

not only in the real capacities of the enemy but also in its latent potentials. Israeli aggression aims not only at undermining a real threat, but also any potential one.

According to this concept of the enemy, the concept of force - its policies and components - is defined in such a way that military force is the sum of all economic, human, social and scientific capacities. Guided by this strategy, 'Israel' concluded a memorandum of strategic understanding with US imperialism, which has been further developed so that the Zionist entity has become equal to the NATO allies in the imperialist network. Overlooking the details of this memo and its annexes which make 'Israel' a spearhead in the offensive against all the forces of peace, progress and socialism in the world, we can clearly see that the essence of the relationship between Zionism and imperialism can be summed up as follows: 'Israel' is at the service of the imperialist plan globally, while world imperialism is ready to serve the regional objectives of the Zionist project. This relationship has been translated into reality on many ugly occasions. 'Israel' has rendered many a service to world imperialism, especially in dirty work which the USA, for many reasons, could not directly undertake; 'Israel' acted as a surrogate for the boss of the imperialist camp. On the other hand, throughout the years of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Washington has placed itself at the disposal of 'Israel' and its «grand» regional schemes, with all the military capacities of the imperialist camp.

In this relationship, 'Israel' has risen from being a hiring instrument to being a partner in the imperialist camp's global system of interests. In view of the supreme Israeli strategy and the nature of the relationship between Zionism and imperialism, it is natural to state that the interconnection has become equally strong and organic between the success of the Palestinian people in retrieving their ultimate rights from the claws of the Zionist state, and the success of the forces of peace, progress, liberation and socialism in their battle against the imperialist center. The battle against these two reactionary centers becomes one; no matter how different the fields and the weapons, the protagonists remain the same.

Of course gradualism is not the only way we can win world public opinion to our side. The current struggle over the convention of a peace conference for the Middle East is also a battle, an intense one, between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary camps on the regional and international levels. The international conference we are for is an arena for the struggle of wills, and a means to build the broadest world public opinion against the arrogant stubbornness of Zionism. It has become clear that only 'Israel' and the US are refusing a fully empowered international conference under UN sponsorship, with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council, as well as the equal participation of the PLO. Palestinian support to the convention of the conference greatly contributed to transferring the ball into the Israeli court. International pressure has started to shift from being exerted on the Palestinian-Arab side, to being exerted on 'Israel'.

A rigid attitude towards the international conference could have isolated and suffocated the Palestinian national efforts. How can we imagine the status of the Palestinian struggle on the international level without the support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist and friendly countries? How can we

imagine that the Palestinian position be in sharp contradiction to the positions of the international allies of our revolution?

Serious, comprehensive confrontation of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance is impossible without Palestinian, Arab and international agreement. Such agreement has to be based on a well-defined political program which is within the limits of historical possibility. As experience has shown, the current program of repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state is the historically possible program in the foreseeable future; and an international conference is the suitable mechanism for implementing this program.

Thus we can face the Israeli dimension with the Palestinian dimension, the Zionist dimension with an Arab nationalist dimension, the imperialist dimension with an internationalist dimension-all within the framework of comprehensive, persistent confrontation until complete freedom and independence are won.

As for the shift from the interim to the strategic slogans, this depends on our ability to make this shift within the realm of the historically possible, not only in the realm of propaganda and proclamations. The proper beginning is to convince our allies that the enemy we are facing is not only a threat to the Palestinians and Arabs, but also a threat to world peace and stability - to all the forces of peace, progress and socialism.

'Israel' and Zionism are playing an active counterrevolutionary role in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They are getting fully involved in the schemes of Washington and the West against the socialist countries. They are trying to revive the so-called Jewish question in these countries and to put the immigration of Jews on their agendas, and carrying out broad propaganda and agitation campaigns against socialism. In this way, 'Israel' provides us with the objective basis for success in our task. It remains for us to make good use of the objective basis through a sound policy which does not drop strategy from the current and interim tactical considerations, nor overlook the ultimate goals of the Palestinian people.

The third lesson concerns the dialectics between the struggle inside Palestine and the revolution outside (the interior and exterior).

This question emerged especially after the 1967 war when all Palestine and about half of all the Palestinian people fell under occupation. Before 1967, a Palestinian center in exile had not clearly materialized. Palestinian struggle was just beginning. The militant role of the Palestinians in the 1948 occupied territories was not as clear as it is now. There is a wide controversy over the nature of the relationship between the interior and the exterior factors... Many a time the one overwhelmed the other, especially the latter at the expense of the former...

The PFLP has been in the forefront of the tendency which acknowledged that there were two essential bases of the Palestinian revolution, which are mutually interdependent.

1. The first base is inside occupied Palestine. There, half of our people are waging a fierce daily struggle against attempts at political liquidation and cancelling their national identity, against Judaization and settlement-building, plans for joint Israeli-Jordanian administration, the conspiracy to appoint ►