



man and  
his word



**The Real  
Beginnig of a  
Destiny**



In his speech at the Congress of the General Union of Palestinian Students, held in Algiers on August 22 of this year, the President of the Democratic Popular Republic of Algeria, Houari Boumediene, summed up the fundamental problems that have confronted and confront the Palestinian people in their liberation struggle, placing emphasis on the unity that must, of necessity, prevail among all those who fight for that just cause, beyond all partisanship, beyond all borders.

Dear brothers:

It is a pleasure for me to greet you at the closing of the work of your seventh Congress which I hope will provide a new impulse to this sacred and human cause, the just Palestinian cause. We evoke this question not only because it constitutes the major preoccupation of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, but also because it represents a just and human cause.

The Algerian people who receive you today are always ready to provide you with their unconditional and unlimited support while you pursue your struggle for the recuperation of the subjugated homeland. In no sense do I say this to inspire sympathy and enthusiasm. The Arab people of Algeria lived through a long period of colonial domination of the population of their territories during which our country was considered an integral part of France, despite the existence of the Mediterranean which separates Europe from the African continent. France claimed that Algeria was an integral part of what was called the metropolis. But history has shown that the battle the Algerian patriots waged against colonialism reduced those claims to nothing. And what yesterday seemed to be an intangible truth to the eyes of the occupant, was revealed as only dreams and illusions. I say this because some maintain that the Palestinian cause is too complex and impossible to resolve, given the character of colonization of the population implicit in the occupation of Palestinian territory. Nevertheless, just as in Andalusia or in certain Arab countries, an Israeli community lived in Palestine. But it was the diaspora that caused such evils in Palestine, colonized its territory, expelling its children, ridiculing its moral and spiritual values. There are many examples in history, rich in their teachings, that still today represent a valid source of inspiration. We consider that there are real similarities between the Algerian cause of yesterday and that of the Palestinians today.

It is very evident that what was considered impossible for Algeria



yesterday, has become a reality in which we are living today, together, in this land. Doesn't the Palestinian cause also seem difficult to resolve? It is certainly true that it is a just cause and that right belongs to the Palestinian people. But for reasons it is useless to cite, the world has tried to deny the existence of Palestine as a people and as a homeland, as a history and sacred right. And in spite of the propaganda of the Zionists and their allies in the world, the situation has changed radically, and this is because of the will of the Palestinian youth who decided to take their own destiny into their hands, without any tutelage from the Arab League and other international organizations.

In effect, the real beginning occurred when an elite of Palestinian youth decided to engage in armed struggle, to use revolutionary violence as a means to impose a legitimate right, to preserve an entity and to free the homeland. I remember having had numerous meetings with Palestinian leaders since the beginning of the armed struggle of their people. We have had long conversations, in which we then reviewed all the existing institutions, Arab and others, reaching the conclusion that a single shot was worth more than a hundred speeches in the United Nations. Yes, the right of the Palestinian people is in the barrel of the fedayeen's gun.

You and your parents have lived through bitter times in tents, while the world's only concern was to seek a false solution to the problem of the refugees. This world had forgotten that a just and human Palestinian cause existed, that a right had been abused there. It only became aware on the day that the Palestinians themselves arose to defend their rights and began to create difficulties and preoccupations for all parties. In other words, the world only became aware of the Palestinian cause when it understood that the Palestinians would in no way renounce their rights and that they were determined to re-edit the legend of Sampson who, when he destroyed the pillars of the temple cried: "After me, the deluge!"

The type of struggle the Palestinian people have chosen is undoubtedly the most appropriate for the success of their cause.

While the Palestinian cause presents problems for the Arabs, it is necessary that it retain its priority character in the concerns of all the Arab countries; while this cause also presents problems for those of wealth and force who want to take over the energy sources; while the Palestinian cause also presents problems outside the Arab nation, it will be insured the greatest opportunities for victory.

Dear brothers, these are some of the reasons that operate in favor of an effective and necessary armed struggle, when all other means — particularly political and diplomatic — have suffered a real defeat. In stating that there are no means outside armed struggle to recuperate the plundered right, we have other examples from history in our favor: peoples of Asia, Africa and the Arab world have won their independence through armed struggle and the endless sacrifices they made. The Palestinian people must always be in the vanguard and work so that the Palestinian cause is the principal cause of all Arabs. One war, then two, three four, have erupted over the Palestinian problem and still others will erupt as long as the Palestinian people have not recuperated their rights.



Since then, the Palestinian cause has lived in every Arab citizen, illiterate or educated. That is why the conflict has been unable to reach its epilogue, even after four wars. The war of October could not end the conflict, which can only continue to gain in intensity as long as the fundamental problem has not been resolved. And the fundamental problem is not the Sinai nor Golan, but Jerusalem and all of occupied Palestine. That is where the crucial problem continues to be: the Arab Machrek will not have peace even if Israel evacuates all Golan and all Sinai. Our point of view is and continues to be that Arab solidarity — and there is an element in this that must be remembered in the present state of the situation — must necessarily be oriented toward the Palestinian, Egyptian and Syrian peoples, that is toward the peoples whose lands are under occupation. It would also be necessary for this solidarity to fully play its role in the course of the next stage, in favor of the Palestinian cause. Because for solidarity to be truly real, it is necessary that it help the Palestinian people to make their cause advance. That is the position of Algeria. And when the sessions of the last Arab Summit meeting were held in Algiers, we proposed, as an essential condition for any type of joint Arab action, the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And we will always maintain this position.

With this decision, dear brothers, we would like to leave the state of ambiguity that prevailed in the past and that permitted many to take benefit and advantage at the cost of the Palestinian cause. And it is in order to reach the greatest clarity possible that we have insisted on the question of representation. As for King Hussein, we have said that he didn't even have land to recuperate nor a problem to resolve. We said so after the September massacre, that we will never extend our hands to hands stained with the blood of innocents.

We said this and we refused to participate in the mini-summit in Cairo whose objective it was to end these massacres. The Palestinians participated in it out of obligation and duty, but it was not permissible for us to be there, since Hussein had truly killed, jailed and hunted Palestinians at his whim. And Hussein went to Cairo as if nothing had happened. This is one of his customs.

During the October war, Hussein refused to participate in the battle on the pretext that he had been given no green light; then, after several days of combat, in which he had been asked to take part, he used a new pretext of not having air coverage. And that is how he sent certain army troops to Syria to liberate Golan, while Jerusalem was under Zionist occupation. The conclusion we draw from this attitude is that Hussein never believed that Jerusalem formed a part of his kingdom, or that Transjordan formed a part of the Hachemite kingdom. Because if he had really believed this, he would have struggled, even if he only had rocks to fight with. At the time that the war in the Sinai and in Golan was unfolding and the enemy air force was bombarding and destroying Damascus and other Egyptian targets, the Hachemite sovereign watched the events like a simple spectator, as if nothing was happening.

That is why I think that, according to the logic of history, this gentlemen has definitely withdrawn from the cause, accepting the

consummated deed, that is the return of the Hachemite kingdom to its original borders. What is now suggested is that King Hussein has no role to play in the events of Machrek. On this level, I express Algeria's point of view, which has been proclaimed in the course of various meetings.

This should not be interpreted as a criticism of an Arab leader or any other Arab policy. But since this is our conviction, our analysis and our point of view concerning this cause, it is our duty to ask ourselves today, in the light of what happened in Washington with King Hussein, what is the objective of this operation, of the new participation of King Hussein in this replay?

Is his objective to create confusions or leave a window open to carry out the designs of Jacob (who could be Kissinger or someone else)?

We are not against the attempts at peaceful solution that are currently unfolding, since we are not partisans of war for war's sake. We do not ignore the fact that we live in a world ruled by norms that are not easily changed at this time. But we still do not understand what purpose King Hussein is pursuing in this replay. Assuming that the negotiations headed by Kissinger have achieved their objective and that Israel has agreed to withdraw completely from Sinai and Golan, what remains? Finally, Transjordan remains. Let us suppose that the United States has exerted pressure on the Zionist administration and that it has accepted the withdrawal from Transjordan on the condition that this territory is not surrendered to Palestinian authority: under these conditions, what will the solution be? It is possible that the North Americans answer the Arabs by saying they have made every effort possible, that they have worked in favor of the recuperation of the occupied territories — Golan and Sinai — but that Israel rejects the establishment of an authority in Transjordan. That is why Transjordan would have to be returned to King Hussein. In this way, the problem will be Palestinian-Arab, or inter-Arab, as was the case with Viet Nam and Cambodia.

Dear brothers, I hope that we will not reach this point, that King Hussein's attitude will not complicate this problem still further. That is why we believe that the parties implicated in this cause are Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Israel. There is no fifth party. In addition to those countries, there is the role that the United States and the Soviet Union have to play. But there will not have to be a *pax Americana*, because the situation is very different in this region since what is called the "balance of forces" has changed.

This is what causes us to work in favor of the consolidation of Arab solidarity, in the interest of the overall cause. The axis of this solidarity must exist, in the first place, among the Arab parties whose territories are occupied.

I told a Palestinian leader that we, as Arabs, support the Arab cause in general. But if we should have to choose between the interest of the Palestinian people and that of an Arab State, we would choose the Palestinian interest.

Dear brothers, the present stage is delicate. It is delicate from

the historical point of view and if we do not arm ourselves with the necessary vigilance, we will then be dragged along a cliff whose beginning we know but whose end we don't know.

One of the important results of the war of October was having conquered the fear that prevailed in the region. It was demonstrated that the Arab soldier can do much when certain conditions are provided. The Arab man, soldier or fedayeen, proved he was capable of miracles. But we cannot forget that the essential objective still remains to be achieved and that the results of the last war have to be evaluated accurately without any exaggeration. And taking off from this, we must make correct predictions and remain ready, because the battle has not ended and it is not easy to end it. If some think that this battle will end in Geneva or Washington, I for my part believe that the real solution depends on Arab will in general and that of Palestine in particular.

We have achieved certain gains that are not to be deprecated. The Arabs are respected abroad after the last war and particularly after "the energy battle." These gains must be exploited to the maximum because if we let this historic occasion pass — on the one hand to liberate our territories and on the other to build the modern Arab society — we then run the risk of retrogressing to the tribal era.

This then is our analysis of the situation. We do not think of petroleum only as an arm, but also as an effective means of national construction, since the question of edification is very important and must be on a par with armed struggle. As for what some say, that we must struggle only for the liberation of our lands, scorning the other aspects of the struggle for construction, there is something illogical about this in our view. To those also, theoreticians of defeat, who have vociferated against the growth of our technological and economic potential, we say to them that this reasoning proceeds from a great poverty of analysis.

The exploitation of energy (petroleum and gas) for our benefit, in the present phase, permits us to consolidate our positions in the world. Because the world of today does not react to sentiments; in its vast majority, it only reacts to the material.

Dear brothers, as representative of the Algerian people, we commit ourselves to supporting all the positions that you have to take. In other words, Algeria's position will be that of the Palestinian people themselves. We respect the blood of the pure, the blood of those youths who prepare to face death, saluting their comrades for the last time, who march forward with an iron will in the fulfillment of sacred duty.

I have read all the letters of the fedayeens who died in the field of honor in occupied Palestine, letters written before their departure, knowing there would be no return...

We are surprised that certain countries and certain Arab parties are still trying — as in the past — to create partisan currents among the ranks of the Palestinian resistance.

Dear brothers, we don't ask that you be partisans of the FLN, nor Nasserites, nor Beathists. We only ask that you, above all, be Palestinians.

And in conclusion, I wish you full success in your work.