

struggle existing today. For the struggling Palestinians of today, this is their real history; it is the continuing resistance, despite all defeats, which makes up their history. From this history, pride as well as knowledge develops. None of these actions - all of them *necessary* - has been useless; not even those which at the moment might have *seemed* completely 'wrong' or 'useless'.

But, says a 'hesitant friend', is there really no truth in the question put to Yassir Arafat: «Are you aware that every militant action in Israel gives another vote to LIKUD?»? Isn't it also true that the Palestinian cause is hurt by actions that upset international opinion?

Certainly, is the answer; certainly there is truth in both these thoughts. The question is only if that truth is the most important truth. Of course repression and extreme reactionary tendencies develop from the actions of the oppressed. It was like that in 1910, and it is like that in every situation of oppression. But should this lead to the conclusion that resistance should be given up? No, of course not. There exists no 'should': what exists is the necessity of resistance, the evident fact that the oppression, the exodus, the massacres, etc., give rise to resistance.

In fact the 'hesitant friends' do not realize that the most important thing is not what occurs within the enemy camp and within international opinion, but what develops among the oppressed and the struggling themselves! The deciding question from the standpoint of solidarity is this: Does a certain action, or certain type of actions, strengthen the Palestinian resistance or not?

We have today a situation where the positions and feelings of the Palestinian people are, to a great extent, still influenced by the barbarian Zionist aggression against Lebanon in 1982. There exists resistance everywhere, in the refugee camps, in Gaza, in the West Bank, in the Galilee. Yet this resistance suffers from a certain demoralization resulting from the massacres in Lebanon, and from a certain confusion concerning the course of the resistance in the new stage. Don't the Palestinians need to get rid of all demoralization and confusion? Don't they need to be strengthened in their faith in the possibility of continuing to develop the resistance? Will that not be the effect if they, for instance, experience how their fedayeen, their avant-garde, manage to act in the center of 'Israel', despite the seemingly total superiority of the

Zionists? Is not the daily resistance in the refugee camps or in the West Bank strengthened? Is not the basic political and organizational work supported by these and other 'spectacular', visible actions? Has there not always existed an important relation between the armed, 'visible' actions and the daily, popular resistance?

Isn't this the most important truth about these actions which lead some friends to hesitate? Of what real importance is it if the Likud gets more votes? Were not all the tragedies that hit the Palestinian people prior to 1977 administered by Zionist governments led by the so-called Workers' Party (Labor)? Has the Palestinian resistance any reason of importance to make a difference between the leading parties in 'Israel'? Should the resistance movement at *this stage*, when 'Israel' still is so strong, start to decide its basic policies according to the small nuances between Peres and Shamir? Isn't it true that such decisions belong to the final stage of a struggle and not to its earlier stages? Incidentally, is it correct to state that 'Israel' is stronger under Likud than under 'Labor'? Is not the opposite correct: That an extreme right-wing government is a sign of the weakness of a society, a sign of deepened contradictions? Isn't it, for instance, good for the Palestinians that immigration slows when Likud is in power?

What about international opinion? In reality, it is not that opinion, but the Palestinians, who are going to liberate Palestine. To have the support of international opinion is of course important; in later stages of struggle, it will be of increasing importance. However, first of all, the Palestinians have to become strong themselves! They have to be strong before it becomes really useful to have the support of international opinion. If not, the effect of a positive opinion could be that it first of all helps Ronald Reagan and other enemies in their efforts to put a lid on the Palestinian question. From another angle: What do the exiled, oppressed and struggling Palestinians think of an opinion which forgets all Zionist barbarism because of a single Palestinian action?

Thus, to real friends of the Palestinian people, the basic thing is always to start from the realities of the Palestinian masses. This is the only way to adhere to a standpoint of solidarity, and the only way to be able to make a difference between matters of primary and secondary importance.

«But they attack civilian targets!» exclaims the 'hesitant friend' finally. Yes, so did those Palestinian peasants who attacked the kibbutz of Degania in 1910, Degania which is situated where the Palestinian village of Umm Juni was destroyed. What are 'civilian targets' in a colonial state? Are kibbutzim and other settlements in the Gaza Strip, Golan Heights and West Bank, civilian targets? If not, when and how were kibbutzim and other settlements created before 1967, changed to 'civilian'?! Is, for instance, the ministry of industry, commerce and tourism (that was attacked by the DFLP in April 1984) a civilian target in the sense of an 'innocent target'? Or is it an active colonial institution which, for instance, would never support the creation of a Palestinian or 'Israeli Arab' factory? Is it not the supreme authority concerning the commerce which plunders the occupied West Bank, and uses tourism in order to stimulate the immigration of more colonialists?

Moreover, it is crucial to get rid of all illusions concerning the reports of Palestinian resistance in the 'ordinary' media! Every single thing they publish is turned inside out or upside down. The Palestinians have vast experience with this. They have, among other things, continuously witnessed how the Zionists ruthlessly risk the lives of 'their own people' in order to strengthen their propaganda which changes Palestinian actions into 'senseless massacres'. The Palestinian resistance does not consist of lunatics or ruthless fanatics, but of patriots who are fighting for the freedom and future of their people and their land.

In their thoughts about 'civilian targets', the 'hesitating friends' should first think over what kind of a state 'Israel' is. Yet basically they have to arrive to a position which gives the Palestinians the right to resist and attack even in a stage when they have not yet the strength to always choose 'clearly' military targets. Of course, the point is to realize that every Palestinian action is first and foremost an expression of the situation of the oppressed and of the *continuous Zionist terror*.

There will be a day when the Palestinian liberation movement is strong and developed enough to make attacks that can deepen the contradictions among the Israelis, when more and more Jews will realize that Zionism is only making them into cannon fodder for colonialist and imperialist interests.