The Three Principal Enemies

In his statement at the UN General Assembly in October 1979 Foreign Minister N. Nase of Albania summed up the view taken of the world situation by the makers of Albanian foreign policy:

the world situation is very complex and fraught with great dangers. This is the result of the intensification of the expansionist and hegemonistic policy pursued by the superpowers and their efforts to exercise their dictates, their arbitrariness and their interference in the internal affairs of all countries . . . The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union for domination and hegemony in the world has been and remains the main source of tension and conflict between different countries, as well as local wars, and is the greatest danger to the peace and security of the peoples . . . In the shadow of and in collaboration with the United States, social-imperialist China is seeking to create spheres of domination, to become the principal military power in that zone [the Far East], to establish its domination in Asia and throughout the Pacific. ¹

The above assertions contain the most enduring and the newest elements of Albanian foreign policy. The most enduring element of Albanian foreign policy, and at the same time its greatest fault,
is that for about twenty years now it has lumped together US imperialism and the main force of socialism and peace, namely the Soviet Union. Accordingly the manifestations of Albanian foreign policy make no distinction between the blocs of alliances of the two world systems — between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, as well as between the EEC and the CMEA. Albanian foreign policy position statements also emphasise that Albania is not willing to establish diplomatic relations with either the United States or the Soviet Union.

The most important new element of Albanian foreign policy is that is has also put its earlier ‘great ally’, China (now described as ‘social-imperialist’ like the Soviet Union) in the same class as its two principle enemies.

**The Albanian–Chinese Differences**

Considering that the break between Albania and China is a recent event and marks the end of an era in Albanian foreign policy, it is appropriate here to deal in greater detail with its antecedents, causes and consequences. As is well known, it was in collaboration with China and the Communist Party of China that from 1961 onwards Albania waged its struggle against the majority of the international working-class movement and its main force, the Soviet Union, and its allies. In this struggle Albanian and Chinese leaders were united by their rejection of the corrective ideas formulated at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: condemnation of the criticism of the personality cult, denial of peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems, as well as rejection of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. The Albanian leaders qualified as ‘revisionist’ the countries and parties which had accepted the principles endorsed at the Twentieth Congress and asserted that ‘capitalism was restored’ in those countries. Albania suspended its participation in the CMEA and withdrew from the Warsaw Treaty. It broke off all relations with the Soviet Union and reduced to a minimum its contacts with the other countries it considered ‘revisionist’.

In Albanian–Chinese relations which had seemed undisturbed in the 1960s increasing troubles cropped up from the early 1970s onwards. The root cause of this was that the Albanian leadership