

and notice the distinct role that one or another group can play in the long process of our people's militant struggle.

When talking about the interior, we immediately think of the West Bank and Gaza Strip which were occupied in 1967. We usually overlook the territories which were occupied in 1948. This approach is wrong. Our people and homeland that have been subject to occupation since 1948 are an integral part of the Palestinian people and land. We must do our best to increase their activity and contribution to the heroic struggle of our people against their enemies. We should raise the level of their role from solidarity and support to full actual participation... We must carry the spark of the uprising to the Galilee, Triangle and Negev and to every town and village in occupied Palestine... the whole of Palestine. Perhaps this is what the Zionist enemy is most concerned about. The Zionist leadership expresses fears about changing conditions in these areas, and the spread of the spark of uprising over the so-called green line to burn everything, including their attempts to tame our people. This weapon, i.e., our masses in the areas occupied in 1948, has not yet been used fully. We have to think seriously of how to make use of it in the best way.

Concerning the exterior, although all the Palestinian communities in different places, especially in Lebanon, have significance, the Palestinian community in Jordan is exceptionally important. We have to pay attention to this group which is an extremely vital part of our people for a number of reasons, including the following: (1) the size of this community which constitutes the majority of the population in Jordan; (2) the special relations between the Palestinian and Jordanian people who are united by a common destiny in a single national movement; (3) the particular role played by the Jordanian regime in facilitating the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary schemes which aim at the liquidation of our people's cause under different guises; and (4) the geographical consideration due to the permanent attachment of the two banks of the Jordan River, and the longest border with the Israeli enemy...

For these reasons, the PFLP's 4th National Congress in 1981 not only dealt with the two bases of the revolution, but allocated a lot of time to the particularity and essentiality of the Jordanian arena.

The fourth lesson is related to armed struggle and other forms of struggle.

One of the most prominent mistakes/lessons which previous experience has clearly shown is the necessity of achieving a creative combination of the different forms of struggle without exaggerating one at the expense of others. For years, especially immediately after the beginning of the revolution, armed struggle was considered the only form of struggle; this was also confirmed in the official documents of the PLO. However, with the development of the revolution, our view on this question matured and crystallized, especially as the revolution successfully embarked on political, informational, diplomatic and mass struggle, etc. This by no means decreases the importance of the armed struggle or relegates it to a secondary level. Armed struggle will continue to be the principal form of struggle, as the lever which has brought about all the important political gains of our people. It is the lever which carried our cause, revolution and the PLO to the positions they are now occupying on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels.

It must be stressed, however, that armed struggle by itself, divorced from political, diplomatic, informational and mass action, remains incapable of materializing the objectives and

achievements that our people look forward to and for which they make heavy sacrifices. Our battle against the Zionist enemy is a comprehensive one in all senses. The enemy is fighting us with arms, politics, diplomacy, finances, economics and propaganda; it wages a war of history, heritage, culture, etc. Hence, we must confront the enemy in all these spheres.

We must know how to conduct our political and diplomatic battles. We must know how to isolate the enemy internationally by exposing its reality. We have to mobilize all our forces to deprive it of its advantages in the Western mass media by winning over wide sectors of world public opinion through successful use of information in the battle. We have to wage a battle on the economic front, targeting the enemy's interests and thus depriving it of the chance to benefit from them in building up its socioeconomic structure. We have to expose its attempts to encroach on our history, culture and heritage.

We have, first of all, to assign a definite role in this battle to each Palestinian in the occupied territories, in the adjacent Arab countries and in exile abroad.... We have to convert our militant action into a complete symphony where each and every one of our people has his clearly defined role. In addition, we in the revolution bear the responsibility of mobilizing all friendly and allied forces in both the Arab and international arenas, and of striking 'Israel' and its links with world Zionism and imperialism. The successful experiences of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have taught us the importance of armed struggle in fighting the enemy. Yet the same experiences have also taught us the importance of using the various forms of struggle without underestimating any of them.

While facing an enemy which is trying to negate our very existence, erase our identity and culture, falsify our history and divert the attention of the world from our legitimate rights, how necessary it is for us to learn the ways of waging the struggle on all fronts with all weapons - the gun, the book, the picture, the poem, folklore, information, diplomacy, etc. It is also essential to strongly adhere to armed struggle as the principal method, because we are facing a fascist, racist enemy which is armed to the teeth.

The fifth lesson is about avoiding confrontation between the strategy of people's war and other strategies.

One of the mistakes/lessons which must be considered while dealing with the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the Zionist entity, is not to put the strategy of the protracted people's war in opposition to the strategy of classical warfare. For several years, ideas have prevailed in our ranks that the strategy of the protracted people's war is the sole, adequate strategy for confronting the Zionist-imperialist enemy. The strategy of the regular classical warfare was considered useless and unsuitable for confronting the enemy camp. The emergence of such views, which still have some influence in the Palestinian ranks, is due to several reasons including the following:

- There are quite a number of successful experiences which showed that a small people could score a decisive victory and defeat reactionary-imperialist enemies which were much superior in arms, technology, resources, etc.

- Some Arab regimes have capitulated and proved incapable of carrying out the required task in the struggle for the restoration of Palestinian and Arab rights.

- Such regimes have also withdrawn from waging any