROBLEM CANNOT BE SOLVED, EITHER CAN THE OTHER PROBLEMS OF YUGOSLAVIA BE SOLVED.

LIKEWISE FROM THIS WE HAVE PROCEEDED WHEN SAYING THAT THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE EMERGED TODAY IN KOSOVA AND YUGOSLAVIA SHOULD BE CONSIDERED WITH POLITICAL MATURITY, REALISM, OBJECTIVENESS, THAT THERE SHOULD BE A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF THE FUTURE AND NOT A SETBACK. THE HISTORIC PAST MIGHT SERVE TO DRAW LESSONS, BUT NOT TO SOLVE ACTUAL PROBLEMS BY MECHANICALLY REPEATING IT.

THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA HAS NOT INTERFERED INTO THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF YUGOSLAVIA. IT HAS NOT INTERFERED BECAUSE NONINTERFERENCE INTO THE OTHERS' AFFAIRS, MAKES UP ONE OF THE PERMANENT AND FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY. IT HAS NOT INTERFERED BECAUSE IT DESIRES THE STABILISATION OF YUGOSLAVIA, OF THE BALKANS AND EUROPE. THIS IS NOT A PROPAGANDA SLOGAN, BUT A STAND WHICH STEMS FROM A SIMPLE POLITICAL REASONING. YUGOSLAVIA'S DESTABILIZATION AND THE EVENTUAL INTERFERENCE OF THE OTHERS INTO THE DEVELOPMENTS THAT WOULD BE A RESULT OF THIS, WOULD BRING ABOUT DANGERS TO THE NEIGHBOURING ALBANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA.

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II IN THE FREE WORLD (NË BOTËN E LIRË)

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UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS SUB-COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF YUGOSLAVIA

by:
Kosovar Youth in the Free World
46th Street
New York, 10036

Hon. Helen Bentley
Congresswoman
1610 Longworth Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

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... (at 11) the Yugoslav Government,
acting under the naked pressure of the new Serbian
chauvinism of Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic,
declared the emergency state in the Socialist Autonomous

osova where most of the ethnic Albanians
its Army contingents equipped with tanks,
helicopter gunships in addition to its Special
first to provoke them to quell a rebellion by
Albanians. Hundreds of people were killed,
men as young as seven. Although the
spontaneous outburst of the extreme
with an administration which never cared for
ethnic Albanians, let alone work for them,
government saw fit to use a military
to the accounts, as the colonialist powers
rather than listen to the voices of the
and eventually, through a civilized
an agreement satisfactory for both sides.
1989, the leadership of the Socialist
resolved to extend the emergency state
over the country. Thus, more oppression, more
resistance are in store for the
Albanians in Yugoslavia. The policies
recently played by the Yugoslav
aimed to bring new confrontations in
likely, more bloodshed. The new
was imposed at all cost!



The seriousness of the situation commands some
explanation.

First, and foremost, the SFR of Yugoslavia is
admittedly a political state, where the political dominance
of the Yugoslav Communist League operates at the expense
of the juridical state, or the rule of law. In a system as the