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BETWEEN STATES

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL Second regular session of 1989 Agenda item 6 REGIONAL CO-OPERATION

Letter dated 12 July 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Albania to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you excerpts of the greeting of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, comrade Ramiz Alia, made on 26 June 1989, at the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the text of the letter and it annex circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under items 63, 101 and 143 of the preliminary list, and of the second regular session of 1989 of the Economic and Social Council, under agenda item 6.

(<u>Signed</u>) Genc MLLOJA Counsellor Chargé d'affaires a.i.

^{*} A/44/50/Rev.1.

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ANNEX

Excerpts of the greeting of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania, made on 26 June 1989, at the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania

The problems of our international relations have always been at the centre of attention of the Democratic Front of Albania. The struggle which it has waged for recognition of the new Albania and the increase of its prestige and respect in the world and its support for and defence of the foreign policy of our Party represent one of its outstanding traditions.

For the Party of Labour of Albania, the Democratic Front, and the Albanian State, foreign policy has had and has one objective: to ensure the complete freedom, independence and sovereignty of our people, to create favourable external conditions for the construction of socialism, and to guarantee the peaceful life of our people. The international activity of our country, its relations abroad, and its stands towards current world events are determined by these lofty interests.

The situations today are very complex. They are characterized by great variability and no less instability. The lowering of tensions in some zones is countered by the raising of tensions in others, the solution of one problem is accompanied with the emergence and complication of several others. Of course, as long as the causes of fundamental world contradictions have not been eliminated, the elimination of their consequences cannot be expected either. However, the clashes, conflicts, confrontations etc. which emerge from these contradictions do not necessarily take the same form or manifest themselves with the same intensity. Today we are living precisely at a time when the various world groupings, military, economic, political and ideological, while unwaveringly maintaining their strategies, are rapidly altering their tactics, methods of struggle and immediate objectives.

Our view is that the temporary easing of tension, which is dictated by specific interests of the super-Powers, should not lead to euphoria or lowering of vigilance. The super-Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, remain what they have been: they have given up neither their strategic aims of ensuring hegemony and their rights over others nor their spheres of influence and the privileges which this policy secures for them.

Consistent in its foreign policy, socialist Albania has supported and will continue to support all those actions which are in favour of general peace and security, and will oppose anything which threatens the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples, and the interests of the progress of mankind. It has condemned and will continue to condemn the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the imperialist super-Powers, which are mainly to blame for the tensions and conflicts between States today. Our sympathy and solidarity are with those who defend their national and social rights, who fight for equality in international relations,

non-interference in the internal affairs of others and respect of the right of each people to choose and pursue their own course of development.

We have paid and will continue to pay special attention to our relations with the neighbouring countries. In determining our stand, we have proceeded not only from the interests of our own country, but also from our conviction that a good climate in the Balkans would also have no small influence in improving inter-European relations and the situation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

We are aware that between the Balkan States there still exist many disagreements, misunderstandings and contradictions, which come from their past history, the interference of foreigners in our peninsula, which has never ceased, their participation in rival military and economic alliances, and a relative backwardness in their general development in comparison with other European countries. But what is required today is not that we list the obstacles, difficulties and their causes, but that we work out how and in what way we can overcome them: by means of confrontation and force or by means of dialogue and collaboration.

We are for the latter, because this is the course of the sound reason, the course which is imposed by the vital interests of the Balkan countries and their freedom, independence and sovereignty, by the contemporary development of international relations, and above all, by the desire of the peoples of our peninsula to live in peace and friendship with one another.

The fact that the Balkan countries have begun a process of talking together in order to establish and strengthen co-operation in different sectors of mutual interest is encouraging and promising. The meetings of foreign ministers last year in Belgrade, and of their deputies in Sofia and Tirana, as well as the meetings of the heads of many government departments, have given an obvious impulse to this process.

Along with these positive trends, however, there still exist some negative factors which give rise to tensions in Balkan relations and inhibit the process of co-operation. For example, a new conflict, although its roots are old, has begun to flare up, and is becoming as worrying as it is dangerous. I am referring to the stand towards ethnic minorities.

The use of police repression and violence against ethnic populations is a policy entirely contrary to the sound logic and the spirit of the times, a policy which comes from an outdated and discredited ideology which has caused very great damage to all the peoples of the Balkans. To insist on it still means to move backwards, not forwards. Political wisdom and foresight and the interests of general peace and security call for the economic and national emancipation of minorities, equality in their civil rights and democratization of human relations, not oppression and discrimination and denial of constitutional freedoms.

The numerous Yugoslav crises and, in particular, the tragic events in Kosova and the outbreak of national conflicts within the republics which make up this

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neighbour country exert an influence inhibiting the advance of the process of Balkan co-operation. The worst thing is that this grave internal situation has also begun to project itself onto the international relations of Yugoslavia, especially with its neighbouring countries. Among other things, the leadership of Serbia has launched an absurd campaign, with marked provocative tendencies, against Albania and other Balkan countries under the pretext of protecting Serb minorities who are allegedly living and being persecuted in these countries. Of course, this is a cheap propaganda ploy, but nevertheless, it expresses a tendency which reveals a definite policy, that of finding any sort of cause and of creating any sort of pretext in order to guarrel with the neighbours.

Socialist Albania has always sincerely desired to have the best possible relations with Yugoslavia. The great interests we have in common demand such a thing. If Albanian-Yugoslav relations have not recorded any notable progress hitherto, Albania is not to blame for this. Domination of primitive nationalism which influences the foreign policy of Yugoslavia towards our country and the archaic anti-Albanianism, which is one of the foundations of its internal policy, have not allowed and still do not allow the Yugoslav leaders to handle relations with Albania and the Albanians wisely and realistically.

The failure of this policy is now very obvious. If up until yesterday there was only one conflict, the Serbo-Albanian conflict, today, as anyone can see, the Serbo-Croatian and the Serbo-Slovenian conflicts have come to the surface. If things go on like this, Serbo-Montenegrin and the Serbo-Macedonian conflicts will arise, too.

As a neighbour country with Yugoslavia, linked with its peoples in good times and bad, we desire neither its destabilization nor its disintegration. We think, however, that denial of democracy, violation of equality between nations and nationalities, and establishment of the hegemony of one nation over others is not a course which can get Yugoslavia out of its crises and protect it from conflicts, or promote its development.

Mark said very correctly that a people who oppress other peoples cannot be free themselves either. It is impossible for the people of Kosova to be oppressed, imprisoned and maimed, and for State violence to be exercised against the youth and intelligentsia of Kosova, and for the rest of Yugoslavia to remain democratic and progressive. Either there will be freedom and democracy for all the nations and nationalities which make up Federative Yugoslavia, or there will be freedom and democracy for none of them.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia are not a minority and cannot be treated as such. They represent the third largest population in this multinational State. It has already been proved that nothing can be achieved without them or against them, just as nothing can be achieved without the Serbs or against the Serbs, without the Croatians or against the Croatians, and so on.

Chauvinism and nationalism, murders, jailings and the policy of violence have brought benefit to no one. This has been shown by the tragic events in Kosova, which our entire people have denounced and resolutely condemned, just as world

public opinion has done. Those in Belgrade were very quick to drink the champagne to the victory over the Albanians! However, the Albanians are not intimidated and international relations are not improved by this chauvinist delirium. The six-hundredth anniversary of the battle of Kosova Plain can be celebrated noisily, with a clear tendency to flatter Great Serb nationalism. However, national hatred and oppression can never become the pillar and basis on which a multinational State can stand and live.

The peoples of Yugoslavia fought heroically and shed their blood in torrents not only to drive out the foreign invaders, but also to get rid of the hegemony of the Karageorgevic. It would be a great misfortune if they were to return to that Yugoslavia which has been rightly described as a prison of peoples.

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