

Arab situation. On the other hand, it is against the false Arab propaganda which uses Arab slogans to cover its impotence and persistently tries to confiscate the independent Palestinian role.

The decisive conclusion in this respect can be summed up as follows: There is no way to ignore the Palestinian national factor, nor to take this factor in isolation from its broad Arab national dimension.

The second lesson is about the international factor in the struggle.

While dealing with the experience of the forty years since the establishment of the Zionist entity, we cannot but notice the great influence exercised by world public opinion and the international community in the emergence of this entity, as well as in its preservation and consolidation over the years. Without an international consensus burdened with the abhorrent shadow of Nazism, without the illusions about Zionism which penetrated even the circles of our allies, what has happened would not have happened; the whole history of the region would have taken a different course.

Today, with the increased interconnection of the regional and international factors of the conflict, whereby the whole world appears as a single battlefield, the struggle to win over world public opinion and the international community seems even more essential. Any underestimation or ignorance of the international factor appears as infantile adventurism, causing the most serious harm to the process of our struggle on both the Palestinian and Arab national levels.

A prerequisite for our success in the struggle to restore the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, is the collapse of the image of 'Israel' in the eyes of world public opinion, and its emergence as an ultra-reactionary force which threatens world peace and stability, and is in the forefront of the imperialist-reactionary assault to hinder the development of the revolutionary liberation movement in the world. As stated above, the last forty years have shown the reactionary, fascist and racist nature of 'Israel'. We only have to go on waging our struggle wisely and skillfully to win over more circles of sympathizers and supporters for our legitimate cause.

'Israel' is strategically allied with US imperialism; it supports counterrevolution in Africa and Latin America; it is a partner of the US military-industrial complex in Star Wars, being in possession of the atomic bomb as well as its delivery system-the Jericho II missile which constitutes a threat to the southern part of the USSR.

We have a concrete possibility of success in this struggle (for world public opinion). We have already made considerable progress in this respect, especially after the popular uprising in the occupied territories, which has clearly shown the racist, fascist character of the Zionist entity. Yet complete victory in this battle requires a number of conditions, primarily the following:

1. It is essential to maintain the strength and tempo of the struggle, and to guarantee its continuous ascent. No matter how fully our cause and tragedy are understood, the world does not respect the weak; the force of logic is never an alternative to the logic of force... Moreover, the precision of the Palestinian revolution's political line plays a decisive role in

this respect.

2. It is necessary to come closer to the attitude of the international community without compromising on essential matters, and to give up rigid positions which widen the gap between the special Palestinian position and the international position. It is necessary to reconcile with the international community which has come closer to understanding the legitimacy of our national cause, as expressed in a number of resolutions and positions adopted by international and regional bodies, including the socialist countries, the nonaligned countries, the OAU and the Islamic Conference.

How can we meet the position of the international community while maintaining the essence of our demands and goals, and avoiding compromising our full national rights? How can we resolve this apparent contradiction between accepting the international will and resolutions, and adhering to our ultimate goals and slogans? Within the limits of this article we are going to give answers:

a) How to keep in line with the international will and the mainstream of world public opinion, so that we don't become isolated from the movement of the world and its effective forces?

The point of departure for answering this question lies in formulating an interim political program which is in the realm of historical possibility and acceptable to the majority of the international community. Sticking to mere repetition of general and ultimate slogans is not understood in international circles and may make it impossible to win over broad sectors for our struggle against the enemy. Thus the interim program of the PLO, the program of repatriation, self-determination and an independent state, was appropriate. Hence, our support to it and our adoption and defence of it as being the program of Palestinian national consensus, which also enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the international community. Undoubtedly, the success of the Palestinian people in restoring their legitimate rights to repatriation and building their independent state will pave more than half of the way to the liquidation of the Zionist-imperialist project in our homeland, and to the realization of the ultimate goals of our people.

Some may oppose the concept of stages in the struggle, saying that the attainment of an interim solution may come in the way of a strategic solution for the Palestinian issue. This point is going to be dealt with while answering the second question.

b) How can we reconcile with the will of the international community without compromising the national rights of our people? What is the way out of this contradiction?

Our confidence about resolving this paradox stems from realization that the reality of the Zionist state can be exposed before a broad spectrum of world public opinion which mistakenly thought that they had planted a «lamb of peace» and an «oasis of democracy» in the Arab «desert of repression and barbarism». We are not exaggerating or relying on illusions; the world is gradually coming closer to understanding the reality of the Zionist entity.

The Israeli strategy is based on the concept of the enemy as including all those whom it has invaded and may invade for religious, nationalist or political reasons, as well as their actual and potential allies. According to this strategy, the danger lies