

Panorama 1984

Excerpts from the Political Diary and other documents on Albanian – Greek Relations, 1941-1984, Tirana 1985, “Two friendly peoples” (pages 431 - 444)
December 30, 1984

This is one of the last writings before Comrade Enver Hoxha died ...

Enver Hoxha:

“... what I want to touch on in this brief panorama of 1984 is the general situation and various developments in the international political situation, which exert their influence on our country, too.

In the foreign policy, our country continued the line laid down at the 8th Congress of our Party: unrelenting and continuous struggle against imperialism, and first of all, against the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and their harmful policy towards other peoples, support for the Marxist-Leninist forces, progressive movements and the struggles of different peoples for national and social liberation”.

This is the second and last day of 1984.

For us 1984 was the year of the glorious jubilee, the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our Homeland and the triumph of the people` s revolution; a year of new victories in the construction of socialism, in increasing the prosperity of the people, in strengthening the defence and raising the authority of our country in the international arena. Of course, during this year we have also had to face and get over objective difficulties and obstacles such as the great drought which went on longer than in any other year, and besides this, there were also difficulties and shortcomings for subjective reasons, linked with questions of organization, discipline, etc. But what I want to touch on in this brief panorama of 1984 is the general situation and various developments in the international political situation, which exert their influence on our country, too.

In the foreign policy, our country continued the line laid down at the 8th Congress of our party: unrelenting and continuous struggle against imperialism, and first of all, against the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, and their harmful policy towards other peoples, support for the Marxist-Leninist forces, progressive movements and the struggles of different peoples for national and social liberation. In a word, support for the class struggles, and collaboration with neighbouring countries on the basis of mutual benefit, non-interference in one other`s internal affairs and respect for national sovereignty. Likewise, also with the other countries which want to have good relations with our country. With the revisionist countries – co-operation in the field of commercial exchanges without any ideological and political concessions or compromise.

Thanks to the correct policy of our country and the goodwill of the Greek government, improvements have occurred in our relations with neighbouring Greece, some agreements of mutual benefit, which, I think, will open the way to the strengthening of relations and the ancient friendship between our two peoples, were concluded. Our relations with Italy proceeded somewhat better, although there are possibilities to do more in this direction. We have good relations with Turkey and likewise with some countries of Western Europe, with various Arab and African countries etc.

During 1984, apart from the plots and the usual sabotage actions of the imperialist superpowers, we have had to withstand not only the attacks and the anti-Albanian acts of the Great-Serb chauvinists, but also those of Greek reaction and mainly of Greek bishops and the Vorio-Epirote chauvinist

circles, who have left no stone unturned to poison relations and hinder the rapprochement between Greece and our country. The Pope of the Vatican, the Pole Wojtyla, has also taken part in the campaign of slanders and attacks against our country and people, and the building of socialism in Albania. It is not difficult to see in this a secret co-ordination with evil intentions between reactionary forces of Great-Serb chauvinism, the Greek fascists and the centre of international obscurantism, the Vatican. But we are accustomed to these slanders, attacks and plots. We know them, have coped with them and smashed them mercilessly. And this is what will occur in the future, too.

World capitalism calls Albania an “anachronism” because it is a country which stands up to and opposes the intrigues, sabotage and lies of imperialism and revisionism. We care nothing for their economic and military potential.

We are optimistic, because we are Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

Our foreign policy, our stands, analyses and conclusions about various international events have completely justified themselves. Life itself, the development of events round about us and throughout the world have proved us right and not our opponents and enemies.

But let me return to the positive developments which occurred in our relations with Greece, which had great repercussions on international public opinion.

I want to point out from the outset that what has been achieved, and of course, with goodwill, must be carried further with the revoking of the absurd law on the state of war with our country by the Greek government, is a result of the consistent stand of our country based on the principles of our foreign policy for good neighbourly relations with all the countries around us, on the basis of mutual benefit, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and without ideological or political concessions. As soon as we announce an official visit to Italy, to Greece, to Turkey, or somewhere else, indeed even when we send athletes to take part in some international contest, as occurred in the case of the International Athletic Meeting in Nice of France, the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda usually sets up a clamour about the “opening up” of Albania towards the West. Now they are continuing to blow this broken trumpet.

How greatly mistaken are those who are permanently wrong in connection with our decided and clear-cut policy. We have followed this policy which we are following today from the founding of our People's Republic. We have always been for rapprochement and understanding with our neighbours. It is the others who have not shown understanding or have responded hesitantly to our policy of good neighbourly relations, because, as our people say, “they have had the devil in their bellies”. Thus, whenever the lofty interests of our Homeland have required we have been in favour of such “opening up” and we will remain in favour of it in the future, but we will not be for “integration”, “the selling out of the freedom and assets of the Homeland”, or “links and alliances” with aggressive political-military groupings of either superpower. Let nobody deceive himself about this.

There is propaganda that we have been obliged to undertake this “opening-up” because of our internal needs, to get over the difficulties which emerged for us after our “breaking away” from China and to acquire modern technology. Such allegations are fairy tales. First of all, it is not true that we “broke away” from China. No. It was the Chinese revisionist and capitalist leaders who undertook anti-Albanian actions and unilaterally breached the agreements on economic cooperation with our country and they did this because we tried to convince them that they were applying a counter-revolutionary foreign policy and sliding ever more deeply into reprehensible actions and alliances with American imperialism. And we knew what the consequences of such a stand by our

Party and country towards China might be, hence we were aware that we would have economic consequences, just as we had when we denounced the treacherous actions of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Therefore, we had taken the necessary measures.

We did not begin to trade with other countries this year or last year, but we have done so since the time we founded our new state. This trade has been based on the principles of mutual benefit, “I supply you - you supply me”, without credits or debts conditioned with political concessions, excluding here the period when we thought that the Yugoslavs and Soviets, and later the Chinese, were our friends, and as internationalists and socialist countries had the duty to assist us, as the small country we were, and we accepted credits determined to repay them in full, which we did in fact, and today we have no debts to anyone. On the contrary, they are indebted to us, because with their actions they behaved like betrayers, revisionists of Marxism-Leninism, and sabotaged and damaged our economy. Their credits represented a very small percentage in the economic and financial potential of our country. Hence, we have been and are for balanced trade exchanges without any political obligations, without at any moment or in any circumstances putting up for auction, the lofty national interests of the country, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

Now, as I said, they are bringing up the improvement of our relations with Greece as an example of our “opening up” towards the West. It depends on how and from what standpoints this question is looked at, or from what position and for what aims it is commented on, because the improvement of our relations with Greece was done at certain moments and in given political circumstances which are created by unforeseen factors or come as a result of previous actions on the basis of the given Strategy. Our country, too, has its strategy and tactics in its foreign policy. They have been defined and publicly proclaimed at the various congresses of the Party.

In the concrete instance of our relations with Greece, we have always been in favour, indeed, we have sought and have waited patiently for the establishment of good neighbourly relations with that country, because such a thing is in the interests of our two peoples. Now, when the Yugoslav chauvinists, who are inveterate anti-Albanians, in unison with imperialism, international reaction and every other fascist force, are leaving no stone un-thrown against socialist Albania, leaving no plot unhatched in order to hinder our constructive work, we were obliged to and took the necessary defensive measures. We were not going to allow the Titoites to act as they liked with our rights, to try to isolate us, to sabotage us as they did even by holding up our trucks which were transporting goods to the markets of Western Europe, and so on. So, in these circumstances we discussed and reached an agreement with the Italian government on the establishment of the ferry line for the transport of our goods to the countries with which we have agreements; we talked and achieved positive results with the Greek government about the signing of a number of agreements of mutual benefit; we decided on the opening of the border point of Kakavia, as a friendly gesture, etc. The lofty interests of our Homeland called for these measures and we took them without permitting any concession or making any compromise to the detriment of our ideology and policy and without any infringements or interference at all in the internal affairs of others.

During this year the Greek reactionary forces, the representatives of the Orthodox-Church, the Vorio-Epirote reactionary circles and their supporters, the American imperialists, caused us worries. They exerted pressure, organized provocations, going so far as the blowing up of vehicles of our embassy in Athens and threatening demonstrations in front of it under the pretext that the Greek minority in Albania were being badly treated, etc. At these grave moments, certain circles, including the Titoites, hoped that we would fall into the trap of reaction, that is, would break off diplomatic relations with that country. But we did not fall into this trap. We knew that such situations were temporary, that they expressed the confusion and defeat of reactionary anti-Albanian forces, both Greek and foreign. They were not and could not be the work of the friendly Greek people, together with whom we have fought more than once for the same aims. And we were not mistaken. After all

this furious storm came the calm days when the Greek government itself took the first steps for correct relations, for rapprochement and good neighbourliness. On this basis and in joint agreement these results which I mentioned above were achieved. All this was in the interest of the Greek people and in the interests of our people.

Positive for us is the fact that the Greek reactionary forces, the bishops, the most reactionary representatives of the Vorio-Epirote circles, and their supporters and backers in the USA were isolated, the honest and progressive Greeks rejoice. The Yugoslav Titoites, who encouraged and expected outbursts between Greece and Albania, were isolated and suffered fiasco; their propaganda in the international arena, "Albania is opposed to peace and represents the warmongering country in the Balkans", etc., suffered complete defeat.

Now the Greek press is writing that the slanders of reactionary circles about the mistreatment and lack of rights of the Greek minority in Albania are without foundation, and that the Greek minority in our country lives in normal conditions, enjoys all constitutional rights, is happy, etc. Neither do we forget the lessons of the bitter history of our country. More than once in the past the bourgeoisie, the reactionary chauvinist and fascist groupings of neighbouring countries have collaborated for the partitioning of Albania in spheres of influence and have clashed when one of them has attempted to violate "the joint secret agreement about Albania". Although many years have passed since that time and Albania is no longer what it was and does not allow anyone to "interest himself" in its fate, the policy of these reactionary circles towards socialist Albania has not undergone any great alteration.

We also notice that our policy of good neighbourly relations with mutual benefits towards this or that country arouses jealousy and anger in this bourgeoisie and these reactionary circles, as though Albania was their "domain". The Yugoslav chauvinists are displaying such astonishing jealousy and anger over the further improvement of our relations with Greece and Italy and the strengthening of our relations with a number of European countries, the countries of the Arab world, and so on. Why is this surprising to them? This is their own affair. Why are they disturbed? We have not consulted, do not consult and never will consult Belgrade or any other capital for that matter, about what we do or what we intend to do in the interests of our country and our socialist Homeland.

Once again they are nurturing and propagating vain hopes, as they did when we put the Khrushchevites and the Chinese revisionists in their place, that the day has come for "someone else" to plant his feet in Albania, for Albania to fall under the control and influence of the Americans or the Soviets, the French, the British or the Germans, not through force, but through "kindly" offers "on favourable terms" to assist us to "progress", to enable us to "correct" and "modernize" our industry and economy, and so on and so forth. We have no need for that kind of "modernization" about which Tito and the Yugoslav Titoites boasted so loudly, for that which the Chinese revisionists talk about now, or the bourgeoisie and the other revisionists suggest, modernization through credits, through strangling debts accompanied with humiliating and enslaving conditions.

We will never place such chains around the necks of our people. Today we have built up an advanced economy capable of marching ahead with its own forces, hence, capable of being modernized and equipped with advanced technology from its own quality which are required all over the world.

The question of Albania and its future is discussed also among the leading circles of NATO and Warsaw Treaty. Both of these groups, time after time urge this or that country to offer us "sincere aid" to emerge from the difficult situation. They are pitying the rider because his legs hang down.

We tell all short-sighted dreamers bluntly that neither one nor the other, neither the Soviet social-imperialists nor the American imperialists, or anyone else can ever again plant their feet on Albanian territory, will ever again gain the right to have bases or military concentrations here. We have our experience with foreign military bases. For as long as the Soviet military base in our country, established in the framework of the erstwhile socialist camp, had purposes of defence, we accepted it, but when Khrushchevite revisionism bared its aggressive imperialist teeth we denounced it and got rid of it. In this case we performed our internationalist duty. It behoves the neighbouring peoples to act against the foreign military bases which they have on their territories and which are directed against neighbouring peoples and countries, otherwise they themselves face great dangers.

Their direct and indirect pressures, as well as those which they may be, no longer have any effect. We are afraid of no one, we are a threat to no one, and likewise, we allow no one to threaten us, but we have demanded our rights, will go on demanding them and will defend them to the end. We have been patient, but we brought us death and devastation during the Second World War, who caused us material damage, must answer for this materially. Those who are keeping our stolen gold must return it to us. The enemies of socialist Albania and its ancient, heroic and indomitable people are wearying themselves in vain waiting for such an “opening up” which would lead to our falling into their clutches.

We shall forge ahead. We do not deny that we have difficulties. They are difficulties of growth, but also linked with the obstacles which the imperialist, the social-imperialists, the revisionists and the chauvinists and reactionary forces of all hues place in our way. However, now we are accustomed to this state of affairs. We have achieved our victories which have become the basis for our further advance with our own forces, with our own assets, with the sweat and knowledge of our own sons and daughters. And this is how we will advance in the future, too, because today we are stronger and have more experience than in the past, we are always on the up and up, we have our glorious Party, which leads us with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and determination, we have our working class, a sound intelligentsia, a healthy, revolutionary youth, we have a marvellous people. Full of optimism, we are preparing the 8th Five-year Plan of our economic and cultural development which, precisely because of the conditions in which we live and work, is based entirely on our internal material, financial and human resources. Albania has chosen its own course and nothing, no force, neither the blandishments and promises, nor the pressures and plots of superpowers and their allies and vassals can turn it from this course