

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

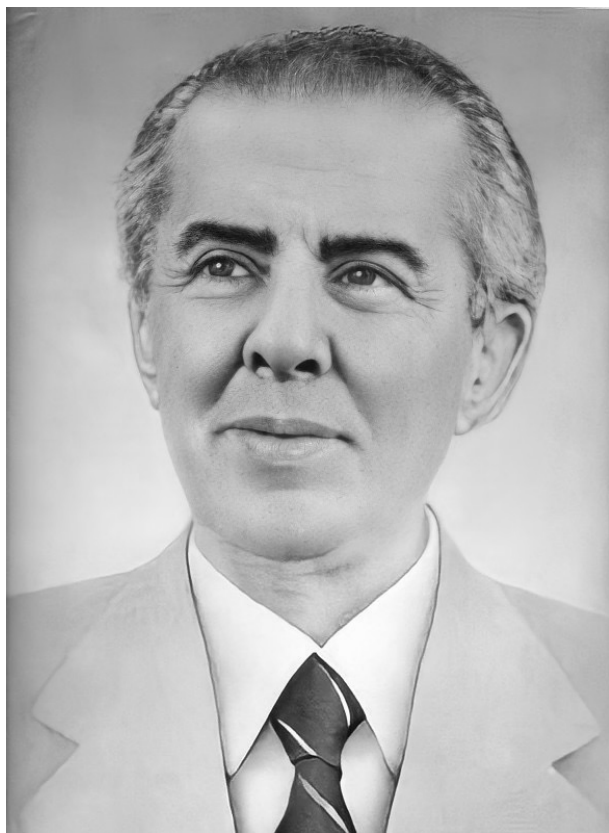
**ENVER HOXHA**

***PALESTINE  
BELONGS TO  
PALESTINIANS***

*Conversations, reflections and articles*

### ***Publisher's Note***

*Palestine Belongs to the Palestinians* is composed of selections from Comrade Enver Hoxha's works in *Reflections on the Middle East, Speeches, Conversations and Articles: 1969-1970* and *Selected Works* (vols. 4-6). Excerpts are denoted with ellipses.



**ENVER HOXHA**



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# **“AL-FATAH” MUST NOT FALL INTO THE TRAP OF THE SOVIETS**

**January 16, 1970**

The struggle of the Arab peoples against Israel has been reduced simply to the partisan war which the Palestinians are waging against the occupiers of their homeland. The others, you might say, are only talking, delivering “fiery” discourses, holding conferences and meetings at every level, taking and rescinding decisions, but Israel and the United States of America learn what they decide immediately and thus everything is nipped in the bud.

Israel is poised over the Arab countries like a hawk: the Arabs kill one Israeli, the Israelis kill twenty in reprisal, the Arabs damage one Israeli aircraft, the Israelis burn 50 aircraft on the ground, the Arabs capture one Israeli border guard, the Israelis capture twenty-two Arabs on the following day. A 7-ton modern Soviet radar locator on the shores of the Suez Canal was dismantled, loaded into helicopters and taken to Tel-Aviv.

Nasser has placed himself under the orders of the Soviets just as the kings and heads of state of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, etc. are under the order of the British and the Americans. Hence, the only ones who are really fighting in the Arab world are the Palestinian partisans. They have become dangerous to all, therefore some want to fight and exterminate them, while others want to get them into their

clutches. The Nasser group is smiling at them but wants to run them, because by means of them it wants to show that it is fighting, but it also wants to dominate them because they may upset the opportunist deals which that group is making. The Soviets, who work to extinguish national liberation revolutionary wars, want to get tight control of "Al-Fatah" and the other Palestinian partisan groupings, and direct them, in the interests of their imperialist policy as they are doing in Egypt. This is what occurs wherever national liberation wars are being waged: when the aggressors are being smashed and defeated and the peoples are triumphing, the Soviet revisionist intervene with demagoguery, promise alleged supplies of arms and other aid, but they do this to extinguish the war, to ensure that the victory is lost and to rescue the aggressors. This is what the Soviets are doing now with "Al-Fatah." Allegedly they are on the side of the Palestinians, allegedly they want to help them, but without doubt they want to dig their grave. We must expose them in this anti-Palestinian activity. "Al-Fatah" must never fall into their trap.

# THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IS INVINCIBLE

January 20, 1970

I re-read the article, "The Armed Struggle of the Palestinian People Is Invincible." I added a paragraph in which I pointed out that, while providing some weapons, the Soviet revisionists, among other things, will try to take over the leadership of the Palestinian national liberation war, because the arms will be supplied on conditions and these conditions will be accompanied with their "advisers," "specialists," spies and saboteurs. The article will be published tomorrow in "Zëri i popullit."\*

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\* "Zëri i popullit," January 21, 1970. See p. 4 of this book.

# THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IS INVINCIBLE

*Article published in the newspaper  
"Zëri i popullit"*

**January 21, 1970**

The brilliant victories achieved by the Palestinian resistance in the struggle against the Israeli occupiers mark the emergence of an entirely new and decisive factor in the reality of the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict. We refer to the affirmation of the cause of the Palestinian nation, which, after the June war in 1967, in a completely autonomous manner, imposed recognition of its individuality and strength on the whole world.

It is true that "the Palestinian problem" has existed from the first day of the creation of the state of Israel, but up to recently, the big imperialist powers, taking advantage of the confusion and divisions in the Arab world, had succeeded in pushing it aside and treating it only as a problem of refugees who have to be given "assistance" and "settled" so that they forget their own homeland and their national identity. The imperialist powers sought to strengthen the state of Israel at all costs in order to have it as a gendarme to protect their interests in the Middle East and to divide the Arab countries, with the aim of exploiting their difficulties later for colonial penetration and domination in this zone. Innumerable

resolutions, drafts, suggestions and schemes for mediations, etc., have been adopted and undertaken in the name of UNO by the great powers which manipulate and lead that organization. But in all these “documents” and “plans,” the Palestinian question as a national question, as a major problem of the Middle East, separate from the general Arab-Israeli conflict, is missing. This “oversight” can be seen in the notorious UNO resolution of November 22, 1967, manipulated by the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, which the Palestinian people, quite correctly, have rejected as totally unacceptable.

All this shows clearly that the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are deeply involved in the Middle East conflict and have pretensions to place themselves in the position of the “international arbiter,” do not want the settlement of the Palestinian national problem, but, on the contrary, are doing everything to prevent it. It is not difficult to explain their stand. Both of them want to protect their own imperialist interests in this region, to extend them and to create favourable conditions for the further intensification of their expansionist and hegemonic plans.

Settlement of the Palestinian national question would certainly affect Israel, which the United States of America incites and employs as a tool for the realization of its hostile plans against the Arab countries and as the main support base for its imperialist penetration in the Middle East, while for the Soviet revisionists it would mean the elimination

of the grave and complicated situation created in that zone, which they are exploiting for their hegemonic aims. The calculations of the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique are based on the permanent threat of Israel to the Arab countries, on the hope that need will drive the Arab countries to turn to Moscow and accept the conditions it dictates. The only thing the two imperialist powers really want to achieve is to extinguish the legitimate anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle of the Arab peoples, especially the national liberation war of the Palestinian people, to maintain the tense situation and to exploit the tragedy of the Arab peoples in order to plunder the natural wealth and utilize the strategic positions of the Middle East.

Now, however, the Palestinian people's partisan war has terrified both the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. Now they are facing the fact that they can no longer keep silent about it, but neither can they defeat it. Although Israel is armed to the teeth with the most modern means by all international reaction, it is being shaken and defeated more and more each day by the liberation struggle which the valiant Palestinian partisans have launched all over the country. There is no doubt that the crisis which has gripped the state of Israel will become even deeper in the future. The fact is that despite the efforts that have been made to discredit and suppress it, the Palestinian resistance has steadily mounted and developed, dealing crushing blows to the whole imperialist and revisionist policy in



the Middle East and defeating the manoeuvres and intrigues of this policy up to date. The growth of the Palestinian resistance into an organized national liberation war, with a clear program which responds to the national interests of the Palestinian people and which is closely linked with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples, shows that the countries of the Middle East are now fully capable of coping successfully both with the force of arms of foreign invaders and with the diplomatic manoeuvres of imperialists and revisionists.

Nevertheless, it should not be thought that all the dangers which are threatening the Arab peoples, and the Palestinian people in particular, have been eliminated or even reduced. The imperialists and revisionists possess colossal means, and they know how to manoeuvre and to exploit any uncertainty or wavering. They will never give up their aim of forcing the Arab countries to capitulate, and especially their aim of wiping out the Palestinian armed forces and burying the Palestinian national problem once and for all. The resolutions of UNO and its plans for mediation, which are simply the fruit of the anti-Arab plot of the American and Soviet governments, or the bilateral and four-party talks which they organize allegedly to achieve a "political settlement" of the problem of the Middle East, serve these aims.

An especially great danger for the anti-imperialist and liberation struggle of the Arab peoples is presented by the Soviet revision-

ists, who pose as their friends, while in reality they are their enemies, no less ferocious and cunning than the American imperialists. Their hostility to the Arab cause has always existed, at all times and in every stage of the long Arab-Israeli conflict. It has been displayed especially against the armed struggle and the national cause of the Palestinian people. Up until now, the Soviet revisionists have maintained a dead silence about the Palestinian national problem as though it did not exist at all, as if it were not a constituent part of a major international problem about which they claim they are greatly "worried," because they are allegedly champions of the rights of peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence. Moreover, they have opposed the armed struggle of the Palestinian people with every means they possess, describing it, in chorus with the imperialist propaganda, as "terrorist actions," "provocations," "negative extremist acts," etc. The chiefs of Moscow have tried in particular to create distrust towards the Palestinian resistance in the Arab countries, by suggesting that with its fighting actions against Israel it is allegedly hindering the settlement of the conflict, inciting the Zionists to undertake reprisals, etc. They have been doing the same job as American imperialism which wants to impose a separate peace with Israel on the individual Arab countries, on condition that they prohibit the activity of the Palestinian partisans in their territories.

Now that the armed struggle of the Palestinian people has not been quelled, but has

been further extended, becoming a decisive factor in the Middle East, the rulers of the Kremlin have changed their tactics. Recently, a one hundred and eighty degree turn has been seen in the Soviet revisionist press and the statements of the revisionist leaders. With unprecedented hypocrisy and demagoguery, they are claiming that they “support” the Palestinian armed struggle and are ready to “assist” it. It is self-evident that they mean neither support nor assistance. Their objective in the new existing situation is to harness the Palestinian armed forces to their chariot, to deceive and exploit them. By providing a few weapons, they are trying to get control of the Palestinian national liberation war, to keep it within the framework which suits their hegemonic interests and the circumstances which arise in their collaboration and competition with American imperialism. It is part of the nature of the revisionists and their savage methods to make their supplies of arms dependent on their conditions, so that along with them they demand to send “advisers,” “experts,” spies, saboteurs, etc., to the recipient country through whom to achieve their aims. If they manage to shackle the Palestinian resistance, they will seek to use it later as a means of barter in their dirty deals with American imperialism in the Middle East and other zones of the world.

The thing that all the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries fear most is people’s partisan war. When they do not succeed with pressure, threats and other means

of intimidation, they try to hinder and extinguish it with demagoguery and deception. This is what the Soviet revisionists are trying to do now with the Palestinian national liberation movement.

The Palestinian people, who are fighting for a just cause and who, during the last 20 years, experienced to their cost all the frauds, hypocrisy, lies and slanders of the big imperialist powers, cannot fail to understand that the hand which the Soviet revisionists are holding out to them today is a hand which wants to grab them by the throat and strangle them. They cannot fail to understand that the chiefs who are ruling in Moscow today are the allies of the American imperialists, who for their own imperialist interests, are ready to sacrifice the supreme interests of any people, including those of the Palestinian people. If the Soviet revisionists have now been obliged to "recognize" the armed struggle of the Palestinian people, this is because the heroic fight of the partisans, the men and women of Palestine, has imposed this on them. Likewise, it is this struggle which will bring about the failure of the revisionists' new intrigues, their efforts to sabotage the Palestinian resistance from within and to transform it into an appendage of their hegemonic and enslaving policy.

The Albanian people, who are in solidarity with and warmly support the fraternal Palestinian people, are fully convinced that their people's partisan war will triumph over their many imperialist and Zionist enemies and make dust and ashes of all the intrigues and

plots which they hatch up to leave the Palestinian people without a homeland and in perpetual slavery.

## **THE REVISIONISTS ARE INFILTRATING INTO THE RANKS OF "AL-FATAH"**

**February 10, 1970**

The Soviet revisionists are infiltrating into the "Al-Fatah" movement of fighters for the National Liberation of Palestine, too. Yesterday, Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian organization "Al-Fatah," went to Moscow at the head of a delegation, to seek aid in weapons, as the leaders of this organization inform us through our ambassadors. These leaders tell our ambassadors that they know the Soviets and their aims, and that they will be vigilant: This is just talk. If they begin to make deals with the Soviet revisionists, this is the beginning of the end of the partisan war of the Palestinians. The Soviet revisionists will not fail to supply them with some weapons, but by means of them they will dominate the Palestinians and lead them towards capitulation, as they are doing with the leaders of those Arab countries which have become pawns in their game.

## **OUR CORRECT POLICY ON THE MIDDLE EAST MUST CONTINUE**

**July 28, 1970**

I gave instructions about our stand in connection with the beginning of the compromise between Nasser and the Americans over peace with Israel. Our propaganda work must continue in defence of our earlier theses for the exposure of the "Rogers Plan" and the Soviet-American plot, and to defend the liberation war of the Palestinian people for their rights. We must portray the conflict between Egypt and the other Arab countries as it is.

# **WE HAVE SYMPATHY AND RESPECT FOR THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE**

**July 29, 1970**

A delegation of "Al-Fatah," Movement for the National Liberation of Palestine, is coming to our country these days for an official visit. Yasser Arafat personally asked our embassy in Cairo for permission to send a delegation.

We have sympathy and respect for the Arab people of Palestine, because they are a brave people who are suffering. At the moment they are the only Arab people who are fighting all round the borders of Israel, while some Arab leaders, from those of Egypt to those of Lebanon, are merely talking, holding conferences, preparing... for compromises, etc.

The Palestinians, expelled from their land by the British colonialist government and from UNO in favour of Israel, are living in tents, in great hardship, in camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and elsewhere. The latest Israeli aggression increased the number of Palestinian refugees, so the only road of salvation left to them was that of the partisan war. And they began it, attacking the Israeli aggressors from outside, from Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, and from inside, in the territory occupied by Israel. Thus, thanks to the struggle of the Palestinians, the Palestinian question has become an important national and international issue,



which both the friends and the enemies of the Palestinian people are compelled to bear in mind and cannot fail to take into account.

Despite its nationalist tendencies, the "Al-Fatah" organization is progressive and democratic and the biggest and most powerful organization which, at the moment, has a correct line of struggle for the liberation of Palestine and the defeat of the anti-Arab, annexationist policy of the state of Israel, concocted by international Zionism and supported by the imperialists. This organization is not against the masses of the Jewish population whom, in its program, it accepts as citizens of the new Arab state of Palestine.

However, although the representatives of the feudal bourgeois cliques ruling in some Arab countries pose as pro the Palestinians' struggle, they do not look kindly on this movement of resistance and, since they are unable to liquidate it, want to have it under control. The resistance of the Palestinians has become a serious political and military obstacle, which these cliques are obliged to take into account.

The King of Jordan, an agent of the British and the Americans, has made two or three attempts to liquidate the Palestinian partisans, who are stronger than this sold-out king. At these dangerous moments for the Palestinian guerrillas they ought to fight him to the end, to unite with the people of Jordan, in order to continue the war against Israel and American imperialism.

The Soviets and the Americans are making the law in the Middle East. The Egyptian

leadership has fallen completely under the influence of the Soviets. Hussein of Jordan is a dyed-in-the-wool traitor, the Syrians are posing as somewhat "concerned," while the Lebanese trim their sails to the wind.

Nasser agreed in general to discuss the "Rogers Plan," which means to enter into negotiations and compromises and, in the end, "to make the peace" so greatly desired by Israel, in favour of that country and its American patron and in disfavour of the Arab peoples, especially the Palestinian people, against whom the savage attacks of the gendarmes of the ruling cliques sold out to foreigners, will commence later. With the signing of the "peace" the Soviets will turn this into a "colossal victory" for themselves. They will try to remain in Egypt and to dominate it. There is the danger that the Egyptian ports may become the ports of the Soviet Mediterranean fleet which emerged from the Black Sea. From the Mediterranean the Soviet revisionists intend to extend their colonies in Africa "in peaceful ways," in order to cross the seas and reach India. This is how they dream of achieving the empire of Alexander the Great, by conquering the peoples through the threat of arms from land and sea, through rubles and through their demagoguery of a falsified socialism.

The "Soviet-American peace" in the Middle East will be a defeat for all the Arab peoples and an especially great obstacle for the Palestinian people. This kind of "peace" is a victory for the Soviet-American imperial-

ists in general and for Israel in particular.

What will happen with the Palestinian people will be what happened with the Albanian people before the First World War. As is known, at that time large parts of Albania were divided by the imperialists of Europe among Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. And after they had thoroughly dismembered our Homeland at the Conference of London and through secret treaties, the Tsar's Minister, Sazonov, in order to satisfy the appetite of Prince Nikola of Montenegro demanded that the city of Shkodra be handed over to the latter. On this occasion, one of the other wolves, the representative of French imperialism, said something which went down in history: "Sazonov wants to set fire to Europe to fry an omelette for Montenegro."

The enemies of the Arab peoples, the American imperialists and Soviet revisionists, will act and speak in a similar way when it comes to the question of the territorial rights of the heroic Palestinian people.

Only the armed struggle through to victory settles accounts with the wolves who attack peoples.

# MEETING WITH THE “AL-FATAH” DELEGATION

August 3, 1970

Today I received the delegation of the “Al-Fatah” Movement for the National Liberation of Palestine.\*

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\* The delegation was headed by a member of the Supreme Central Committee of the “Al-Fatah” Movement and member of the general leadership of the “Al-Assifa” forces, Abu Jihad. See p. 19 of this book.

**DIFFICULTIES ARE OVERCOME  
AND VICTORY IS ACHIEVED  
ONLY WITH A CORRECT  
POLITICAL LINE AND  
SOUND UNITY**

*From the talk with a delegation of the  
"Al-Fatah" Movement for the National  
Liberation of Palestine*

**August 3, 1970**

We are very happy that you, our Palestinian brothers, have come for a visit to our country. When we heard that your delegation was to come to Albania we were immensely pleased. The coming of friends from Palestine is bound to please the Albanian people, because they wholeheartedly love the Arab peoples and the fighting Palestinian people in particular. I say the Palestinian people in particular, because your situation is worse than that of the other Arab peoples, your difficulties and sufferings are not over and continue to be greater than the sufferings of all the other Arab peoples.

The Arab peoples are honest, generous and sincere and, as history tells us, their struggles have been bitter and, generally speaking, they have always fought heroically. They are revolutionary and have fighting traditions.

The Arab peoples have not only fighting traditions, but also cultural traditions. Becoming acquainted with the cultural achievements of other countries in ancient times, they

set out on the road of knowledge and progress and since that time have made their recognized contribution to the further development of world culture. Through Arab scholars the world became acquainted with many philosophical, literary and scientific works of Greek and Roman antiquity, with the ideas of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, etc., translated into the Arabic language. Great thinkers and philosophers, renowned poets and historians, outstanding doctors and scientists have emerged from the ranks of the Arab peoples. All these great fighting and cultural traditions have been handed down from generation to generation among your peoples.

However, there are governments and states which degenerate, just as there are persons who degenerate. You know the history of your peoples better than we do, therefore you know that the Arab empire, which had extended over great domains, from the borders of China to Spain, degenerated because the chiefs and the wealthy degenerated, while the people always remained strong. Since that time, many of the Arab peoples have gone through great difficulties which came about because their lands, regardless of the fact that they mostly belonged to the wealthy, being very fertile, attracted the greed of perfidious enemies who gradually invaded your countries. Thus, over a long period, the imperialists managed to enslave your peoples. However, thanks to the wars they waged, many of the Arab peoples won their freedom, but the difficulties have not ended for them and especially for you, Pal-

estinian brothers.

We understand your difficult situation very well and we are completely with you in spirit. We have followed the struggle of the Palestinian people and will continue to follow and support it with all our might, and we consider that we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with you. We tell you this with the greatest sincerity, without any ulterior motive. We never say anything about our friends behind their backs.

You are representatives of the "Al-Fatah" organization, the political orientation of which we know in general. Although we are Marxist-Leninists, and irrespective of the fact that there are differences in our ideological views, we support the orientations of your organization, because you have made the armed struggle to the end for the liberation of your homeland and the Palestinian people the fundamental task of the program of your movement and, therefore, you may rest assured that you will always have the Albanian Marxist-Leninists among your most sincere friends.

Like you, we too, have some experience from our National Liberation War. When we started the war, obviously, all the masses did not hurl themselves into the fight right at the beginning. In our country, as everywhere else, in the ranks of the people there were the poor, the middle strata and also the wealthy. We decided to encourage, to open perspectives to and rely on the poor strata of the people, because they are the foundation of the victory. In Albania, the main aspiration of the masses

of the poor peasantry, who comprised the majority of the population, was the land. In our conditions, whoever possessed the land guided the destiny of the Homeland, therefore we told the people that the land should belong to him who tilled it, and one of the first things we would do after the victory was to give the land to the peasants. Through the centuries they had fought for the land, but they had never realized their dream. That is why when we came out with the slogan, "The land to those who till it," at first the peasants did not believe that they would really become owners of the land.

From the beginning of the fight many of our fine comrades were killed, but their sacrifice gradually aroused the trust and confidence of our peasants that the National Liberation War, which was led by the sons of the people, would truly secure them the land. And thus the peasants began to join us. I think that you, too, are quite correct in making the question of the land one of the main questions in the program of your struggle. Since you have risen and are fighting for the liberation of your homeland, you must fight with unwavering determination to carry this great cause through to the end.

In our country there were also wealthy people and honest nationalists, who were against the occupiers. In these circumstances we had to differentiate among them. Those who had some wealth and were against fascism, we invited to join us. At first, many of them had doubts and did not come close to



us immediately, but later, when their sons and daughters joined our ranks, they, too, were convinced and were won over to us, to the point that the homes of some of them became our bases. So true is this that I myself, the General Secretary of the Party, was sometimes sheltered in the homes of these people, although the enemies who had sentenced me to death were searching for me everywhere. Of course, on many problems we could not have the same opinions as those who were wealthy, but some of them, who had patriotic feelings and saw that the Albanian communists were honest people and that their sons and daughters were with us, could not but sympathize with our struggle.

We clearly explained the aims of the war to the honest nationalists who came from the wealthy strata of the population. We explained that it was not possible for them, either, to live with the foreign fascists who had occupied our country and who aimed to enslave Albania more and more and were in fact doing so. With the patriots, not organized in parties, of the poor and middle strata, of various anti-fascist currents of town and countryside, we created the National Liberation Front. Even nationalists, who were against the communists at first, united with this organization later, after patient work to explain things to them, and the majority of them became fighters and our allies. Some of them were even elected to the leading forums, right up to the Anti-fascist National Liberation General Council, where they fought and worked in the most honour-

able way and after Liberation became defenders and supporters of the Agrarian Reform and other socio-economic transformations of the country.

However, there were also other nationalists who, in fact, were pseudo-patriots, like a certain Abaz Kupi, who, when it came to acting concretely, would not fight against the occupiers. Then we took a clear-cut stand towards them and told them we could not continue the alliance with them, since they were not fighting shoulder to shoulder with the people and with us against the German occupiers. This they did not do and could not have done, because in reality, they had links with the German nazis, as we discovered later. We thoroughly exposed every stand of theirs which was not compatible with our line and uncompromising fight against the Italian and German occupiers, until they threw off their disguise and came out against the National Liberation Front, against the people, and openly joined forces with the German occupiers.

I do not know whether you have a communist party, but there may be communists working in illegality, therefore, they must fight shoulder to shoulder with you, because the "Al-Fatah" organization has a clearly defined program which is permeated by the idea of resolute struggle for the liberation of Palestine against the Zionist state of Israel, got up by imperialism. We are not acquainted with them, but we have heard that there are such communists in your country. All of you must

strive to build up unity with one another in the fight, must bandage one another's wounds, because only with the unity of all the revolutionary forces and through the armed struggle can you emerge from the grave situation of sufferings which others have brought upon you.

In a speech of one of your leaders, which I read recently, I saw that the program of your "Al-Fatah" organization is not against the Israeli people or against the Jewish religion, that you are not racists, but on the contrary are progressive people. However, quite rightly you cannot permit international Zionism to create in your country a state such as Israel, which oppresses the Palestinian people. The stand you maintain on this question is completely correct, therefore, we as Marxists agree to it, otherwise, we would not support you. I have read in some materials that there are Palestinians who have declared that they would destroy the Jews as a people. Such a view is not in any way correct. Your line is correct and that is why it is finding and is bound to find support among progressive forces everywhere. This is another reason for the Palestinian communists to be even more united like true brothers and in complete unity with you in the fight against the common enemy for the complete liberation of Palestine.

In the liberation struggle against occupiers, both the Marxist-Leninists and the honest nationalists, all the staunch fighters for the liberation of the homeland, must be clear on who their friends are and who their enemies that must be fought are. In order to fight the

enemy successfully, unity must be created, first of all among the fighters themselves, then between them and the masses of the people for whom they are fighting. And the masses, too, must know the reason for the fight so they can judge whether or not the struggle which is being carried out should be supported. If the people judge the aims of the war and evaluate them, then the fighters will become invincible. Whatever the name someone may adopt and whatever his proclamations about carrying out this or that work, in the final analysis it is the people who will evaluate these things, and this not on the basis of words, but on the basis of deeds carried out for the people. When the people see that someone is acting correctly, honourably, and making sacrifices for them, then they support him unreservedly and strengthen their unity with him. Therefore, the unity within the movement and the unity of the movement with the people are decisive factors.

It must be borne in mind that all do not understand the importance of unity and the way to achieve it in the same manner. However, unity cannot be ensured without a strong leadership at the head of the movement.

The unity within the ranks of your organization and its unity with the people, then, are major factors essential for achieving victory, in our opinion. If you have this and if you keep the correct political and military line pure, you may be sure that you will always score successes. If the opposite is the case, you will be faced with many difficulties. With the cor-

rect line and with strong unity, you will surmount every difficulty.

Your unity with that of the other fraternal Arab peoples is exceptionally important for you, too. This unity is vital to the liberation of Palestine and the conquering of your enemies, because the Palestinian people are a component part of the Arab peoples, therefore, their opinion about the liberation of your people cannot be an external factor of secondary importance, but on the contrary, is an internal factor of first-rate importance.

The genuine unity of all Arab peoples against their common enemy and for the good of all these peoples is essential, but it must be created in struggle and not with words. We Marxists can collaborate even with a minor king like Hussein of Jordan of the Hashemite dynasty (although everyone knows how much "benefit" the peoples have had from kings) if he fights for the freedom of the Arab peoples. But if Hussein tries to manoeuvre with the American imperialists against the cause of the freedom of the Arab peoples and against the freedom of the Palestinian people in particular, we cannot be in unity with him. On the contrary, we must fight him until he suffers the same fate as Feisal who came from Medina and was placed over the Iraqi people, as well as that of Nuri Said.\* From the experience of our country, we can tell you that our ex-king Ahmet Zogu, after thoroughly

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\* King Feisal II and prime minister Nuri Said were executed in 1958, when the monarchy was overthrown by a group of Iraqi officers, headed by General Kasem.

fleeing the people, when the Homeland was placed in danger, grabbed the gold like a thief and cleared out, leaving the Albanians to the mercy of the fascist aggressors. Therefore, we could not in any way be in unity with a thief and executioner of the people. Hence, unity is created in struggle and must be created only in struggle.

The international alliance with the workers and the peoples of the whole world has also great importance for the struggle of your people and the achievement of victory over the occupiers. On this question it is essential that your people utilize every possibility to know well who their friends are and who their enemies abroad are. I say this because the situation in the world is now very complicated. All peoples need to know their friends well, so that by linking themselves closely with their friends, they can cope successfully with every difficulty and trap which the enemies might prepare. However, before you can know who your true friend is, you must act according to the wise saying of the people: "Measure seven times before you cut." You must think whether the friendship of this or that country is in the interest of your people first of all. This is how we Albanians act; we always bear this principle in mind in selecting our friends. If linking with a certain country is in the interest of the people, then you should agree to become friends; if it is to the detriment of the people, then you must not establish friendship with this or that country. Someone may say that we are small and need friends, therefore bow in

allegiance and join up with him. No, we can never agree to such a friendship of subjection. Regardless of the fact that we are small, we never bow in allegiance. This is valid both for the big peoples and for the small. The only true friends are those who support you, especially when you are hard pressed, when you are in trouble. Our people have a wise saying: "You know your good friends in difficult days." Therefore, it is very important for every people to know their friends.

Generally speaking, all the peoples are your friends, while the cliques ruling in different countries and those who come into the leadership of states are not and cannot all be your friends. The American, British, French and other imperialists cannot be your friends. But besides these, now another new imperialism, Soviet imperialism, has emerged. The Soviet revisionist chiefs who pose as Marxist-Leninists, in fact, are traitors to this ideology, the only aims of which are the freedom, prosperity and happiness of the people. Therefore, they are traitors to the Soviet peoples and, at the same time, traitors to your people, to our people, to the Arab peoples, etc.

In the Arab countries there are persons who, thinking that the Soviet revisionists are "helping" them, call them friends. But we say bluntly that they are gravely mistaken. Whatever the Soviet revisionists may provide is temporary and intended to deceive you and to create the impression that they allegedly defend the peoples and their liberation wars, while on the other hand, they take measures to ensure

that this so-called aid does not go in favour of the Arabs, for example, but for their own gain. It is a mistake to rely on the friendship of Soviet social-imperialism for the temporary so-called aid which they provide with ulterior motives. No one should be deceived by the "aid" promised by the revisionists. Therefore, anyone who is concerned about and fighting for the interest of his own people must not build his hopes on their aid. They might give someone weapons, but the question must be asked: Why do they give them? As far as we know, up till now they have not supplied you Palestinians with weapons, precisely because you are determined in the struggle against the enemies of your people, and we think that so long as you continue to struggle for the complete liberation of your homeland they will never supply you with weapons.

It may be said that the Soviet revisionists have given Vietnam some weapons. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that these are a few old weapons that they do not need. Apart from this, they are obliged to do so because a different situation exists there for them: their stand towards the war in Vietnam is a life-and-death issue for the Soviet revisionists. Their authority is greatly dependent on what happens there, because in order to deceive others, they have posed and still pose as defenders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. However, the Soviet revisionist chiefs are not fools, therefore, with their hypocritical stand towards Vietnam, their aim, on the one hand, is to protect their own interests there



and, on the other band, to avoid discrediting themselves in the eyes of the Soviet peoples and the peoples in the whole world and to restrain the struggle of the Vietnamese people, a thing which is greatly in the interests of the American aggressors.

The Soviet revisionists have also supplied some weapons to Egypt, but these they administer themselves, they have them in their own hands, thus nothing can be done with them against the Israeli occupiers. The aim of the Soviet revisionists, who pose as friends of the Arabs, is to get control of the ports of the Arab states in order to ensure through them freedom of movement in the Mediterranean Sea. In our country, too, their objective was to get control of the port of Vlora, and precisely there they clung to us like burs, but we encircled all their submarines with guns, until, in the end, they were obliged to withdraw. We must be realistic, in the Middle East, where they have got a foothold and are strengthening their positions, the Soviet revisionists now want peace and quiet to avoid trouble for themselves and not because they are concerned about genuine peace for the peoples of that zone.

The emergence of the Soviet revisionists' fleet in the Mediterranean will create many difficulties. Now they will try to build naval and air bases so that they can concentrate their fleet in this zone. It is clear to us that the Soviet revisionists have their fleet in the Mediterranean Basin not to defend the peoples, but for their own imperialist aims. We Albanians

are convinced of this from our own experience. Thinking that we were small and they would crush us, they tried to stab us in the back, but they did not attain their objective because we aimed the rifle at them, and they are afraid of this.

The Soviet revisionists call us “sectarian” because we always tell the truth and do not tag along in their wake. The revisionists, who pose as communists but are not communists, do not have good intentions towards us Albanians. It does not worry us what names enemies call us. All revolutionaries, even those who are not Marxists, understand our correct principled stands and the truth about us; therefore, they honour us while the revisionists deride us. This is an honour to us. When the enemy does not praise you, this means you are on the right road. The Soviets are very much afraid of the Palestinians, too, because they are determined fighters, and therefore, while maintaining your usual modesty, you must put your trust in the strength of your people, in the strength of the rifle and the people’s resistance. You must never surrender your rifles and, despite all the difficulties which may be created for you, must never become discouraged.

Perhaps we are mistaken, but we believe that difficulties will be created for you, both by your open enemies and your false friends. The Palestinian refugees have been dispersed over the territories of fraternal Arab countries and are still living as refugees without a homeland. From what I have read, the uncle of King Hus-

sein was ready to wipe you out in Jordan if you had not taken up arms. You said stop, also, to Karame\* of Lebanon and his associates, who are maintained by the banks of American and British imperialism. All these enemies of your people and of the Arab peoples in general are ready to rise against you and crush you, therefore, as I said, you must never surrender your weapons, because they have saved you and they are the only means which will save you in the future too.

We think that the “Rogers Plan” is the result of a great betrayal on the part of the Soviet revisionists. They have reached agreement with the American imperialists to settle the problem of the Middle East between themselves, with the aim of strengthening their dominant military and economic positions there, and also of suppressing the will of the Arab revolutionaries who, without doubt, are the most revolutionary elements in that zone, and therefore the enemies are striving to suppress any revolutionary centre or element there. Now the Soviet revisionists have come into the Mediterranean; they have become “friends” with a number of Arab countries, including Libya, from which, in fact, they are trying to seize ports. While such a situation in this region constitutes an advantage for Soviet social-imperialism, it is to the detriment of the American and British imperialists who saw clearly that, in these conditions, they could not come out with a plan for the subjugation

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\* Former prime minister of Lebanon.

of the Middle East without reaching an agreement with the Soviet revisionists, and in order to achieve this aim, they were obliged to make concessions to those who posed as Marxists. These concessions are made by the Western imperialists in favour of the Soviet Union because it is no longer a Marxist-Leninist country. This means that, in fact, the new rulers of the Kremlin do not want the genuine freedom of the Egyptian people or the Jordanian or Palestinian peoples, although through their propaganda they spread lies alleging that the Soviet Union is still a communist country and a champion of the freedom of the peoples.

The "Rogers Plan" is to the detriment of the Arab peoples and especially the Palestinian people. It is in favour of American and Soviet imperialism and, in particular, in the interests of Israeli Zionism. Without doubt, efforts will be made by the enemies of the Arab peoples to achieve this compromise, but the "Rogers Plan" is bound to run into many obstacles and difficulties the biggest of which will be the fight of the Palestinians, your fight, which has been of appreciable help to the Arab peoples and has given their reputation a great boost.

We were very pleased with the stand of Boumediene against the "Rogers Plan," when he declared publicly that Algeria was for the liberation of all the Arab territory occupied by the Israelis and in favour of the Palestinian people's war. This is a correct stand. We were pleased with the stand of Syria and Iraq, too. We also listened attentively to Mr. Nasser's

speech, but when he spoke about restoring the Palestinians' rights he gave us the impression that he was not so categorical in what he said. Perhaps we did not understand him well, but we think there are rights and rights, therefore, everything has to be defined clearly and without equivocation, and it must be clearly understandable to all what rights, concretely, must be restored to the Palestinians.

We Albanians have our bitter experience in this direction. There are many similar events in the history of our people. The Albanian people were among the first fighters to resist the Turkish Empire. In the Balkan War they assisted the neighbouring peoples, the Greeks and the Serbs, against the Ottoman Turks, but when the time came for Albania to be liberated from bondage to "the sick man of the Bosphorus,"\* all the neighbouring states, supported by the great powers of that time, Britain, Germany, France, Russia, etc., fell on our country to partition it. At the Ambassadors' Conference held in London in 1913, when the borders of Albania were laid down, the Serbs seized from us Kosova, a big and very fertile piece of our territory, which they still have under their domination to this day. Montenegro also seized a part of our territory, and so did others. The appetite of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro was whetted. The Albanian territories which he seized with the aid of the imperialists did not satisfy him, so with

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\* Reference here is to the Ottoman Empire which by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was on its decline.

the aid of the Tsar of Russia he tried to take Shkodra and the surrounding districts. But our grandfathers took up their rifles, fought with determination and saved this piece of the Homeland. In connection with this event, one of the diplomats of that time said that the Tsar of Russia wanted to set fire to Europe to cook the omelette for Prince Nicholas.

We think that what occurred once upon a time with Albania is likely to occur with Palestine, too, when it comes to implementing the “Rogers Plan.” When the present foreign minister of the Kremlin, Gromyko, posing as the champion of the Palestinian people, like Sazonov\* in the past, begs the imperialists for five kilometres here and seven kilometres there for the Palestinians, Rogers will repeat that Russia’s Gromyko wants to set fire to the world to cook the omelette for Hussein or someone else. With this I want to say that the “Rogers Plan” for the so-called peaceful settlement of the Middle East question must be combatted tooth and nail because it is to the detriment and against the interests of the Arab peoples and of the Palestinian people in particular.

We love the small, long-suffering and valiant Palestinian people because they are our brothers and we are convinced that their cause is just and will triumph. Although we, too, are a small people, we shall raise our voice loudly in defence of the cause of the Palestinian people and against the “Rogers Plan,” which

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\* Former foreign minister of Russia, one of the authors of the partitioning of Albania in 1913.

is very dangerous and in the interests of no one but the two big imperialist powers.

In our opinion, the decisive thing for the future freedom of your people is that you continue your just road and struggle. Therefore, strengthen your unity as much as you can, because, in order to deceive you and to hinder you on your course, there will be no lack of all sorts of arrows, including allegedly theoretical ones of every kind directed at you, especially by the Soviet revisionists who, while swearing black and blue that they are for the "liberation of the peoples," are "Leninists," etc., will try to persuade you to do as they say, in the first phase to induce you to stop the war, to sign the agreement with the enemies, leaving you with the hope that they will examine the question of the Palestinian people in the future. But their first phase will have the aim of consolidating the positions of the state of Israel, which will make your position much worse later.

We tell you openly that we would consider the signing of such a compromise, as the Soviet revisionists aim to achieve, very regrettable, because it would make the solution of your great question more difficult. It envisages the recognition of the state of Israel for which the cliques of Ben Gurion, Golda Meir, the pirate Moshe Dayan, and others have been fighting the Arab peoples since 1948 and even earlier. Now efforts are being made to have this question signed and legalized through the UNO. The American and Soviet imperialists are pledged to this and are making efforts to

achieve it, while the Palestinian people are still living in tents and receiving from the UNO a handout of 500 grams of sugar and 300 grams of oil a month, one blanket every three years and must live under the "care" of one doctor for every ten thousand persons, etc. The Palestinians who show themselves ready to become supporters of this compromise, who make some speech against the interests of their own people, will be sent for a holiday to the United States of America, and might be even given a beautiful villa in Lebanon or another country, as a reward.

The Soviet revisionists, also, will eulogize anybody who supports their policy, will praise him as a good, intelligent, capable person, give him a villa and a motorcar in Moscow, send him for a holiday to Yalta, etc. This is what they did with Larbi Buhali, who lived far removed from the Algerian people and the struggle they waged, therefore, the Algerian people did very well that they shut him out. We, too, have gone through these phases with the Khrushchevite revisionists, but we put them in their place, therefore, the people supported us. If you are not linked with the people and if you base yourselves on the enemies, it's all over with you, you are finished. Those who hide themselves from the people cannot be communists. When the situation demands it, there are moments when the communists must remain in hiding, but when the situation changes, this clandestinity comes to an end. In any case and whatever the conditions of the struggle, the communists must



always be linked and march with the people.

We are confident that things will not go smoothly in the Middle East, either for the Soviet revisionists or for the American imperialists, first of all because you Palestinians, as courageous, resolute and intelligent people, will not tolerate living forever with your belongings on your backs. Undoubtedly you will encounter difficulties in your struggle, because King Hussein, like his uncle with his British adviser Lawrence, will continue to hatch up intrigues on the urging of the imperialists and revisionists. Nevertheless, your cause will triumph, no one can crush the will of your people who are fighting.

We judge you from the stands you maintain and the activity you carry out. The activity of your leadership, following the blow Hussein and his clique wanted to strike you, seems to us correct. We have heard that Hussein was surrounded by the "Al-Fatah" troops, but this organization adopted a cautious stand with which it calmed the situation and demanded that Hussein remove his prime minister and commander-in-chief. This was one of the first tests, during which we think that "Al-Fatah" judged things correctly, otherwise the situation might have become worse. But even if the situation had become worse we believe that you would have known how to act. And if more favourable circumstances had been created and everything seemed to have been achieved, you Palestinian fighters would not have relaxed but, on the contrary, would have kept your vigilance constantly at the neces-

sary level. No situation would have found the Palestinian fedayeen, who have always kept the rifle in hand, unprepared. In these conditions, neither Israel, the Soviets, nor anyone else, would be able to harm you, With their resolute struggle the fedayeen of "Al-Fatah" will not go on much longer carrying the blankets of the UNO, but, in unity with the army and the people of Jordan, will raise high the banner of the Arab peoples' liberation struggle, will triumph over the imperialists and Israel and, through their struggle, will certainly succeed in liberating their homeland, a real homeland, in which they can live, and then your many friends throughout the world will hail your victory.

We are sure that you follow events vigilantly, therefore we consider it unnecessary and do not allow ourselves to try to teach you lessons to show you how the people's freedom is won. We want to tell you only that when we were in conditions similar to yours today, we bore in mind that one must not retreat over matters of principle which have been well thought out, but must act courageously to apply them in practice.

We have never been afraid of the threats which the enemies have made and are still making against us. Since they secured their freedom, the Albanian people have fought with determination for decades on end and that is why they have emerged stronger from every battle and have made the borders of their Homeland inviolable. Without this determination of the people we would have been

overthrown by the enemies. Today, too, we are ready, as always, to withstand whatever kind of war that might be undertaken against us by the enemy, whether by the social-imperialist Soviet Union, revisionist Yugoslavia, monarcho-fascist Greece, fascist Italy, the United States of America, or all of them together. Indeed, we have been in struggle against them all, this has tempered us, made us stronger, made us impregnable, otherwise we would have been gobbled up long ago. The enemy is perfidious. He might attack Albania, but you can be sure, comrades and brothers, that he won't come out of it without being badly mauled by our country. He might attack some easier place when he is convinced that the object of his attack is ready to hoist the white flag, that is, to submit. But the enemy is afraid to do anything against us because he is well aware that it will not be easy to come out alive from the adventure which he might undertake.

The enemies are pursuing similar tactics and aims with you, too, but it is difficult for them to achieve their aims because they have to reckon with the unity of the fraternal Arab peoples, which constitutes a very important factor. Many chiefs of the Arab countries need to keep this in mind. Like it or not, when the masses of the rank-and-file Arabs see that their Palestinian brothers are being killed, they will not remain indifferent, but will come to your aid. In this case they will ask the question: Why are our Palestinian brothers being killed, fighting the Israelis, the Soviets or the Americans? And undoubtedly

they will arrive at the correct conclusion that the foreign enemies have robbed them of their homeland, their freedom, their products and all their other wealth, are insulting them, violating their rights, etc., etc. Then Arab opinion will certainly build up powerfully and say: What are we doing? Why don't we all rise in struggle against the common enemy? A million or so Albanians in Yugoslavia suffer similar treatment, although they are on their own land. Whether Tito likes it or not, the Albanians who live in their free Homeland cannot fail to think about their brothers in Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia, whom the injustice of the past has left outside the Albanian state borders, cannot fail to raise their voice in support of the efforts which the Albanians in Yugoslavia make to retain the purity of their Albanian language, to have an overwhelming majority of Albanians in the organs of power and not Serbs and others, to put an end to the savage persecution by Serb chauvinists, etc., to stop the emigration of Albanians from their national territory, and many other problems of this nature. For our part, we have never remained indifferent to the events concocted in Yugoslavia to the detriment of our brothers of Kosova. On the contrary, we have exposed them continually in the eyes of Albanian and world opinion to the point that, now, at last, Tito has been obliged to grant some rights to the people of Kosova, who have never lost their national sentiments and never will do so. Let him try to refuse to give the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia their due rights, this

will be so much the worse for the Titoite regime and we, for our part, from free socialist Albania, will never be silent about this as long as these rights are denied our brothers on the other side of our state border.

Perhaps I have spoken too long, but this is because we do not often have the chance to meet you.

*Taking the floor, the leader of the Palestinian delegation among other things said:*

These things we heard from you we consider very valuable and profound lessons, which are the result of a great and lengthy experience.

On this occasion please allow me to convey greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the "Al-Fatah" and "Al-Asifa" movement of Palestine to the Albanian comrades. The Palestinian people have always followed the struggle of the Albanian people under your far-sighted leadership with sympathy. Therefore, we consider this talk with you a great school which will greatly assist our organization and leadership.

During our visit to your country we have found your people to be sincere friends, who nurture sympathy for our people and support our struggle unreservedly. We have seen in Albania that your wise leadership has made it possible for the Albanian people to understand correctly and support the struggle which we are waging. We are convinced that your support for the struggle of the Palestinian people is great and when we return home we shall make known to our comrades every-

thing that we have seen and learned from you, although even without having come to Albania, our comrades were aware of the love which your people nurture for our people, but from now on they will regard your support as a tangible truth. We are convinced that your support will be continuous. For our part, we give you our word, the word of a comrade and a fighter, that as long as we are alive we will never give up the armed struggle.

*At this very moving moment, Comrade Enver Hoxha rose to his feet, embraced the leader of the delegation and shook hands warmly with the other Palestinian friends present.*

You are absolutely right, *continued Comrade Enver Hoxha*, this is the only road to peoples' liberation, comrades and brothers, especially for the heroic and fraternal Palestinian people. We are confident that your people will liberate themselves. Therefore, in the name of the Party and the Albanian people, I assure you once again that in Albania you have and will have an unwavering loyal ally and friend in both good and difficult days. We shall always assist the fraternal Palestinian people wholeheartedly. You are right when you say that the struggle your people are waging is difficult, but the important thing is that the line of your struggle is correct, that it is based on the aspirations of your people for the liberation of their homeland, and therefore it will certainly be crowned with success. The struggle you are waging is a revolutionary one and we believe that through this struggle you are laying the solid foundations for the

triumph and future of the Palestinian people.

Like you, following in the footsteps of your grandparents and parents in their wars to achieve the permanent liberation of the Palestinian people, we, too, waged a war which was the continuation of the struggle of the Albanian people through the centuries, of their ceaseless uprisings, of the efforts of Albanian patriots and progressive individuals who were not communists, but who loved their people wholeheartedly, and therefore, were linked closely with them and nurtured a profound hatred for the occupier. The past generations left us all their great fighting experience and the glorious traditions of their strivings as a heritage, so that we would carry on the fight until victory. Now our task is to consolidate the victories achieved, because the dangers have not disappeared for us, either, and regardless of the fact that we have won our freedom, the dangers are still great. Through its struggle Albania, where the people are in power, has now won great respect in the world, whereas in the past it was totally ignored. Nevertheless, it is still threatened by the imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and their minions.

However, we never forget that we are not isolated, therefore, we closely link the struggle and victories of our people with the struggle and efforts of all the other fraternal peoples who are fighting for the same objectives, among whom are the Vietnamese people, the African peoples, the Arab peoples and especially the Palestinian people. We are

fully convinced that the final victory will be achieved, but we also know that while we are fighting, along with victories, there will also be temporary defeats, which cannot genuine revolutionaries yield.

The exploiters still ruling in the world, wherever they are, are nothing but a few cliques which will be buried by the peoples' liberation wars. We consider every struggle, which has as its aim the liberation of any people, to be our struggle and, likewise, we consider each of their victories and defeats to be ours. When we see that the Arab peoples are fighting, here in Albania we feel ourselves strong. Likewise, when the Soviet revisionists, the American imperialists, or other enemies, try to quell the struggle of the Arab peoples, we feel that the danger to Albania is increased too. Therefore, the duty of genuine revolutionaries is to open the eyes of the masses in Europe and everywhere else, so that they never fall asleep, into the beguiling lethargy of false peace, false co-existence and false disarmament concocted by the two great powers in order to quell the peoples' revolutions and national liberation wars which are a serious threat to them, and that is why they make every effort to extinguish them.

The allies of national liberation wars and the main supporters of revolutions and national liberation wars are the socialist countries, in the first place. For all the reasons I stated above, socialist Albania, to the extent of its possibilities, basing itself unwaveringly on Marxism-Leninism, is with all the genuine



revolutionaries and the peoples who are fighting imperialism and revisionism.

Misusing the name of Lenin, the revisionists have done great damage to the national liberation movements with their anti-Leninist theories. They are carrying out their undermining work through parties called “communist” which have degenerated into parties betraying the cause of the peoples. There is a party called “communist” in Jordan. I say this, because we know the Jordanian “communists” thoroughly and the secretary of that party, Massar, who goes back and forth to Moscow all the time. In 1960, when Nikita Khrushchev began his attack on us, because we pointed out all the things he had done against Albania and the peoples’ national liberation wars, Massar abused us. Give the Palestinian comrades the speech delivered by the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties in Moscow in 1960 if they want it.\* I think that this “communist” is urged by the Soviet revisionists to sabotage your people’s struggle. To this end, in order to fight you in every way, he receives not only money, but also weapons from your enemies. The chief of the Jordanian “communists” is even ready to assist King Hussein against you. Apart from this, when he sees that you are resisting, with the encouragement of the Soviets, he will even try to create “Fedayeen” groups which, for purposes of deception, will spread propa-

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\* Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks to the functionaries of the Foreign Ministry who were present at this meeting

ganda that they are allegedly fighting for the liberation of Palestine, but which in reality will try to undermine your struggle.

*THE PALESTINIAN COMRADE:* We know that he has received weapons from Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. He openly defends the monarchic system ruling in Jordan and the decisions of his party are to the liking of the existing regime there. Massar has created an organization with the name "Partisan" and fights against all our organizations on account of the peace plan concocted by the enemies.

*COMRADE ENVER HOXHA:* You see how they operate? Under the call of Lenin, let us fight together with the Husseins. Our Party teaches that we must always be severe with the enemies, but just and sincere with our friends.

...Comrades and brothers, as you yourselves have said, this is the first contact between us. In the future we shall have other, more frequent contacts. At present the situation is difficult for you, but the time will come when a better situation will be created for Palestine.

I stress once again, dear friends, that Albania, with what small possibilities it has, will spare nothing to support the struggle of the fraternal Palestinian people.

On behalf of the Party and the people, I wish you further successes and that you carry the course of the struggle you have begun through to the end, because this is the only way to salvation, the way to liberation. There is no other way. When there are no more imperialists and modern revisionists, then genu-

ine peace and real respect for small peoples such as yours will be established throughout the world.

Let us drink this toast to your health and the health of the fraternal Palestinian people!

# **A MAJOR PLOT AGAINST THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THE REVOLUTION OF THE OTHER ARAB PEOPLES**

**September 21, 1970**

Events in the Near East are occurring and developing just as I outlined in my discussion with the "Al-Fatah" delegation that I met in Vlora.

King Hussein of Jordan, an agent of the Anglo-Americans, is preparing the coup and attacking the Palestinian partisans. He is known as a tool of the British. His grandfather Abdullah, his father Talal, his brothers and relatives were brought by the British colonialists, through Lawrence and Allenby, from the desert tribes of the Arabian Peninsula and placed at the head of Arab kingdoms to hold as their estates. It is clear that the Soviets and Hussein have agreed that the war with Israel had to be stopped, agreed with the Americans and the "Rogers Plan" that the resistance of the Palestinians had to be placed under control and suppressed.

Hussein, the Soviets and their Arab friends undertook the suppression of the Palestinians. The prisons and concentration camps were filled with Palestinians. Several times Hussein tried to disarm them, but in vain. The Soviets exerted powerful pressure on them and on the Algerians, Syrians and Iraqis. Then the provocation of the hijacking

of a number of aircraft was hatched up. This was a provocation arranged by the CIA and the Anglo-American secret agency, to provide a trump card so that their agent Hussein could attack the Palestinians. And he attacked the forces of the Palestinian resistance in Amman and wherever they were concentrated in Jordan. He unleashed his tanks on the Palestinians. The United States of America moved its 6th Fleet towards the Syrian coast and is threatening armed intervention in defence of King Hussein if the Syrians continue to assist their Palestinian brothers who are defending themselves. The international gendarme also appealed to its acolyte, the fireman of the Kremlin, to quell the resistance of the Palestinians and stop the Syrians from giving them aid. The Soviet revisionists issued repeated communiques in this direction, leaving no doubt that they support King Hussein, his reactionary clique and the "Rogers Plan."

Clearly, this is a major plot. The question is that the Palestinians must not lay down their arms, but must continue the fight on two fronts. On the internal front against armed Arab reaction, and on the external front against the sworn enemies of the Arab peoples, the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, Israeli Zionists, and so on. The question is, also, whether Syria, Iraq and Algeria will stand to the end in defence of the common Arab cause or will retreat. If they are going to stand, the consciousness of the Arab peoples will develop towards the revolution, whereas if they are going to retreat, to be split,

then the movement and the revolution of the Arab peoples, and especially the Palestinian resistance, will suffer a grave blow.

I discussed with the comrades at the Foreign Ministry that in the speech of our representative at the UNO we must bring out these ideas and ardently defend the Arab and Palestinian cause and expose the plot of the Americans, the Soviets and Arab reaction.

# THE DEATH OF NASSER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

September 30, 1970

On September 28, Radio Cairo announced the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser from a heart attack. Gamal Abdel Nasser was an important personality of the bourgeoisie. He gained popularity through the liquidation of the Farouk monarchy and of British colonialism in Egypt and the Suez Canal. Nasser was an Egyptian nationalist who acted to incite Arab nationalism and establish himself as the leader of the Egyptian people. He suffered defeat in his attempts to bring about the unification of Egypt with Syria. His internal policy weighed heavy on the people, to whom it brought no economic advantage. On the contrary, the Egyptian bourgeoisie made the country still more poverty-stricken by plunging it heavily into debt to the various imperialists. The defeat of the Egyptian army by Israel in the last war lowered Nasser's prestige. During this period, however, Nasser knew how to manoeuvre between the Americans and the Soviets and to enhance his own authority among the colourless and unstable leaderships of the other Arab countries. The defeat in the war with Israel threw him into the lap of the Soviets. When he died he was their man overall, but undercover he had manoeuvred with the aim that at the opportune moment he could give them the slip...

Some Arab leaders have waged the liberation war, are more revolutionary than Nasser, but whether or not they will impose themselves on the Arab world and inspire the Arab masses in the fight against imperialism, this we must wait and see. What they do, their struggle, their stands, will indicate this. The Palestinians are in a difficult position, not because Nasser defended their cause, although he was obliged to take account of them if only to avoid being utterly unmasked. Now, with the death of Nasser, it is self-evident that the position of Israel is strengthened, while the position of the Arabs, and especially the Palestinians, is weakened.

At this grave juncture the only thing that could work a sudden miracle is the popular uprising in the Arab countries and the unwavering militant resistance of the Palestinians, Syrians and Algerians, first of all, and the other peoples following their example.



# **WORLD REACTION IS WORKING FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF THE PALESTINIAN MOVEMENT**

**October 1, 1970**

The barbarous attack of the “little” king and agent of imperialism, Hussein of Jordan, was undoubtedly organized by the CIA and Israel. The Soviet agency had certainly been informed about it. This whole gang was interested in making the Palestinian fighters cease their armed resistance. Of course, the means and methods which each of them employed to achieve this aim differed according to the particular circumstances and interests, but the objective was the same — to eliminate the Palestinian resistance which opposed the “Rogers Plan” and the Israeli-American aggressor politically and with weapons, inspired the awakening of the Arab consciousness and kept the Arab uprising alive.

If this revolutionary situation were not ended the positions of American imperialism in the Middle East would be endangered, while if the war with the Arabs had continued for a long time, not only would Israel be in danger of losing the war, but its very existence as a state would have been at risk. The throne of King Hussein and the power and existence of Jordanian reaction would also be in danger. That is why this whole group chose “the course of the complete physical liquidation,” in barbarous ways, of the whole Palestinian resistance.

Hussein launched artillery, tank and infantry attacks on the partisan camps in Amman and to the north of it. Savage fighting went on day after day and thousands of people, partisans, women, children and Hussein's soldiers were killed and wounded indiscriminately. Nevertheless, the Palestinians resisted and fought bravely in Amman and the other zones to the north of the Jordanian capital, on the border with Syria, which came to their aid. Iraq, which also had its military forces in Jordan, maintained a very dubious stand, mostly pro-Hussein.

The opposition of Arab and world opinion was aroused. The reactionary king and murderer Hussein was exposed. He was unable to achieve his aim. Indeed, as the conflict dragged on, the hopes of reopening the discussion of the "Rogers Plan" were lost, the "ceasefire" was in danger of collapsing and the war recommencing, and Hussein's throne was in jeopardy. The United States of America exerted blackmail, threatening armed intervention in aid to Hussein. This terrified the Soviets who were in favour of the complete disarming and subjugation of the Palestinians, but knowing that this would not be achieved, they silently approved Hussein's action, as was proved subsequently. Meanwhile Nasser wanted to have the Palestinians under his command as a means of active blackmail against Israel and a means of bargaining with the Americans. The total liquidation of the Palestinians by Hussein would also have been harmful to Nasser's personal prestige in the

Arab world.

All these things and, first of all, the failure of the CIA-Hussein plot, along with the American blackmail about intervention, compelled the Soviets and Nasser to exert pressure on the Palestinians, Hussein and the Syrians to stop the fighting in Jordan and hold the Cairo meeting at which the "ceasefire" was signed between the fedayeen of "Al-Fatah" and Hussein.

The Soviets threatened Syria and compelled it to stop its "armed intervention" in favour of "Al-Fatah," an intervention which the Syrians did not publicly acknowledge as true or untrue. Nasser replied to the Syrians that in case of an intervention of the Americans in Jordan, he would not involve himself in the complications that might arise.

It is clear that the Arab national bourgeoisie is wavering and ready for compromise. Arab reaction, supported by the Soviets and Americans, is reacting strongly, but the Arab revolutionary movement has not laid down its arms. The living proof of this is that the Palestinians are fighting, resisting and are in the vanguard of the struggle. The "ceasefire agreement" with Hussein was concluded at a difficult moment for them, but it seems they are not going to observe it. In fact, they are continuing their attacks on Israel; they are carrying on their fight. Of course, this will exacerbate the conflicts with Arab reaction and clashes with it are inevitable. The fact is that the Arab masses are courageous, but divided, not of a high political level, and unorganized

for war, because there is no progressive, revolutionary leadership, although this will certainly emerge from the revolutionary struggle.

**WE MUST CONDEMN THE  
CRIME OF JORDANIAN  
REACTION AGAINST THE  
PALESTINIAN PEOPLE**

**January 13, 1971**

I asked for a draft of the telegram to be prepared in reply to the Palestine-Albania Friendship Association about the crimes which Jordanian reaction perpetrated against the Palestinian fedayeen.

# REPORT TO THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA

November 1, 1971

The Middle East, too, has been turned into a hotbed of tension. The imperialist-Israeli aggression, the aim of which is to subjugate and enslave all the Arab peoples, has been going on for a long time. The situation has been aggravated also by the interference in that area of the Soviet revisionists who, by posing as friends of the Arab states, are seeking to occupy strategic positions and to extend their hegemony there.

The Zionists, the imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are now trying to split the Arabs and to set them at loggerheads with one another, with a view to weakening their common anti-imperialist liberation front and imposing on them a peace against their vital interests. The aim of the two superpowers, which seek to take the fate of the Middle East in their own hands and to play the role of arbiter, is to divide it into spheres of influence and, on the lives and bones of the Arab peoples, build new war bases from which to launch imperialist invasions on the continents of Asia and Africa.

But the Arab peoples have not fought for centuries for freedom and independence, in defence of honour and riches, to sacrifice them now for the imperialist interests of the great powers. The price for the "peace" which the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists

are offering them is very high. Furthermore, it is deeply offensive to the glorious traditions, the dignity and pride of all the Arab peoples. They have made it clear that they will not give up even an inch of Arab land and will do no deals over the Palestinian question. They have risen against the violence of the Jordanian reactionaries in their attempt to suppress the partisan forces of Palestine, who stand in the front line of the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples and have rejected the imperialist plot, which is aimed at completely and definitely liquidating the Palestinian revolution.

Our people consider the Arab peoples as traditional friends and brothers and are in complete solidarity with their just cause. Our people have been and always will be on their side. We are convinced that the Arab peoples will raise high the banner of the liberation struggle against the imperialists and Zionists, against the acts of interference of the Soviet revisionists and the deceptive manoeuvres of all those who pose as friends, but are trying to stab them in the back. The Arab lands belong to the Arabs; the cause for which the Palestinian people are fighting is invincible.

# THE PALESTINIANS MUST CONTINUE THEIR FIGHT

February 13, 1974

Today I was informed about the talks which our comrades held with the Palestinian delegation of "Al-Fatah."\* The talks were cordial.

The Palestinians must continue to fight ceaselessly and in conditions which are very difficult for many reasons:

Although they are fighting for a common cause, they are divided. Naturally, the various currents which exist within their ranks are unable to coordinate even their minimum common program on this war and its aims. From what we hear, because they have published nothing, their program is to liberate Palestine from the Jews. What is to become of the Jews and the state of Israel?

At present the Palestinians are fighting from the territories of others, since these others are at war with Israel. Nevertheless, even now they cannot fight properly or as they would like to. They are obliged to submit to the policy of the Arab state from whose territory they operate. But what are the Palestinians going to do when these Arab states cease the war against Israel, as they undoubtedly will? The prospects are gloomy and difficult for this war which must be continued in new conditions.

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\* The delegation came to Albania on January 31, 1974.



## **REPORT TO THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA**

**November 1, 1976**

...For the Arab peoples we nurture sincere feelings of affection and friendship which we shall continue to develop further. They are progressive and peace-loving peoples, who have made a valuable contribution to many aspects of world culture. We believe that the Arab peoples will achieve their complete liberation from the yoke of foreign capital and the bloodthirsty imperialists, and victory in their just struggle against the Israeli aggressors.

We will powerfully and firmly support the just cause of the Arab peoples to oppose imperialist-zionist aggression, to liberate the occupied Arab territories, and to cope with the conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Our people and our country support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to gain their national rights, to return to their homes, of which they have been robbed by Israel, the instrument of U.S. imperialism. We maintain ties with, and support, the Palestine Liberation Organization. We would like to see a strong militant unity, which is the reliable basis of their triumph over the Zionist and imperialist enemies, established among the Arab peoples...

# **THE ENEMIES OF THE ARAB PEOPLES MUST BE STERNLY DENOUNCED**

**Theses for an article\* about the visit which  
Anwar el-Sadat is to make shortly to Israel**

**September 19, 1977**

...The aggressors must be isolated, must be exposed and combatted. One such aggressor against the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of the Arab peoples is Israel. It has shed the blood of the fraternal Arab peoples and occupied their territories. Every day Israel is relentlessly attacking, killing and massacring such a glorious people as the fraternal Palestinian people, whom the Zionists, supported by the American imperialists, have left without a homeland. Today the heroic Palestinian people are scattered and living the miserable existence of the homeless given shelter by their Arab brothers. Although fragmented and massacred, this nation has a high awareness of the need to fight and a fine fighting spirit. It has never given up the fight to win its freedom and rights and regain its homeland. The Albanian people nurture a great love, respect and admiration for this long-suffering but valiant people, and have unshakeable confidence in their ultimate vic-

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\* Published in the newspaper "Zëri i popullit" under the title "The Just Cause of the Arab Peoples Is Invincible," November 24, 1977. See p. 67 of this book.

tory.

To come to terms and reach a compromise with Israel, to neglect and violate the interests of the Arab peoples, especially the interests of the Palestinian and Syrian peoples, deserves condemnation. The Albanian people, as close and faithful friends of the Arab peoples, consider this to be a pro-imperialist activity which is aimed against the interests of the Arabs, and encourages the imperialist-Israeli aggression.

All the sound elements amongst the Arab public, the Palestinians, Syrians, Algerians, Iraqis, Libyans and even the Egyptians, have expressed their opposition to the agreement and compromise with Israel. Likewise, all who are genuine fighters against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, against reaction and oppression, all who are for the freedom of the peoples and their liberation struggle, have unequivocally condemned and criticized the surrender to Israel and have taken a clear-cut stand against the compromise with Israel.

It is noticeable, however, that the card of the "non-aligned" is not being played at all. This is not accidental. The concrete events, the development of the class struggle, have brought out clearly the falsity of "theories" or "movements" intended to deceive the peoples. What can the partisans of the "non-aligned" movement say when the protagonists of such compromises, who are also the standard-bearers of "non-alignment," display openly that they are committed to and dependent on

imperialism, that they are playing its game, that the policy which they pursue is formally independent, but in reality is dictated by others and defends interests alien to the Arab peoples.

Likewise, there is no activity apparent from the so-called third world. The supporters of this theory, who loudly proclaim and try to prove with quotations that they are helping the struggle and the interests of the peoples of the world, are not showing that they defend the just cause of the Arab peoples, not coming out in support of them. Why is this? Can it be that the interests and the territories of the Arabs, the future and the existence of the Palestinians must be sacrificed for the sake of the alliance with the "second world" and the United States of America? Or perhaps, this is required by the supreme interests of imperialist superpowers, which the small nations and ordinary people are quite unable to understand?

Our Party and the Albanian people scornfully reject all the imperialist calculations. Our people have always supported the just cause of the Arab peoples and will be beside them in any situation, good or bad, in their rejoicings and victories, as well as in their griefs and temporary defeats. Ours is a small nation, but it is an unwaveringly loyal brother to those who are fighting for freedom and justice, like the Arabs and the peoples of Africa...

# THE JUST CAUSE OF THE ARAB PEOPLES IS INVINCIBLE

*Article published in the newspaper  
"Zëri i popullit"*

**November 24, 1977**

In recent days the problems of the Middle East have become an object of great interest for all international public opinion. The reason for this is the visit which the Egyptian president, Sadat, paid to Jerusalem and the talks which he held with Israeli prime minister, Begin.\*

Words about "peace" there are in plenty, but the real and just solution of the problems of the Middle East is not apparent on the horizon. Israel, that armed instrument of the political, economic and military interests of the American imperialists in the Middle East, is still keeping the Arab territories occupied, the Palestinians are still left without their homeland and the superpowers are still intriguing and interfering in the internal affairs of the peoples of that zone.

Time after time, the enemies of the Arab peoples bring out with great publicity all sorts of plans and projects allegedly to solve the problems which are concerning the Middle East and to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict which has been going on for thirty years. A great deal of talk has been heard about these

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\* In November 1977.

plans, Rogers or Kissinger plans, Gromyko or Vance plans, plans of sheiks and emissaries of the UNO. But these plans have changed nothing and could not have done so. The aim of all of them has been to quell the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, to compel them to relinquish their supreme national interests, to abandon the Palestinian people and leave them in the lurch, to capitulate to the blackmail of Israel and to submit completely and finally to foreign imperialist domination.

The Arab peoples are well aware who their enemies are, know that the aggressors must be unmasked, isolated and fought. They know that Israel is a savage, insatiable aggressor against the Arab peoples, against their freedom and independence. On several occasions it has shed the blood of the fraternal Arab peoples, has occupied their territories and has kept them under continual threat of further expansion. Every day Israel is attacking, maiming and killing an ancient and glorious people, such as the fraternal Palestinian people, whom the Zionists, with the urging and support of the American imperialists, have left without homes or homeland. In flagrant violation of all historical, international and human justice, the Palestinian people have been forcibly driven from their homes, from the territories on which they were born and have lived for centuries, where they developed their lofty civilization from which the whole of mankind has benefited. Now they have been dispersed and are living the miserable life of refugees, as guests in the homes

of their Arab brothers. Despite their suffering and fragmentation, the Palestinian people have retained all their fighting spirit and lofty national consciousness. They have never laid down their arms in the fight to gain their freedom, their rights and their homeland. The heroic liberation struggle which the Palestinian people have always been waging will remain throughout history as a great example of those small peoples whom no enemy, however mighty, can intimidate, who, when it comes to defending their freedom and rights, are ready to make any sacrifice, to endure any suffering and hardship, however protracted and stern the fight may be.

The Albanian people, who feel a close affinity with the Palestinian people and their struggle, nurture a sincere affection and great respect and admiration for this long-suffering, valiant people and have unwavering confidence in their final victory.

Numerous efforts have been and are being made from various directions to bring about agreement and compromise with Israel, neglecting and violating the vital interests of the Arab peoples, especially the interests of the Palestinian and Syrian peoples. This is to be condemned and cannot be accepted either by the Arab peoples and their true friends, or by anybody to whom the freedom and independence of the peoples is dear. Our people, as close and loyal friends of the Arab peoples, consider these attempts to reach agreement as activity aimed against the interests of the Arabs, as pro-imperialist and further incite-

ment to Israeli aggression.

All progressive and patriotic Arab opinion, from the Palestinians, the Syrians, the Algerians, the Iraqis and the Libyans to the Egyptians, has expressed open opposition to agreement and compromise with Israel. Likewise, all who are genuine fighters against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, who are opposed to reaction and oppression, all who are for the freedom of peoples and support their liberation struggle, have criticized and firmly condemned the agreements with Israel, have adopted a clear-cut stand against any compromise with it.

Contrary to this widespread healthy opinion, however, it is noticeable that at present the “non-aligned” forces are playing no role. They are keeping quiet and trying with difficulty to manoeuvre to get out of the difficult position in which the plan for agreement with Israel is putting them. What has happened to all those speeches and pledges about defending the rights of the Arab peoples and the Palestinians? What has happened to all those resolutions and decisions about the “just settlement” of the conflict in the Middle East, that opposition expressed from the tribunes of conferences to the imperialist interference in that zone?

This silence on the part of those unrestrained lovers of empty talk is not accidental. The things that have occurred, the concrete events, the development of the class struggle have brought to light the falsity of “theories” or “movements” which are intended to quell



revolutionary and liberation struggles and to deceive the peoples. This falsity is being revealed by the imperialists themselves who, when it comes to defending their own interests, do not worry at all about the difficult positions in which they place their friends. What can the theoreticians and supporters of the “non-aligned” movement say when the standard-bearers of “non-alignment” openly show themselves to be committed to and dependent on imperialism, that they are playing the imperialists’ game, that the policy they pursue is independent formally, but in reality is dictated by others and defends interests alien to the Arab peoples?

The “non-aligned” movement may still continue to exist in conferences, meetings and propaganda, but it has been dead since the time when, in the Middle East and the Ogaden desert, in Angola and Zaire, it proved incapable of hiding the fact that many governments of countries which pose as non-aligned are linked with this or that big capitalist or imperialist power, that on many occasions they play the game of imperialism and defend its neo-colonialist and expansionist interests. Now it is incapable of covering up and justifying the interference, intrigues and manoeuvres of the imperialist superpowers in many “non-aligned” countries with empty words, or concealing and justifying the pro-imperialist actions of many heads of these countries against liberation struggles.

In connection with the agreement and compromise with Israel there is no apparent

activity of the so-called “third world” either. We do not see the supporters of the “theory of three worlds,” who shout so loudly and try to prove with quotations that they unreservedly support the liberation struggles and defend the interests of peoples of the world, defending the just cause of the Arab peoples or coming out in their support. Why is this? Can it be that the interests and territories of the Arabs, the future and existence of the Palestinians, must be sacrificed for the sake of the alliance with the “second world” and the United States of America? Or, perhaps, this is required by the supreme interests of imperialist superpowers which the small peoples and ordinary folk are quite unable to understand?

The very embarrassing position of the supporters of the “theory of three worlds” for whom the agreement and compromise with Israel has torn to shreds the scheme which links their “worlds” is understandable. The question is simple: in whose favour is this agreement? In favour of the “first world,” the “second” or the “third”? Does it serve the liberation of peoples or national oppression, the anti-imperialist struggle or the quelling of this struggle? Their silence shows that this agreement cannot be used for their propaganda purposes, that in this case their slogans and “theories” are quite unable to alter the nature of the fact.

Can the policy of the American imperialists which defends and supports their most aggressive satellite, Israel, be considered a non-aggressive policy, a retreat? At the present

time aggressive war is being prepared step by step, through minor wars, by inciting separate aggressions and kindling local conflicts. If the American imperialists proclaim that they are allegedly for the “status quo” this does not mean they have given up their aggressive and expansionist aims, but that the status quo serves their hegemonic aims to the detriment of the Arab peoples and in favour of the imperialist interests of the United States and its ally, Israel.

We are against and condemn Carter’s efforts to conceal his aggressive policy. Likewise, we are against the presentation of the American policy of the “status quo” not as aggressive, but as a defensive policy. The teeth of American imperialism have not yet fallen out nor have its claws been clipped. To defend the policy of the “status quo” means to defend imperialist occupations, to defend the division of the world between great powers, to defend neo-colonialism and the exploitation of oppressed peoples by imperialism and all the other capitalist powers. To defend the “status quo” means to give your blessing to the occupation of the Arab territories by the Israelis and the violent expulsion of Palestinians from their homes, means to defend the military bases in foreign countries, the aggressive blocs of imperialism, the multinational monopoly companies and the whole imperialist system of oppression and exploitation.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people scornfully reject all the imperialist calculations. Our people have always

been and are with the just cause of the Arab peoples and will be beside them in any situation, good or bad, in joys and victories, in grief and in temporary defeats. The Albanians are a small people, but for the peoples who are fighting for freedom and justice, such as the Arab peoples and the peoples of Africa, they are unwavering loyal brothers...

# THE TRAGEDY OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

December 10, 1977

...There are also the Palestinian Arab people and the Israeli people in this region. In the past there were not many Jews in this region, but with the passage of time, especially after the creation of the state of Israel, their numbers grew fairly considerably. If I am not mistaken, today Israel has over 3.5 million inhabitants, but the Israeli psychology and inspiration, especially in the field of organization, have led to the strengthening of this state from all standpoints, not only economic and financial but also military. The main support of the state of Israel is American imperialism, without overlooking the other imperialist states.

Apart from Israel, through the big oil monopolies, American imperialism has Saudi Arabia — the country richest in oil in this zone, the Emirates of the Persian Gulf and Iran, under its influence. In practice American imperialism has the oil-fields in all these countries under its control. American imperialism is ready to go to war in order to hold on to this great wealth, but before becoming involved in war itself, it embroils others to fight for its interests. Thus, when it saw a possible threat to its sphere of influence in the Middle East, it sooled on Israel, which launched several successive military attacks on Egypt and Syria, which relied on Soviet social-imperial-

ism, allegedly to conquer Israel, because it had occupied some of their territories and had driven the Palestinians from their own territories, forcing them to live as refugees in other Arab countries, as they are doing to this day. This was in the interests of the policy of the Soviet social-imperialists, because their true aim was to get control of the great oil wealth in the Middle East by means of Egypt and Syria.

Nasser fell into the trap of the Soviets, he advocated the total liquidation of Israel and, under a false pretext, established himself in North Yemen. His policy of dependence on the Soviets brought Egypt and its people the damage we know.

Anwar el-Sadat followed the policy of Nasser, linked himself more closely with the Soviet Union and continued to threaten Israel. This enabled the Soviet Union to establish itself firmly in Egypt and brought things to the point in which it thought that no one could get it out. Basing himself on the arms he received from the Soviet Union, Sadat carried out a political manoeuvre, with an eye to the future, assessed the Israeli forces in Sinai and attacked them, but without any great success. Nonetheless, the Egyptian armies crossed to the east side of the Suez Canal and entered a part of Sinai which had been occupied by Israel in Nasser's time. In this situation the United States of America intervened and a ceasefire was established through the Security Council. Sadat called the crossing to the east bank of the Suez Canal a great victory of

the Yom Kippur War,\* as this war was called. But Israel, too, played its part in the political game, crossed to the west side of the Suez Canal, accepted the ceasefire, the talks for which were held precisely on that part of the Egyptian territory that was occupied during this war. After the ceasefire Israel still holds the Egyptian territories in Sinai and other Arab territories it occupied, has the Palestinian forces outside its territory and is launching continued attacks on their bases which are situated close to the occupied territories...

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\* The war of October 6, 1973.

# THE MIDDLE-EAST QUESTION IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS

December 17, 1977

...During all this period Begin has been making many trips abroad. He went to France where he had cordial talks with Giscard d'Estaing who supports this "peaceful line." Begin also went to West Germany which, likewise, supports this "peaceful line." In recent days he went to Washington. Of course, he has been summoned to the American capital by Carter to receive even more precise instructions about what the United States of America wants achieved in these negotiations. And apparently Carter and Begin have reached a satisfactory agreement. Thus, as news agencies report, Begin will go to meet Sadat in Egypt and conclude an agreement with him. What sort of agreement will this be in the present conditions? It is most likely to be a bilateral peace, that is, between Egypt and Israel, and efforts will certainly be made later to get Syria and, perhaps, even the other Arab countries which at present are opposed, to accept it. In this case Sadat may be given the Sinai Desert, of course, according Israel many rights confirmed and guaranteed by the United States of America, such as unimpeded free passage for its ships through the Suez Canal to the Red Sea and through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and the Gulf of Aden to the Indian Ocean, while the Canal will be left completely free or



under the management of both parties.

On the other hand, this bilateral “peace” agreement might also lead to the settlement “in principle” of the Palestinian question. This settlement “in principle” of the Palestinian question will, of course, be to the liking of the Americans and the Israelis and will be accepted by Sadat. Hence, the aim is that the west bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip on the shores of the Mediterranean be included in a “Palestinian state,” or rather not an independent Palestinian state, but an entity just sufficient to acknowledge the existence of the Palestinians, united with the Hashemite kingdom of Hussein...

# THREE POLITICIANS AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

September 22, 1978

...Despite the innumerable resolutions which have been taken in the United Nations Organization against the activities of Israel, despite the fact that the states of the world have raised their voices loudly against it, Israel has continued its aggressive activity. Not only has it occupied Arab territories, but by accepting Jewish emigrants from Poland, Romania and especially the Soviet Union, as well as from other countries of Europe it has created Jewish colonies in them.

Of all the Arab peoples the heroic Palestinian people, who for decades on end have borne the greatest burden of misery that mankind has ever seen, are suffering the most. They are living as refugees, sheltering in makeshift homes and tents in the desert, because they have lost their homeland, which the Israelis have occupied and refuse to give up. Therefore, the Palestinian people have risen in merciless struggle, with no compromise up till now. Notwithstanding that within the Palestine Liberation Movement there are groups with different views, in general they all desire the liberation of their country from the Israeli Zionists.

The Palestinian people can be found living scattered in all the Arab countries: in Lebanon where they are established in villa-

ges which are fighting centres; in Egypt where they have lived as refugees and fighters; in Syria where sometimes they are allowed to fight, sometimes not; they have lived and some live still in Jordan where they have been barbarously oppressed; in Iraq, in Saudi Arabia, in Yemen, in the Emirates of the Persian Gulf and even in France and elsewhere. They are a valiant fighting people who have never ceased their resistance for one day...

Now, in these difficult and more or less peaceful conditions which the United States of America has created between Egypt and Israel, after many discussions and manoeuvres and countless deals behind the scenes, the three of them have met at Camp David allegedly to settle the question of the Middle East. For thirteen days they were engaged in tête-à-tête discussions. Moreover, Jimmy Carter became an active participant in these talks so that they were held not just between Sadat and Begin, but between Carter, Sadat and Begin. Thus, Carter was considered a third partner in these talks allegedly to establish peace in the Middle East. The outcome of all this, of course, was that "the mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse." This mouse represents what the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples, in general, "gained" or did not gain. According to the communique, at Camp David, American imperialism managed to "conclude" a sort of agreement between Begin's Israel and Sadat's Egypt for a temporary peace, for a temporary settlement

covering the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Negev Desert.

In reality, nothing concrete was achieved. We can say that all that was settled was that within five years Israel is to partly withdraw from the West Bank of the River Jordan and from Gaza, with the alleged aim of establishing there the autonomous state of the Palestinians of these zones. The autonomous Palestinian administration, of course, is "to be guaranteed" by the United States of America and will always be indirectly under the rule or supervision of Israel, Egypt and Jordan.

Egypt was given some other minor satisfaction. For example, an agreement was reached about some sort of Israeli withdrawal from part of the Sinai Peninsula. The whole thing is a diabolical manoeuvre of American imperialism and its agents. It is, so to say, a temporary victory for American imperialism, because, as I said above, it has been decided that they will work towards the establishment of a so-called "self-governing state on the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip within five years. During this period this so-called self-governing state will have some kind of independent police force of its own but there will always be Israeli military and police forces there to protect the borders, as well as Jordanian forces. Thus, the Palestinians will have only nominal independence. And if a status quo such as that decided at Camp David is achieved, then a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel may be signed. The whole aim is that during this five-year period

American imperialism will be left in relative peace to milk the Arab “cow” thoroughly so the oil flows without hindrance into the American tankers and pipelines, while the United States of America conducts a campaign of intrigues in all the Arab states so that they accept the decisions of Camp David and arrive at a common conclusion about an alleged overall peace. However, the Palestinian people, quite rightly, accept no part of this deal between Sadat, Begin and Jimmy Carter, because in fact they gain nothing. Their homeland is occupied, therefore, quite rightly they will fight to the end for the liberation of the territories of their homeland and the establishment of a genuine government of the Palestinian people without interference and tutelage from their permanent enemies...

# IMPERIALISM AND THE REVOLUTION

December 1978

**...The fight against Israel — the most bloodthirsty tool of U.S. imperialism — which has become a great stumbling block to the advance of the Arab peoples, is a common problem for all these peoples.** In practice, however, not all the Arab states are of one mind about the struggle they should wage jointly against Israel and about the character this struggle against their common enemy should have. Frequently, some of them see this struggle from a narrow nationalist angle. We cannot agree with such a stand. We stick to our stand that Israel must withdraw to its own lair and renounce its chauvinist, provocative, offensive and aggressive attitudes and actions against the Arab states. We demand that Israel give up the territories of the Arabs, that the Palestinians gain all their national rights, but we can never accept that the Israeli people should be wiped out.

The efforts of the peoples of the Arab countries for complete liberation from the clutches of imperialism and social-imperialism, for the strengthening of their freedom and sovereignty, are likewise the common problems of all these peoples...

Our Party has always energetically supported the just cause of the Arab peoples, without exception, and will continue to do so to the end. We support the struggle of the Pal-

estinian people against Israel, which has long ago become a blind tool, a gendarme of U.S. imperialism...

## **DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE NOT FAVOURABLE TO IMPERIALISM**

**February 21, 1979**

...At present Israel is in danger. Ayatollah Khomeini has declared openly that he will defend the Palestinians in their struggle against Israel. He has closed the Israeli embassy in Tehran and expelled the Israeli diplomats from Iran. The oil supplies which Israel received from the Shah of Iran have been cut off and now it is obliged to get oil elsewhere. In these conditions the United States of America is compelling Israel to reach agreement with Egypt, in other words, to accept the conditions Carter has laid down for such an agreement and stop kicking against it.

In view of this very dangerous situation in Iran, the Persian Gulf and the whole Middle East, the United States of America has set the agents of the CIA in motion. They see that the Soviet threat could come from Iran or from Iraq, and could also come from Syria or from South Yemen which can cross the Khali Desert and reach Oman, and join the Palestinians in Kuwait to stage a coup d'état. If this were to happen the United States of America would lose its whole strategic position and its economic power over the oil of the Middle East and Iran...



## **AN ANTI-ARAB IMPERIALIST TREATY**

**March 31, 1979**

As is known, in recent days in Washington, in a big marquee specially set up by Carter in the White House front garden, before an audience of a thousand or so people, apart from the public watching outside the garden fence, the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was signed, with Carter signing as witness, on a desk used traditionally by the Americans for the signing of various enslaving imperialist treaties.

Hence, an imperialist treaty was signed following an aggressive imperialist war of plunder declared by Zionism, powerfully supported with arms and munitions and financed by American imperialism. The purpose which Israel had and achieved in this war of plunder was to liquidate the homeland of the Palestinians, to occupy Jerusalem, the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip and the whole of Sinai and to be poised like a hawk ready to strike at Lebanon and Egypt. Apart from this, the aggressive armies of Israel also occupied the Golan Heights which belong to Syria.

This was the aim of the aggressive imperialist war against the Arab peoples of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Jordan and, indirectly, all the other Arab peoples. Through this predatory war Israel, powerfully supported by American imperialism, also had the aim

of keeping the oil-rich region of the Middle East, that is, Saudi Arabia, the Emirates of the Persian Gulf, Kuwait, Iran, etc., under the influence of American imperialism and forming a strong military-economic barrier against some other Arab countries and their partners, the Western capitalist countries, which rely heavily on the oil of the Middle East.

The Egyptians, the Syrians and the Jordanians, allegedly in unity, but in fact divided, tried to withstand this aggressive war on several occasions, but without success, because they were not seriously united in their struggle against this barbarous invasion. They were defeated in the time of Farouk, of Nasser and now of Sadat and also under the monarchy of Hussein. Meanwhile, cosmopolitan Lebanon, where large numbers of Palestinians have settled, especially in the south of that country and on the border with Israel, has continually been the prey of the latter and remains in this situation, facing the barbarous attacks of the Israeli infantry, artillery and air force. Lebanon has also been turned into a country of civil wars between Syrians, Christian Maronites and Islamic sects...

The United States of America is acting with great speed and exerting threatening pressure on Israel and its prime minister, Begin, to have him sign a peace treaty with Egypt, a treaty best described as worthless. Through the signing of this treaty Egypt is placing itself in opposition to all the other Arab states. To save face, Sadat wanted the Palestinians to take part in this agreement, but they refused,

or else to insert in the treaty some clause under which the Palestinians' future right to have their own homeland of which Israel has robbed them, would allegedly be recognized. In reality, of course, he worked to find some formula under which this lawful and natural right of the Palestinian people would never be recognized...

United with the Palestinians are the Syrians, first of all, because they are faced with an Israeli-Egyptian "unity" which makes it more difficult for them to regain the Golan Heights. Hence, if they are going to try to take their Golan Heights, they will have to link themselves closely in a fighting unity, with the other Arab countries which oppose this treaty. However, it is difficult for them to achieve such a fighting unity. Before the treaty was concluded it was stated that a meeting of all countries which opposed the Israeli-Egyptian treaty would be held in Baghdad. In fact, the representatives of these countries gathered there, but soon dispersed because not all of them agreed to break off relations with Egypt, to boycott Egypt and declare Sadat a traitor to the Arab cause, who has sold out to Israel and American imperialism. Of course, at this meeting Syria and Iraq were probably closest to one another and three quarters in support of the most resolute, that is, the Palestinians, but Saudi Arabia and the Emirates of the Gulf were cool to the idea, while some others were mostly talk. Of these latter countries, Qaddafi's Libya has raised its voice a little louder and moved troops towards Egypt, simply as

a show of force, of course, while Sadat, before returning to Egypt, gave the order for his troops to move to the west, because now their flank on the Suez Canal is free, so he is deploying the army on the border with Libya...

## **THE OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES BOYCOTT EGYPT**

**April 3, 1979**

The official text of the resolution which was approved by the conference of the Council of the Arab League at the level of foreign ministers held in Baghdad has been published. Superficially at least, this conference produced results against the Egyptian government. This resolution says that by signing the peace treaty, with Israel, the government of the Arab Republic of Egypt has disregarded the resolutions of the Arab Summit Conference, especially the resolutions taken at the summit conferences at Rabat and Algiers, the resolutions of the 9th Arab Summit Conference and that it has disregarded the appeal of the Arab kings and presidents not to sign any peace treaty with the Zionist enemy. According to this resolution, the participants in the Conference of Baghdad consider the signing of the peace treaty with Israel by Sadat's government as a betrayal.

The resolution declares that with this act the Egyptian government deserted the Arab ranks and chose the policy of collaboration with the United States of America to take the same position as the enemy. The Sadat government is accused of abandoning the national duty to liberate the occupied Arab territories, especially Jerusalem, to regain the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their

homeland and the right to self-determination to create an independent state of Palestine on their own national territory, of failing to safeguard Arab solidarity and unity and defend the Arab cause, etc...

This resolution contains many other decisions linked with concrete sanctions against Egypt. In other words, in Baghdad the Arab countries took a decision by means of which they boycott the Arab Republic of Egypt, brand Sadat a traitor and reject the Israeli-Egyptian treaty which was signed on March 26, 1979, jointly with Carter, at Camp David in the United States of America. Of course, this will have consequences in Egypt, but it seems to me that not all the Arab countries which met in Baghdad are fully determined in their stand against Egypt. On the surface it seems as though the resolution was taken unanimously, but apart from Syria, which is interested because part of its territory is occupied by Israel, apart from the Palestinians who are left without a homeland and whose cause went totally unheeded in the Israeli-Egyptian treaty, and Iraq which stands behind Syria, that is, apart from those who are most interested in opposing Egypt, the other states such as Saudi Arabia, do not take the same stand. These states are wavering. They will wobble as the situations and circumstances dictate in the direction of the American policy and will not completely break off their contacts with Egypt. For his part, King Hussein is opposed to the treaty, but is pro-American at the same time. He is opposed to breaking off contacts

with Egypt because he is afraid lest one day the nearly half a million Palestinians who live in Jordan may topple him. Thus he poses as pro the Palestinians, but in reality is a lackey of the Americans and Saudi Arabia.

This is the view we must take of Arab unity, which has not been achieved irrespective of the fact that the countries taking part in the Baghdad meeting emerged with a common conclusion. The United States of America will certainly work to keep them under its influence. Who knows whether eventually Syria, too, may become involved in long and difficult negotiations with Israel and thus the question of the Golan Heights may be liquidated in one way or another. Hence, the losers in all this are the Palestinians who are left without a homeland, and so the problems in the Middle East will go on forever unresolved, while the great powers operate according to their own interests.

Only uprisings of the peoples can put an end to such a difficult and complicated situation in this zone in which Soviet social-imperialism, American imperialism and the other capitalist states of the world have planted their feet. This is a sensitive zone of very great strategic importance, a zone of oil, a zone of inter-imperialist wars, of a war of plunder which only the peoples of this zone and not the representatives of the forces which are in power in certain countries of this zone, are able to withstand. These forces combine or split according to the interests of the bourgeoisie which they represent and which dom-

inates in those countries, and not according to the national interests of the peoples whom they rule, they link themselves with American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism, according to the interests of the big oil bourgeoisie.



## POLITICAL PANORAMA

May 26, 1979

...With Egypt and its conflict with Israel, which implies the conflict of all the Arab peoples, including the Palestinian people, with the Israeli aggressors, **we go on to the second key point of the present international situation.**

With the signing of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel a new situation was created. All the Arab countries oppose this treaty, publicly at least, because it is an unjust treaty and sacrifices the interests of the Palestinian people. In fact, contrary to the joint policy of the Arab countries, Egypt signed this treaty with Israel, which is an agency of the United States of America in the Middle East, got back only a part of the territories occupied by Israel, and completely forgot the Golan Heights and the Palestinians. This is why it is so “sternly” opposed by all the other Arab countries and also by Ayatollah Khomeini’s Iran. In this allegedly Arab alliance, however, there is no complete unity of views and actions against Sadat for his betrayal of the common cause of the Palestinians and Syria. For example, although Saudi Arabia and the Emirates of the Persian Gulf take part in this grouping which opposes the Israeli-Egyptian treaty, still they have one hand held out to it and the other to American imperialism, because they are worried about their petrol dollars...

The Palestinian people are not laying down their arms, either. Through their struggle they are displaying their dauntless fighting spirit, but the great evil is that they have been left without a homeland and are fighting wherever they have the possibility to establish themselves. The present government of Egypt maintains a stand of stern opposition to the Palestinians, although it may be stern only in appearance, because it would not be surprising if "Al-Fatah" were secretly working with Egypt to turn the Gaza Strip and the West Bank into a state with a certain autonomy for the Palestinians. This may appear a vague idea, but not without foundation. Meanwhile the Palestinians in Lebanon are under the continual attacks of Israeli bomber aircraft in reply to any action they launch, actions which are expressions of their struggle for the liberation of their lost homeland.

At present all the countries which oppose Egypt are defending the Palestinian cause, but this defence is more substantial here, timid there, and elsewhere only in words. It is not surprising that the Palestinians settled in Syria, Iraq and elsewhere and especially in the Emirates of the Persian Gulf and Iran, serve as a means of pressure by these states against American imperialism and, at the same time, also as an obstacle to the agreements which these states might make with the imperialist and social-imperialist powers.

Even the Palestinians are not linked in a strong unity. Their situation is a reflection of the many contradictions which weaken the

Arab peoples and states themselves. There are many different factions in the ranks of the Palestinian fighters. Because of the vacillations of Arafat and "Al-Fatah" it is uncertain what policy they are pursuing, while Habash, who presents himself as very intransigent against Israel and is not in agreement with "Al-Fatah," might reach agreement with the social-imperialist Soviet Union in order to achieve his aim.

Thus, the Middle East is not and never will be tranquil and, irrespective of the fact that the positions of American imperialism have been somewhat strengthened with the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian treaty, the policy of the United States of America is still in great difficulties in this major region, the so-called oil zone, the Arab zone. There will be no peace in this region, because the contradictions among the American, British, French imperialists and between them and the Soviet imperialists and the various ruling cliques which will take the side of one or the other imperialist state, as well as the contradictions of the peoples against the ruling classes, will increase continuously.

Socialist Albania, although it is small, through political, economic and cultural contacts, has become known and enjoys a very fine reputation among all the peoples of these countries, indeed, even among many of their leaders that have contradictions with the superpowers and the developed capitalist states. So, in these countries there is admiration for Albania, for its principled policy, for

its courage and valour, for its independence and sovereignty which it keeps inviolate of foreign powers, as well as for its continuous support for their struggle against the Israeli aggressors, against American and Soviet imperialism, especially for the struggle of the Palestinian people for their national and social liberation.

Our stand and policy make deep impressions on those peoples who aspire to genuine freedom and independence. They are impressed, also, by our socialist order, which they dream about but which they still do not see clearly and do not realize how it can be achieved and how a new society can be built as in our country.

We are convinced that the new society will be built there, too...

# **THE SUPERPOWERS SABOTAGE THE TRUE UNITY OF THE ARAB PEOPLES**

**June 26, 1979**

...Syria is relying on the Soviets. They are supplying it with arms and credits. The aid of the Soviet Union is not sincere. In reality it has not defended and is not defending Syria from the Israelis. On the contrary, the Soviets are providing Syria with outdated weapons, while they are supplying Israel with cannon fodder. All the Jews of the Soviet Union, tens of thousands a year, are being sent to Israel. This kind of emigration augments and strengthens the army of Dayan and Begin. With these people Israeli Zionist colonies are founded on the occupied territories of the heroic Palestinian people...

The universal example of the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people is what ought to create that sense of unity for the elimination of the heavy burden of intrigues and oppression imposed by the imperialists and local capitalists. The Palestinians, a people without a homeland, are showing the world that the fight for freedom, for land, for bread, for democracy, the revolutionary armed struggle, is the only way to salvation. Justice, the basis of unity lie in this struggle.

Regrettably, the Palestinians, too, are divided among themselves and their division is inspired by their Arab brothers. There are Palestinians who are incited by the Syrians,

others who are influenced by the Emirates of the Gulf, others by Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and so on. The Soviets pretend that they are assisting Arafat who travels back and forth to Moscow and from one capital city to another. But he, too, is in opposition to various Palestinian currents which are fighting against Israel, the United States of America and Egypt, which joined up with Israel and left the Palestinians in the lurch...

## KISSINGER IN THE MIDDLE EAST AGAIN

January 10, 1981

For some days, one of the most ferocious enemies of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples, the notorious Henry Kissinger, a dyed-in-the-wool supporter of Zionism, has been prowling around the Middle East. This time he has gone there not as a state functionary but as the special envoy of President Reagan, to poke and probe and plot against the Arab peoples and above all to look after the interests of the American oil and arms monopolies.

Wherever he has gone, to Saudi Arabia, Israel, Oman or elsewhere, not without purpose he has boosted Camp David and the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, about which he boasts that he has “contributed his efforts” to bring it about. Everywhere he has appealed for “regional understanding,” in other words, for ending the fight against the Israeli aggressors, for accepting the Israeli occupation of Arab territories on the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and parts of Sinai — what is called the state of Israel with secure borders, as an accomplished fact.

More than once he has made open and arrogant threats about “the determination of the American government for a greater military involvement in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.”

This is Henry Kissinger, the strategist who

formulated the anti-Arab policy of Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter and now Reagan.



# THE PALESTINIANS OPPOSE THE ISRAELI TERROR

April 11, 1981

For some days we have been reading many reports about demonstrations of the Palestinian people against the violence and terror which the Israelis employ against them in the occupied Arab territories as well as in the Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon. The resistance of the Palestinian forces is great everywhere and especially on the West Bank.

Meanwhile there is talk about a landing on a mass scale of Israeli special units supported by a heavy artillery barrage, at a number of points in the region north-west of Beirut, at Nabataea, Tyre and elsewhere. Fighting is taking place. There are dead and wounded. The Israelis have suffered heavy losses.

Besides their military activities, the Israelis are also continuing their expropriation of the land and property of Palestinian families in order to set up new Jewish settlements on them.

These inhuman actions, this savage terror against the Palestinians increases the grief which I have been feeling these days for our brothers of Kosova, who have been subjected to savage terror by the Great-Serb Titoites.\* Just like the racist Zionists of Tel Aviv, the Great-Serb Titoites too, are employing il-

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\* See the collection of articles, "About the Events in Kosova," "8 Nëntori" Publishing House, Tirana 1981, Eng. ed.

legal means and inhuman violence and terror against the Albanians of Kosova simply because they are demanding their political and economic rights on the basis of and within the Constitution of Yugoslavia itself. With these actions, however, both the Israelis and the Great Serbs are harming only themselves.

## **THE PALESTINIANS' MURDERER IN MOSCOW**

**May 27, 1981**

King Hussein of Jordan is on an official visit to Moscow where he has been welcomed with all the honours befitting him as a monarch and an old friend of the Soviet social-imperialists and also as a buyer of their weapons. Hussein has met Brezhnev to exchange ideas about an "international conference which will settle the problem of the Middle East."

Hussein, the murderer of Palestinians, is received by Brezhnev, "a friend" of the Palestinians, in order to settle the problem of the Middle East in the centre of which is the Palestinian people!

That is how far the "friendship" of the Soviet social-imperialists goes for the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples! For the Soviet social-imperialists the problem is the arms traffic and not genuine friendship with the peoples. The Arab peoples and especially the long-suffering and heroic Palestinian people must never forget this for one moment.

# ON THE MIDDLE EAST, ON THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

## Notes

August 10, 1981

In the chapter on the international situation in the report to the 8th Party Congress\* we must certainly devote as much space as the conditions allow to events which are connected with the Middle East. Amongst other things we must point out:

1) The struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli occupiers and their American patrons has assumed greater dimensions and intensity. In the centre of this struggle stand the heroic Palestinian people who, for decades on end and in extremely difficult conditions, have been waging a titanic battle to return to their homeland captured by the Israelis and to ensure their right to live free and independent on their mother soil...

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\* The 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, held in November 1981.

## NOTE

September 7, 1981

Yesterday the prime minister of Israel, Menachem Begin, arrived in Washington for talks with the American president, Reagan.

As on every other occasion, this visit, too, is linked with the demand of the Israeli government for political and military support from American imperialism on the eve of its new anti-Arab adventures.

In fact, during the whole of the recent period the Israeli army has continued to bombard Palestinian camps in Lebanon, has continued its campaign of terror against the Palestinians and the implanting of Jews on the territories of the Palestinians. Israeli military provocations against Lebanon and the other Arab countries have been stepped up.

As the signs show, Israel is preparing for new military attacks, not simply raids against the Palestinians, but a large-scale military intervention in Lebanon and even for provocations against the Syrian military forces stationed in that country.

# REPORT TO THE 8TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA

November 1, 1981

...Besides the upsurge and extension of the struggle of the working class, a general awakening of the oppressed peoples, a strengthening of national feelings, and a greater desire to be free, independent and sovereign can be seen today. The peoples' liberation movements have grown in extent and enhanced their quality, their anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist character has been strengthened.

The struggle of the Iranian people, who rose in revolution and swept away the Shah and his medieval regime and threw out his American patrons, was a heavy blow to imperialism. In Iran, the United States of America suffered a major political defeat which it is unable to reverse through diplomatic methods and economic blackmail, or even through military intervention, as it attempted and failed to do at Tabaz. In Iran, American imperialism lost one of its most important sources of oil, lost colossal profits and lost its credibility as an invincible protector of its Arab "allies" of the Persian Gulf. The Egyptian-Israeli compromise at Camp David was shaken, and open and surreptitious disagreements with its NATO partners emerged.

The struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli occupiers and their American patrons has assumed greater proportions and in-

tensity. In the centre of this struggle stand the heroic Palestinian people who, in extraordinarily difficult conditions, have been waging a titanic battle for tens of years to regain the homeland denied them, to secure their rights and live free and independent on their mother soil...

A sincere and ancient friendship links the Albanian people with the fraternal Arab peoples. We have supported and will continue to support to the end and energetically the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli Zionist aggressors and the re-establishment of all the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in the Albanian people, the heroic Palestinian people and their lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, have had and will always have sincere friends and resolute defenders of their just national cause.

## **NEW PLOTS AGAINST THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE**

**January 13, 1982**

The great imperialist-Zionist plot against the Arab peoples and, first of all, the martyred Palestinian people, is becoming more and more concrete. I read in news agency reports that the American president, Reagan, has sent a new message to the Israeli prime minister, Begin, to assure him publicly that the United States of America is determined to guarantee the "security of Israel" at all times.

This message, along with the large amounts of financial and military aid for the Begin government, which the American imperialists have recently been increasing day by day, speaks of a new premeditated step on their part, which will be a further encouragement to the Israelis' aggressive and adventurous anti-Arab policy to legalize what are called the "secure borders of Israel." Through this policy of "secure borders" Israel intends to keep the main parts of the occupied Arab territory, especially the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, under permanent occupation.

There will be fresh developments in the Middle East, especially in the anti-Palestinian policies of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.



## NOTE

February 8, 1982

Recently top-ranking American politicians and military men have been making pilgrimages to the Middle East. Through these visits American imperialism is, of course, trying to consolidate the positions and privileges which it has won in this region of the world, especially in the context of economic and military strategy.

This time the Secretary of Defence, Weinberger, has set out on a new tour of the Middle East. Apart from the aims of tightening the screws on the vassals of the United States and concretizing its anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian plots, he is going there as the intermediary of the American monopolies and armaments industry to sell modern armaments to the lackey-allies of the United States of America. Weinberger commenced his present tour in Saudi Arabia to which, according to news agencies, the United States is going to sell the most modern armaments, including F-15 supersonic aircraft and AWACS radar aircraft, after first receiving assurances from the ruling monarchy of that country that these armaments will not be used against Israel. Then against whom will these modern armaments be used? Obviously, they will be used to suppress the national liberation movements of neighbouring Arab peoples and, as some say, they might also be used against Iran.

## ISRAEL'S GRAVE THREATS

April 26, 1982

In recent days events in Lebanon are assuming a more acute and savage character. Fratricidal war is going on in Beirut amongst various factions of the Lebanese people, with special emphasis on armed provocations against the Palestinian forces in the southern regions of the city.

Directly involved in all these events are the American imperialists and especially the Israelis, who are trying to liquidate the organized Palestinian forces in Lebanon.

As Western news agencies report, prime minister Begin has made an arrogant declaration threatening the sovereignty of Lebanon. Speaking about recent events in that country and about the situation in Beirut, in particular, he said amongst other things: "We shall consider the possibility of the occupation of Lebanon." This declaration has made an impression on world opinion, because it is an escalation of the already tense situation, constitutes a forewarning of imminent dangers and shows that the Israeli aggressors are preparing new plans for war against the Arab peoples, first of all, against the Palestinian people.

In this arrogant stand, disdainful of world opinion, Israel has the open support of American imperialism and the secret support of Soviet social-imperialism, both of them interested in increasing the tension in this region of the world and liquidating the resistance of

the Palestinian people. The imperialist and social-imperialist wolves and their jackals want to fish in troubled waters because this makes it easier for them to hatch up plots and plunder the wealth of the peoples of the Middle East.

It is essential that the Arab peoples and, first of all, the Palestinian people increase their vigilance and combine in a genuine unity to cope with the danger which is threatening them. Only through uncompromising struggle can the Israeli aggressors and their imperialist and social-imperialist patrons be dealt with.

## THE ISRAELIS OCCUPY BEIRUT DE FACTO

July 8, 1982

I am carefully following developments in Lebanon where, as I have written previously, there is a very grave and dangerous situation. For several days the Israeli air force and naval and land artillery have been severely bombing the capital of that country, Beirut, especially the outlying suburbs where the Palestinian population and their organized forces are concentrated.

News agencies are talking about an advance of tens of thousands of troops of the Israeli army, heavily armed and with modern mechanized means, towards Beirut.

From what we read in news agency reports and see on TV, we are faced with the *de facto* occupation of Beirut by the Israeli army and the implementation of long-standing plans for driving the Palestinians out of Beirut and the whole of Lebanon.

Where do the Israeli aggressors find the boldness to challenge the sovereignty of an independent state like Lebanon and attack the freedom of its people?

American imperialism is defending them. Today I read a report which said that Yitzhak Shamir, the foreign minister of Israel, has declared: "The United States of America has worked out plans to use its land and naval forces to settle the Lebanese crisis." And Shamir does not make these statements, so com-

promising to the Americans, for nothing. On the contrary, he is sure of such a support, because he himself was recently in Washington and received all-round assurances from the American government. In fact, the American 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean, with several hundred aircraft and about 8,000 American marines specialized in urban warfare, is being reinforced and directed towards the shores of Lebanon.

We shall see how events develop. Will the Lebanese tolerate the occupation of their country by the Israelis? Will the Palestinians yield to the brutality of the Israelis? Will the other Arab countries reconcile themselves to the occupation of Lebanon?

The coming days will give us the answers to these questions. I think that the Israelis will make every effort to implement their plans of conquest, but will encounter stern resistance in Lebanon, especially from the Palestinian fighters.

One thing attracts attention. While Israel is operating openly and has the open support of the United States of America, the Soviet Union is merely making "threatening" statements in the press about the possible consequences of the deterioration of the situation, setting its Mediterranean naval fleet in motion, and nothing more.

## A HEAVY BLOW TO THE PALESTINIANS

August 22, 1982

What I had foreseen about the real aims of the Israeli military aggression against Lebanon, that is, the destruction of the organized forces of the Palestine Liberation Movement, is coming to pass. Yesterday news agencies began to say that after fierce fighting between the Israeli military forces and Palestinian forces in Beirut, the Palestinians were withdrawing from Beirut to the regions north of that city, under the pressure of the Israeli army.

Besides this, another very cunning manoeuvre is being carried out. Under the pretext that the withdrawal from Beirut of Palestinian forces, unharmed by the Israelis, must be "ensured and guaranteed," an agreement has been sought and apparently achieved, that a large number of troops of the United States of America, France and Italy should be sent to Lebanon. These units, which will be called the "multi-national force," are supposed to supervise the withdrawal of the Palestinians. Each of these units will be under independent command and will be armed with all fighting means.

I am following the events in Lebanon with special attention because they could have consequences for the whole of the Mediterranean, the Balkans and Central Europe, that is, they could affect our country, too.

I have talked with the comrades and given instructions that we should continue through the press to expose the aggressive aims of Israel and the plots of American imperialism. We must continue to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for their rights.

## THE AMERICANS LAND IN LEBANON

August 25, 1982

News agencies report that 800 American marines landed from the ships of the 6th Fleet in Beirut today "to restore order" and to maintain "peace" between the warring factions. In reality we have to do with an American military occupation of Lebanon in implementation of the "strategic agreement" recently reached between Reagan and Begin. On the basis of this agreement the American government has pledged to use every means to defend the Israeli aggressors in their war against the Arabs and the Palestinians.

It is said that besides the American troops, special detachments of the Italian army have arrived, too, while the French detachments arrived some days ago. These troops, called the "multi-national force," are charged with the mission of "calming" the situation in Beirut and "supervising" the withdrawal of the Palestinians from the Lebanese capital.



## **A GRAVE CRIME AGAINST THE PALESTINIANS IN BEIRUT**

**September 21, 1982**

A very grave crime has been perpetrated these days in two Palestinian camps, Sabra and Shatila, on the western outskirts of Beirut. From dawn September 17 to September 18, armed units, said to be of the Lebanese Phalangist militia and a dissident unit commanded by a certain Major Haddad, which is equipped, trained and financed by the Israeli government, entered these two camps which were surrounded by detachments of the Israeli army. They opened fire in the most barbarous way, massacring about 1,500 innocent, defenceless Palestinians, women, children, elderly men, boys and girls, sick people, and so on, without discrimination. In some cases they wiped out whole families in the shelters where they had taken refuge. This crime was carried out in the darkness of the night and a complete news blackout was maintained about it for more than 24 hours. Meanwhile, the aggressors have departed and have been able to cover their tracks.

As news agencies report, journalists learned about this hideous crime after some delay and mainly from the efforts of Palestinians still alive but too terrified to leave the site of the crime.

This event has caused profound indignation everywhere. Protests have begun and demands are being made that the perpetrators

of this inhuman crime must be brought to book. Israeli political and military circles are trying to exonerate themselves by saying that they “know nothing about it,” “do not know who the murderers are,” and so on. However, a number of contradictory statements, as well as the fact that these two camps were in the region which the detachments of the Israeli army control, speak of the opposite. Not only the high command of the Israeli army of occupation in Beirut, but also the War Ministry and prime minister Begin personally knew of this crime and had a hand in it. It is said that the minister of defence, Sharon, who heads the Israeli military units in Lebanon, and the chief of the General Staff, Aton, authorized the perpetration of this crime under the silent protection of Israeli units and subsequently imposed the news blackout.

The crime committed at Sabra and Shatila is so grave that even in Tel Aviv itself a commotion has begun demanding “the revelation of the truth” and “the punishment of those responsible” in order to save the “honour” of the Israeli people!

On television these days I have seen horrible scenes of the massacres which have been committed in these two Palestinian camps, piles of corpses, children crying for their parents, grief-stricken women searching amongst the victims for members of their families, and so on. These are painful scenes which arouse indignation and hatred for these new barbarians. Only the German nazis have perpetrated such monstrosities. All progressive mankind

must sternly denounce the authors of this crime.

How sorry I feel for the Palestinian people, expelled from their homeland and persecuted in the cruellest ways by the Israeli aggressors and other reactionary forces. And why? Because they are fighting for their rights, to return to their homeland, because they demand justice from those who do not want to know what justice is, but simply trample the rights of other peoples underfoot, as the Israelis and their patrons, the American imperialists, do.

Through the press we shall indignantly denounce this barbarous crime against the Palestinian population and expose its direct authors and their savage supporters as war criminals.

## THE "CONDOLENCES" OF THE SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS

September 21, 1982

Today I read a report of the Palestinian news agency Vafa according to which the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Syria has received the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, and handed him a message from Brezhnev in which the massacres of recent days in the Sabra and Shatila camps are "condemned."

The whole content of the message is not disclosed, but the very fact that it was handed to Arafat by the Soviet ambassador in the offices of the Soviet embassy in Damascus shows that it is of no greater value than any other message of condolences. Hence, with this message Brezhnev tells Arafat, "Accept my condolences over the deaths at Sabra and Shatila"!

The stand which the Soviet Union is taking about recent developments in the Middle East and, in particular, towards the great plot for the destruction of the Palestinian movement and the physical liquidation of the Palestinian people, is a very clear indication of the treacherous anti-Arab policy of the Soviet social-imperialists. Their friendship and military aid are false and ineffectual.

It is known that the Soviet Union sells Syria armaments, including supersonic aircraft and missiles of the latest types. However, they were not used to counter the attacks by the Is-

raelis with modern American weapons. Why? Because their “firing mechanism” remains in the hands of Soviet military experts. The same thing occurred with Egypt, too, and the consequences are known. The modern weapons which the Soviet Union supplies to Syria under the label of sincere friendship are not to defend Syria and the Palestinians, but to say to the Americans and Israel: “I am here, too.” Hence, the Soviet Union does this for its own interests as a superpower.

Whenever Israel has launched heavy military attacks on the Palestinians, Yasser Arafat and other Palestinian leaders have been invited urgently to Moscow and each time “stern” communiques have been issued, saying that “the struggle of the Palestinian people will be supported with every means.” However, the “means” have always been messages of condolences. Israel is well aware of this.

Concretely, in the last two months the world has seen a number of serious military attacks made by Israel and the United States of America against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, for instance, the occupation of Lebanon, the forced expulsion of the Palestinian fighters from Beirut, etc. Progressive mankind also saw a grave and inhuman event, the massacre of the innocent, defenceless Palestinian population in Sabra and Shatila. Notwithstanding this tragedy, Brezhnev is trying to get out of his official pledges towards the Arab peoples and countries with no more than a “message of denunciation” over the massacres of Sabra and Shatila addressed

to Arafat.

This sort of stand simply encourages the unrestrained arrogance, of Israel and the United States of America against the Arabs and the Palestinians.

# WORK AND VIGILANCE TO MAKE THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER EVER STRONGER

*Address to the electors\**

**November 10, 1982**

...The present situation in the Middle East has become very disturbing. The new Israeli aggression against Lebanon, organized, financed and incited by the American imperialists, has created direct threats and dangers, not only for the peoples of the surrounding zone, but also for those of a much wider area.

Taking advantage of the great American aid and the divisions amongst the Arab peoples, Israel has extended its range of provocations and wants to destroy, one after the other, all those countries which do not accept the grabbing of Arab territories and genocide imposed on the long-suffering Palestinian people.

The expansionist policy and activity of Israel at the expense of the Arabs is also incited and favoured by the policy of the Soviet Union, its behind-the-scenes deals and plots to the detriment of the Arab peoples.

After Camp David, Israel attacked Lebanon. Now it is demanding the submission of Jordan and is threatening Syria with war. Whose turn will it be tomorrow — Iraq's, Saudi Arabia's or Iran's? The American and

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\* Delivered in the electoral zone No. 210 of Tirana.

Israeli staffs are thinking about and working for this. But will the brave Arab peoples allow Israel and its American bosses to do whatever they please to their detriment? Will they remain divided as they are so that Israel and American imperialism defeat and crush them one by one, as they are doing?

We believe that this will not happen. The Arab peoples are freedom-loving peoples with very ancient fighting traditions, peoples that have given mankind a whole civilization. They will certainly find the strength to unite and stop the Zionist aggressors from grabbing the Arab lands and exterminating the people who inhabit them. However protracted the struggle, however great the difficulties and however many the sacrifices required of them, victory will be theirs. Right is on their side, the whole of progressive mankind is with them. Our people have always stood beside the fraternal Arab peoples, the heroic Palestinian people and supported their just cause. In the future, too, the just struggle of the Arabs and Palestinians will have the full and unreserved support of the Albanian people...



## **THE ANTI-ARAB ACTIONS OF ISRAEL ARE APPROVED IN WASHINGTON**

**January 6, 1983**

The United States of America is the main supporter of all the anti-Arab political and military actions of the state of Israel. If the anti-Arab plans are carried out by Tel Aviv, they are prepared and put on paper in Washington. This is a truth which the events and life have proved.

On January 4, Yitzhak Navon, the head of state of Israel, arrived in Washington for an "official visit and consultations" with the leading circles of the United States of America. As news agencies report, on this occasion he made a statement which has a well-defined aim and meaning. Among other things he said: "The prewar borders of 1967 do not guarantee the security of Israel," while the city of Jerusalem will remain an "undivided" city and indeed "the capital of Israel." After this he added: "Israel will never accept the creation of an independent Palestinian state."

The aggressive and arrogant character of these declarations, which constitute the essence of the anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian policy of Israel, requires no comment. These statements are made only with the approval of the patron, American imperialism, and are not pressure exerted by the government of Tel Aviv on the American government for further aid.

## REAGAN THREATENS THE PALESTINIANS

February 25, 1983

At the beginning of the year a statement made in Washington by Yitzhak Navon, head of state of Israel, about the anti-Arab pretensions of his country, made an impression on me. On that occasion I noted that such anti-Arab declarations, especially when made on American soil, could not be made by Navon or any other Israeli state leader without the knowledge and approval of the American government.

Today I read in the news agency reports about a press conference of President Reagan in which he touches on the Palestinian people and their just struggle. What does Reagan say? The "package peace plan" for the Middle East which the Americans have drafted must include "something in the nature of a homeland" for the Palestinians. "No one," he says, "has expressed himself in favour of a Palestinian state." Hence, for the head of American imperialism, the Palestinians are and remain a refugee people without a homeland and, moreover, have no right to exercise their sovereignty.

Immediately after these anti-Palestinian statements, Reagan adds that "if need be" the American detachments which are part of the "multi-national force" deployed in Beirut, "will patrol Southern Lebanon," i.e., near the borders of Israel "in order to defend it."

Is this not complete and open support for the anti-Arab declarations that Navon made and which had to do with guaranteeing the borders of Israel in the occupied Arab territories and refusal to recognize an independent Palestinian state?

## CEAUSESCU, THE ARABS AND ISRAEL

August 17, 1983

The role of intermediary which Ceausescu plays, not only between China and the United States of America, but also between other countries, has long been known. He has been no less involved in mediation at very difficult moments between Israel and a number of Arab governments.

Now that a real situation of occupation has been created in Lebanon by the Israeli army and the "multi-national force" (of the United States, France, Italy and Britain), when the anger and indignation amongst progressive mankind over the grave and inhuman crimes which the Israelis organized last year against the Palestinian civilian inhabitants of Sabra and Shatila have still not died down, Ceausescu is welcoming and holding cordial talks with Shamir, the foreign minister of Israel.

What are they talking about? As the news agencies say they are discussing "mediation" to re-establish diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe.

Undoubtedly, Ceausescu has undertaken this role and will try to carry it out, because, like all his other attempts at mediation, it might bring him some economic advantage. However, I think that the greatest aid which he is trying to give Israel at these moments

and in this situation is to somewhat reduce the indignation of international public opinion towards the criminal anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian policy of Tel Aviv.

This is not the first time that Ceausescu has come out on the side of Israel and he frequently has cordial meetings and talks with the heads of Tel Aviv. Next to Washington, the capital city to which the heads of the Israeli government go most frequently, is Bucharest. The heads of a number of Arab countries go there, too. It is regrettable, however, that Arafat and some others in the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization have illusions about these meetings.

# **A SERIOUS AND HARMFUL SITUATION WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE PALESTINIAN MOVEMENT**

**December 10, 1983**

One of the main aims of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction has always been to sabotage any movement for national and social liberation in the Middle East, which is one of the regions of the world richest in oil. In this context their immediate objective is to destroy the liberation movement of the Palestinian people by inciting feuds and fratricide amongst Palestinians. While there have been and still are contradictions between them over the question of oil, of spheres of influence or the possession of strategic regions, over the liquidation of the Palestinian people they have no contradictions, but on the contrary have a tacit all-round agreement. Through their intrigues, through the activity of their secret agencies, through compromising individuals with money and blandishments, the enemies of the Palestinian people have managed to achieve some results.

That there have been opposing tendencies, groups with differing programs and aims within the Palestine Liberation Organization, is a truth which cannot be covered up. Likewise, the other fact cannot be denied, namely, that between these opposing currents and

groups there have been political squabbles, sometimes very grave ones, which have had a negative influence on the struggle of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, to their own national territories. Now, however, it seems to me that matters have gone much further and the quarrels have become much more profound so that they are endangering the movement itself and the continuation of the struggle of the Palestinian people, in general.

For some days the news agencies have been speaking about a serious split in the ranks of the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, between Arafat and one of his military aides, Abu Mousa. These quarrels have reached the point of bitter armed clashes with serious consequences for both sides. Abu Mousa, supported by the Syrian military units deployed in the Beqaa Valley, has risen in revolt and is fighting against Arafat and his supporters, compelling them to withdraw into the besieged Lebanese city of Tripoli.

What is Abu Mousa demanding? Under the accusation that Arafat has betrayed the revolution and usurped the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Abu Mousa is demanding his resignation from the leadership of that organization and his final withdrawal with all his supporters, about 4,000 men, from Lebanese soil.

For his part, Arafat is accusing Syria and Libya, with which he has disagreements, of being the main inciters of Abu Mousa and trying through him to take control of the

whole leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and hinder the Palestinian liberation struggle. Meanwhile the fratricidal fighting continues with the greatest severity, a thing which is truly regrettable, because it serves only to sabotage the struggle and the revolution of the Palestinian people and helps to destroy their unity. The Israelis and all the enemies of Palestine and the Palestinian people are fanning up and pouring benzine on the flames of these fratricidal clashes, warming their bloodstained hands and gloating over the Palestinian blood which is being shed every day.

Without doubt the Palestinian people and the genuine Palestinian fighters are opposed to this split and this fratricidal fight and I would like to hope that reason will triumph over the hatred implanted by others, over the individual jealousy and non-national interests. The Palestinian people and their valiant fighters need unity amongst themselves in order to triumph over their savage and merciless enemies, the Israelis and their patrons, the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Arab reactionary feudal-bourgeois forces. The split is in favour of these enemies and their anti-Palestinian and anti-Arab plans and plots.



## THE END OF A VERY HARMFUL FRATRICIDAL WAR

December 19, 1983

After a great deal of fighting and all-round pressure and faced with the danger of even greater damage to the organized Palestinian forces and the major damage which could be inflicted on the local inhabitants, Arafat agreed to withdraw, together with his supporters, from the Lebanese city of Tripoli where he has been besieged for some days.

In the news agency reports we see repeated facts which show that this business has been decided and the question being discussed now is how and with what means about 4,000 Palestinian fighters together with their armaments and families will be evacuated. Profiting from the new situation which has been created, the Israelis have imposed very onerous conditions: the Palestinians are to leave, but first must surrender their heavy weapons. Second, Arafat must be "handed over" to be "tried" and "executed" for "the crimes he has committed against the Israelis"! Otherwise, say the rulers of Israel, their warships will attack and sink any ships which transport the Palestinians. This is how far their unrestrained arrogance and savage hate for the Palestinian people have gone.

Meanwhile, those who hatched up this fratricidal war amongst the Palestinian fighters, including the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, are "holding

out the hand,” “offering their aid” and “showing them the ways” how to withdraw from Lebanon, etc. For example, it has been suggested that Arafat and the Palestinian fighters should leave on ships of a country neutral in this conflict; that they should board the ships under the protection of the “multi-national force” stationed in Beirut; that the transport ships should be protected on the high sea by French and Italian warships, etc. Meanwhile the Israeli government is putting its threats into practice, has stationed its warships close to the port of Tripoli and from time to time makes artillery attacks on the places where the Palestinian fighters have begun to assemble.

We shall see how this business proceeds. In any case the Palestinian fighters have received another heavy blow which will undoubtedly have consequences on the further development of their just struggle to return to their homeland.

## **THE PALESTINIANS HAVE LEFT TRIPOLI**

**December 21, 1983**

News agencies report that the departure of the Palestinian fighters from the Lebanese port of Tripoli on Greek transport ships, escorted by Italian and French warships and under the close observation of Israeli warships, began, at last, yesterday. Arafat is on one of the Greek ships.

The ships will call at a port of Cyprus, from there the Palestinians will go in various directions, for example to Tunisia, South Yemen and, by air, to Iraq.

Last evening I saw on TV some scenes of the forced departure of the Palestinian fighters. Amongst them I saw men who held a rifle high with one hand and a small son or daughter with the other. Where are these now homeless people going to go? What awaits them where they go? What does the future hold for them, their families and their children?

What a bitter fate the long-suffering Palestinian people have had! Nevertheless I am convinced that irrespective of these heavy blows, irrespective of the struggle waged against them from all sides, they will triumph. The peoples cannot be conquered! The Palestinian people cannot be conquered! We have always been on the side of the Palestinian people and always will be.

## ARAFAT MEETS MUBARAK

December 23, 1983

I am following the Odyssey of the Palestinian fighters who have left Lebanon for still unknown destinations. I read a news agency report that one of the ships which is transporting the Palestinian fighters had entered the Suez Canal. Yesterday, Arafat, who was on board it, landed at the port of Ismailia and went to Cairo where he met the Egyptian president, Mubarak. This meeting is causing a great sensation. Why? Because it is a completely unforeseen, unexpected meeting.

As everyone knows, Egypt has accepted the Camp David accords and has signed the peace agreement with Israel. It has established diplomatic relations with Israel. Hitherto the Palestine Liberation Organization and Arafat personally have been opposed to these actions of Egypt and, indeed, they left Cairo for this reason.

We shall soon learn what is really hidden behind this change and this unexpected meeting of Arafat and Mubarak and what its consequences will be for the struggle of the Palestinian people.

# THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE YEAR 1983

## Notes

December 1983

...“Special envoys” of the presidents and governments of the two superpowers undertook frequent journeys with top secret special missions to Tel Aviv, Riyadh, Cairo, Damascus, Amman and many other capital cities of the countries of the Arab world to offer “the aid and mediation” of their countries, but in reality to exert pressure and organize further plots against the Arab peoples and, first of all, against the Palestinian people.

During the year I have recorded in my Diary some of the moments and events which have impressed me most from the illegal and inhuman activity of the imperialist superpowers and Israel, as well as moments from the heroic struggle of the Palestinian, Arab, Afghan and Iranian peoples against the plots of the two superpowers. I have also recorded some of my thoughts and feelings, the grief which I feel over the misfortunes which have descended upon these peoples and the injustices perpetrated against them, as well as the great joy which I feel over their exemplary struggle for their freedom and national independence, against the savage Israeli, imperialist and social-imperialist occupiers and enemies. Here I am making a summary of these general events.

## **The Arab-Israeli conflict and its complications**

The year 1983 can be considered the year of the consolidation of the de facto occupation of Lebanon by the Israeli armies and the "multi-national force," which is made up of special detachments of the American, Italian, French and British armies. This occupation was carried out, first of all, to strike a new blow against and to destroy the organized Palestinian forces centred in Lebanon. This means the practical application of the second part of the package plan of Israeli, imperialist and Arab reaction to sabotage and completely paralyse the just struggle of the Palestinian people to return to their own homeland.

After fierce fighting, the Israeli army, armed to the teeth with the most modern weapons and comprised of about a hundred thousand men, occupied Beirut and the main part of the southern zone of Lebanon. The Palestinian fighters resisted heroically, but, abandoned by their false friends, in the end were obliged to withdraw from Beirut to the zones north of the city and in the direction of the Beqaa Valley under the "surveillance" of the "multi-national force."

Nevertheless, the occupation of Lebanon and the implementation of the plan for the destruction of the organized Palestinian forces could not be fully achieved without breaking up and damaging the unity of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Thus in 1983 the world was faced with two fratricidal wars incited by Israel, the United States and certain re-

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actionary circles of the Arab world. Fratricidal war was incited between various factions of the Lebanese people, between Christians and Muslims, and even between various Christian and Muslim sects as between the Druze, the Shia, the Sunni Muslims, the Maronite Christians, and others. This war had very grave political and economic consequences for Lebanon and, amongst other things, led to the destruction of the cosmopolitan and formerly wealthy city of Beirut. The other fratricidal war was that which was incited within the Palestine Liberation Organization, between Palestinian fighters, between Arafat and his supporters, on the one hand, and Abu Mousa, at one time Arafat's right-hand man, on the other hand. This war ended with the complete withdrawal from Lebanon of Arafat and about four thousand partly disarmed Palestinian fighters. From all this fratricidal fighting it was Israel that benefited and the Palestinian people and their liberation movement that lost.

During this year, in the context of the campaign of terror against the defenceless Palestinian population and the attempts to drive from Lebanon about three to four hundred thousand Palestinians who had settled there since Israel drove them from their homeland, the agents of Israel in Lebanon organized and carried out in cold blood a massacre unprecedented for its ferocity in Sabra and Shatila, two undefended Palestinian camps on the periphery of Beirut. In the darkness of the night and under the supervision of the Israeli regular army which allegedly had the duty to

protect these camps from surprise attacks, some Lebanese fascist gangs in the service of Israel slaughtered more than 1,500 people — men, women, old folk and children, entire families, without discrimination, in the most barbarous way.

Those who perpetrated this inhuman crime as well as their inciters and supporters covered their tracks, were taken under protection and remained unpunished. Nevertheless the whole of progressive opinion throughout the world condemned them and branded them war criminals.

During this year a very grave situation was created, also, in the internal political affairs of Lebanon. The country remained almost continuously without a government and administration capable of running affairs, caring for the people and opposing the actions of the Israeli occupiers. The reactionary Lebanese circles took advantage of the situation, organized and armed themselves and carried out military actions against progressive Lebanese forces, especially against the Palestinians, contrary to the national interests of Lebanon.

Nevertheless the Lebanese people were not defeated. They took up arms and forcibly resisted the Israeli army of occupation and the other occupiers, especially the American and the French. Israeli, American and French military targets were attacked, and serious damage was inflicted on them.

Hence, the situation became no more peaceful, even though the Israeli army occupied Beirut and the inspirers and supporters of



Israel dispatched thousands of “peace-keeping specialists” (the multi-national force) to Beirut. Therefore the Israeli air force and navy and the air force and naval fleet of the United States of America, which included the aircraft carriers “Nimitz,” “Eisenhower” and “Independence,” and tens of heavy cruisers, continued to bombard and strike the positions of the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters in the mountains around Beirut and especially in the Beqaa Valley with all their firepower.

The American air force and naval artillery have also bombarded the joint Arab-Syrian forces which have been deployed in the Beqaa Valley with the approval of the Lebanese government.

As for the Soviet social-imperialists, as far as I can see from their deeds and their bombastic statements, it seems that they are doing nothing at all about these things that are occurring, about the attacks which are being made on the Palestians and the Lebanese or even about the attacks which are being made on the Syrians. Why do I say this? I say this because even though the Soviet Union has a “treaty of friendship” with Syria, it has played and is playing the role of the deaf and the blind. This is not the first time that the Soviet social-imperialists have betrayed and left “their Arab friends” in the lurch. The Soviet social-imperialists are interested, more than anything else, in selling them the maximum number of weapons so that they use them up as quickly as possible and then buy more weapons, rather than in carrying out the

pledges they make in “the treaties of friendship” which they sign with one country or another, and in engaging in open conflict with the American imperialists.

Now there is more and more talk about a “package political plan” said to be prepared and hatched up under the personal patronage of the American president, Reagan, for the settlement of the Middle-East crisis. This plan does speak about the creation of a dismembered “Palestinian state” under the domination of the anti-Palestinian king of Jordan, but its main objective is to guarantee secure borders for Israel. This is the third installment in the achievement of the aims of Israel, American imperialism and Arab reaction, for the dispersal of the Palestinian people and the sabotage of their just struggle.

Our people have special sympathy for the Palestinian people, because they have waged and are waging a resolute and heroic fight, and we have supported and will go on supporting them in the ocean of loneliness and betrayal in which they find themselves today. Even though betrayed and abandoned as the Palestinian people are today, they will triumph. They will triumph, for they are fighting for a just cause, for their return to their homeland usurped by the Israeli aggressors with the open support of the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the reactionary forces of various Arab countries...

The crisis in the Middle East can never be solved until the martyred Palestinian people regain their homeland stolen from them by the

Israeli aggressors, and this will be achieved only when the political, economic and military influence of the superpowers and the other imperialist powers has been dealt powerful blows and been totally rejected by all the Arab peoples. In this sense, this year showed that the primary question which faces the Palestinian people, the Lebanese people, the Afghan people, the Iranian people and all the other Arab and non-Arab peoples of the Middle East is to avoid falling again into the traps and the misleading and disruptive plots of the superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and Israel. They must establish and strengthen genuine unity among themselves in order to resist and overcome the united forces of Israel, the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the local feudal-bourgeois reactionary circles. Only resolute, uncompromising struggle, based on genuine Arab unity, will lead them to victory, to true independence and freedom so that they can utilize their colossal wealth, their oil, for their national development and social progress...



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