

**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*

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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 whole-heartedly 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, Palestinian 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 honourable 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 Kupa, 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 strug-

gle 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. Some say that they are Guevarists. If this is so, it means that they are not Marxists. 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 correct 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.⁽¹⁾ From the experience of our country, we can tell you that our ex-king Ahmet Zog, after thoroughly fleecing 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

1 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.

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 hand, 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 Hussein was ready to wipe you out in Jordan, if you had not taken up arms. You said stop, also, to Karame (2) 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, there-

2 Former prime minister of Lebanon.

fore, 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 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 Boumedienne 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», (3) all the neighbouring states, supported by the great powers of that time, Britain, Germany, France, Russia, etc., fell on our country

3 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.

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 the aid of the Czar 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 Czar 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 (4) in the past, begs the imperialists for 5 kilometres here and 7 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 combated 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

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

voice loudly in defence of the cause of the Palestinian people and against the «Rogers Plan», which 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 motor-car 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 for ever 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 necessary 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 broth-

ers 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 everything 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 whole-heartedly. 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 whole-heartedly, 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 disap-

peared 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 coexistence 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.⁽⁵⁾ 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 propaganda that they are alle-

⁵ Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks to the functionaries of the Foreign Ministry who were present at this meeting.

gedly 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 genuine 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!

«Against *Modem Revisionism*
1968-1970»