

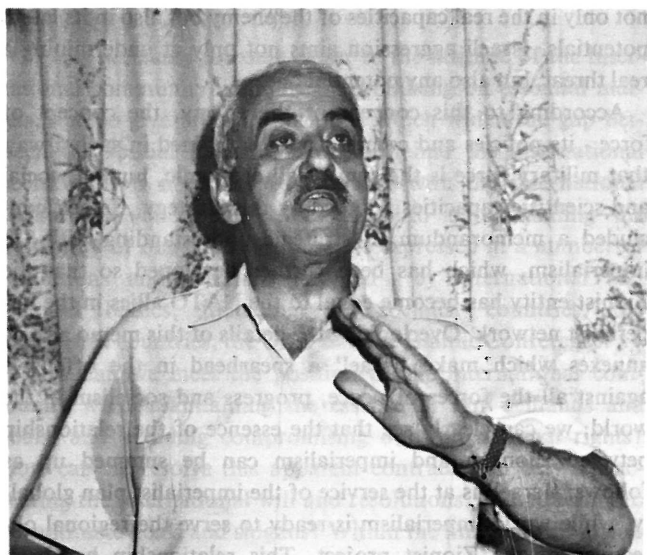
(Palestinian officials) and attempts to create a reactionary leadership as an alternative to the PLO. In brief, they have fought all the policies and attempts of the occupation to liquidate our national cause, whether through direct violent methods or political schemes coordinated with the Jordanian regime.

2. The second base is represented by the main body of the revolution with its leadership, informational, socio-political and military institutions and organizations, which after the massacres of Amman and Jerash in 1970-71, were transferred to Lebanon, and are now facing further problems after the 1982 exodus (of the PLO from Beirut). Throughout the last twenty years, this second base faced different attempts to uproot and liquidate it. Our people have paid dearly for defending this base; thousands of martyrs fell in battles against both the Zionists and those Arab forces who tried to put an end to the Palestinian armed struggle.

In the course of the contemporary Palestinian revolution, the dialectical relationship between the two bases has been consolidated and developed. Each has affected the other both positively and negatively; each has influenced the rise and decline of the other. Each has tried to fill any relative gap left by the temporary weakness of the other, enabling it to rise again, so that our people, at home and in exile, could continue their united struggle in all fields under the same banners and for the same objectives, within the common framework of the PLO. It is true that sometimes we have witnessed incidents when the interior predominated through a broad popular uprising. It is also true that at other times, the exterior seemed to monopolize the struggle, when armed struggle over the borders was stepped up, or when there was intense confrontation between the enemy's external aggression and the armed popular resistance, as in the case of the invasion and siege of Beirut in 1982. Yet, it is also true that we constantly experience this deep dialectical interaction, this solid association of the exterior and interior. There is no other way as long as we are a single people with a single cause and a single leadership, i.e., the PLO.

This interconnection has affected not only the Palestinians, but also their enemies who have waged regular, coordinated attacks on both bases at the same time. Whenever the Palestinian revolution outside the occupied territories was encroached upon, the enemy's attention concentrated on the territories which are considered the path to the second stage of the Camp David accords. Whenever the occupied territories were subject to the iron fist and campaigns of repression and terror, the enemy forces concentrated on undermining the prestige of the PLO abroad, it being the main impediment to the US solution. Thus the cause of our people is one-a cause of national liberation, independence and self-determination.

These are the dialectics of the interior and exterior factors which have been emphasized throughout years of experience, without being diminished by moments of ascent and decline on different occasions. No doubt at some stages of the Palestinian struggle, the exterior factor was held to be more important than the interior one, especially during the distinctive, broad, legal presence of the PLO in Lebanon before 1982. We must admit that the interior has, on many occasions, been accorded insufficient attention by the different contingents of the



Palestinian revolution. Although this fault is due to well-known circumstances and reasons, its dangers cannot be underestimated. We must reject its continuation or repetition.

No matter how important the second base of the revolution becomes, the occupied territories remain the main battlefield where the result of the struggle will be decided, in close connection with the exterior as well as the Arab and international links. In these blessed days of the heroic uprising of our people, which is entering its sixth month, we hear voices trying to belittle the significance of the second base of the revolution, claiming that Palestinian struggle outside is secondary. Such views were expressed previously in 1982, and especially after the camp war in Lebanon. Then some reached the erroneous and dangerous conclusion that the second base had completely collapsed and we had no choice but to depend exclusively on the struggle inside the occupied territories.

Disregarding the ill intentions of liquidation which lie behind some of these views, and assuming good faith on the part of those who advocate them, we may say that we are facing a seriously mistaken view. The interior is considered an essential and decisive base. Yet it cannot achieve our people's full legitimate national rights without being associated with the struggle of the exterior, without deeper interconnection with the struggle of the Arab masses and their patriotic forces, and without close alliance with the struggle of the international movement for peace, progress, liberation and socialism. While admiring the epic heroism of the masses in the occupied territories, we should consider the role that the Palestinian revolution and masses in exile must play, in addition to the role required of the Arab national liberation movement, and of our allies and friends on the international level.

To sum up this condensed examination of the interior-exterior dialectics, we would confirm that the Palestinian revolution has from its very beginning had two essential bases. It continues thanks to the interaction of the two bases. While considering the first, i.e., the interior, to be the primary and decisive base, we cannot for any reason underestimate or cancel the significance of the second essential base of the revolution which is outside Palestine.

While dealing with the interior and exterior, we have to distinguish the particularities of each Palestinian community