

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh). “The Liberation of Occupied Countries and the Method of Struggle Against Direct Colonialism”. *Revolutionary Studies and Experiences* No. 8 (1967). Translated by *The Palestinian Revolution*, 2016.¹

Introduction

Occupation is founded upon the axioms of domination and usurpation. Its well-known characteristics are the invasion of countries, the establishment of control over the resources of peoples and channelling their energies towards serving the interests of colonising countries. Military power is the external façade of foreign occupation. However, this visible frontage conceals behind it more dangerous phenomena including the colonial exploitation of the human and material resources of oppressed countries. The worst type of occupation is settler-colonialism. This takes place when invading countries attempt to bring sections of their peoples so as to take the place of native peoples; the former carrying out their aggressive role of dispersing, exploiting, or exterminating the latter. French colonialism in Algeria is an instance of that settler-colonialism, and an even uglier example is the Zionist occupation of part of Palestine, the usurpation of that territory, and the expulsion of its inhabitants. This colonial epidemic has also spread in many other parts of the world, including Rhodesia and South Africa.

The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed successive waves of colonial invasion carried out by European countries following the emergence of the industrial revolution in their continent. Due to extreme overproduction, it became necessary for industrialised states to search for new markets so as to sell the excess of produced goods. This led to the flourishing of trade and the expansion of its horizons on a global scale. It was also the beginning of a new era, marked by the scramble for occupying Asian and African countries. The development of material and scientific means and the ensuing increase in modern innovations led to the advancement of the military forces of European states and the expansion of their arsenals. Each of these states also had merchant fleets sailing across the oceans and the seas in search of fortune. Communications grew between the various continents and trade and maritime connections expanded. Accordingly, the wealth of colonising nations grew and so did their ability to continue to occupy weaker countries.

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As a result of their competition over colonies, conflicts and wars began to erupt amongst European states. Each country strived to maintain its colonies. All means were utilised towards that end, including the liquidation of the spheres of influence held by competing powers. As a result of these struggles, the contours of European nationalism began to take shape. In many cases, it was expansionist, aggressive, and racist in its content.

Conflict did not only erupt between states, but also within them. Class struggle emerged as a result of the development of a new bourgeois class and the growth of the working class amidst destitute living conditions. Class cleavages grew within each of the industrial countries leading to the intensification of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Nevertheless, the working class was yet to have a fully developed revolutionary consciousness allowing it to specify its socialist demands in a manner that could remove oppression and destroy exploitation. Class consciousness did not crystalize until Marx theorised scientific socialism, articulating class struggle as the basis for the development of human societies. In his view, nationalism was a bourgeois phenomenon built on the exploitation and subjugation of other peoples.

With the onset of the twentieth century, many colonised peoples began to awaken, especially following the spread of socialist thought. The latter paved the way for the organisation of the working class, increasing its power and its ability to develop human society, and allowing it to assume its leading role in liquidating colonialism and building the society of prosperity and justice. Undoubtedly, the assumption of the toiling masses of their principal role of liberating their homelands has also contributed to the liberation of countries and the liquidation of colonialism in its various forms.

This introduction is a necessary prelude for discussing the liberation of occupied countries and the manner by which direct colonialism could be struggled against. Through it, we see how colonialism developed as the last crowning stage of capitalism. We also note that, in its subjugation of peoples, colonialism initially depends on military power, modern tools, and technological means. The biggest collaborators with colonialism and its bases of power are the capitalist, grand bourgeois, and feudalist classes. Moreover, the weakness of revolutionary consciousness or its complete absence amongst many colonised peoples aids the survival and consolidation of colonialism.

I – The Masses

The starting point for the liberation of occupied countries is dependence on

the masses as a revolutionary power that is capable of liquidating occupation and direct colonialism. However, and before all else, the subjective and objective conditions for each particular occupied country must be taken into account. These conditions must be consciously studied so that plans could then be drawn and implemented.

Without question, the growth of international public awareness has helped increase the possibility of liquidating direct colonialism as a phenomenon that contradicts the current stage of human development. As a result of growing international awareness of the need for liquidating colonialism, there is a rising interest on the part of many countries in aggregating the common struggle of colonised countries in a positive, effective manner. In other words, the subjugated world is beginning to join together in a broad front to resist direct colonialism. This tendency has increased the ability of oppressed peoples to rid themselves of foreign occupation. It has also created an incentive for many of these peoples to work towards that end. The early twentieth century has witnessed several revolutionary uprisings against direct colonialism.

This followed the deliquescence of revolutionary thought in a manner that pushes the masses forward and moves them to work towards the destruction of colonialism and its bases.

II – Armed Violence

Resistance against direct colonialism must begin with moving the masses and organising them as a principal base for struggle against colonialism and foreign occupation. Yet, the mass character of the struggle does not solely suffice for the liquidation of colonialism; organised popular work must utilise armed struggle as the inevitable method for liquidating colonialism and its foundations.

The “masses” is a word that is often flaunted by numerous reformist movements whose struggles take the form of demonstrations, strikes, sabotage, and on the spot resistance against the forces of occupation. In many cases, this leads to the abortion of popular struggle as well as causing lethargy within revolutionary movements and spreading despair amongst their ranks.

In the revolutionary tradition, the “masses” is a designation for the toiling and the deprived that recognise that their interest lies in the struggle against colonialism. Nevertheless, the struggle against direct colonialism does not only include these toiling masses, but also involves many individuals

belonging to the national bourgeoisie. This means that resistance against direct colonialism must initially take a national form.

In many countries, the national bourgeoisie views colonialism and foreign occupation as its enemy and considers its removal to be in its interest, not the least because it is its natural replacement. Additionally, and for all their negativity and wavering hesitation, intellectuals take a revolutionary stand in the national struggle, imbuing the revolution and the resistance with clear intellectual content.

Taking into account the objective conditions prevailing within each country, we notice that the method of armed violence is ascendant, and it is almost inevitable in the struggle against occupation and direct colonialism. Moreover, most revolutionary struggles boast a distinctly popular character. Increasingly, this character is taking a specific form that especially includes workers and peasants, but also- and with greater limitation- encompassing revolutionary intellectuals.

In sum, we could state that the method of struggle against direct colonialism is a popular war of the masses on the widest scale, and that armed violence must be used as the method for liquidating colonialism. The masses are the arm of revolution. However, the masses could also become an instrument of sabotage if they are not well organised through a revolutionary program that raises their consciousness and alerts them to their heroic role in resisting colonialism and its foundations. Furthermore, pushing the masses to action must not take place in a chaotic, random, or spontaneous manner. Rather, this should be done in accordance with revolutionary principles geared towards specific goals and in accordance with the needs of each stage required in the struggle against colonialism.

Conviction and belief in victory are two important factors in popular struggle, and the masses cannot move and consciously advance unless they solidly believe in the necessity of armed struggle in light of the experiences and outcomes that we witness on a daily basis and that are confirmed by the events unfolding in different parts of the world.

III – Revolutionary Vanguard

If the masses are to bring about revolution, then they must have a conscious leadership that leads their armed struggle towards the liquidation of colonialism. In other words, there is a need for armed revolutionary vanguards carrying praxis of thought and action, and personifying the

actuality of struggle in full sight of the masses so that the latter would emulate them and march under their leadership.

Raising the slogans of armed and popular struggle is not enough for eradicating colonialism. There is a need for practically illustrating the nature of these slogans and embodying them in a palpably existing model. This takes the form of armed revolutionary vanguards exemplifying the fight against colonialist forces and displaying total dependence on the masses.

The fusion of the masses with the struggle does not happen directly and in a short amount of time. Inevitably, there should be an interim period in which the vanguard practices its struggle tangibly so that it could eventually inspire the masses to join.

We must also be aware that the spread of revolutionary ideas cannot be assurgent amongst the masses without the presence of a conscious revolutionary vanguard revolting against the realities surrounding it.

Those who advocate the necessity for raising political consciousness amongst the masses prior to the materialisation of armed struggle in front of their eyes are mistaken. Political work alone is not sufficient to move the masses in a constant manner. On the contrary, it will contribute towards inflicting the deformity of dispersion in the midst of the popular base, causing the latter to lose its trust in its leadership and emptying the patriotic movement of its revolutionary content.

Armed struggle and the raising of revolutionary awareness must march hand in hand. The former allows the masses to feel their active identity, restores to them confidence, and protects them to a great extent from being subjected to acts of suppression and terrorism. Historical experiences have shown the need for armed struggle to be distant from the cities at its nascent stage, taking place far away from the locations housing the instruments of colonial terrorism and tyranny. For, the safety and protection of revolutionary bases must be ensured first.

IV – National Unity

The presence of armed revolutionary vanguards revolting against their reality is the starting point of struggle against direct colonialism. With the passage of time and the persistence of their armed resistance, these vanguards will undoubtedly be transformed into conscious bodies that are characterised by depth of thought as well as sophistication of revolutionary method.

Aside from its popular nature, the other characteristic of armed struggle is its longevity. There is no use in attempting to achieve full victory or a decisive series of victories by means of quick operations and in the blink of an eye. Such an attempt would indicate a struggle that is spontaneous in its conception, viewed by the armed groups carrying it as a tactic oriented towards achieving immediate gains. A long-term vision is accordingly essential. Moreover, the struggle must have a strong base upon which it could depend and from which it could be launched. So as to guarantee the safety of the revolution, this base must satisfy an essential condition: presence in a defensible location, surrounded by masses that support, or rather actively interact with, the struggle.

Historic experiences of numerous peoples indicate that the armed struggle against colonialism could often crystalize within multiple revolutionary groups and parties, separately representing the various sectors that have an interest in fighting colonialism. This necessarily undermines popular efforts and reduces the efficacy of armed revolution. Accordingly, and in the experience of many peoples that have fought or are currently fighting against direct colonialism, the slogan of “national unity” or the “united front” are closely tied to the struggle.

As such, each revolutionary movement must study the prevailing social system relevant to it, classify the sectors existing within it, and identify the classes that have an interest in revolution and those classes that view revolution as contradicting its interests. It should moreover study patriotic parties, as well as their programs and class composition. On these grounds, it should evaluate their readiness to participate in the armed struggle. The armed revolution is subsequently responsible for working towards unifying the forces of the people and creating an alliance- if only temporary- between the various patriotic parties and movements. Indeed, the stage of struggle against direct colonialism requires national unity so as to increase the effectiveness of the revolution and its ability to achieve its objectives. National unity is also needed so as to shrink the forces opposed to revolution and to simultaneously isolate colonial forces completely from the social reality of the people in struggle. Unity is accordingly an essential component of the resistance movement.

The idea of adopting armed violence as the inevitable method in liquidating occupation was not just the outcome of personal opinion or intellectual reflection on the part of revolutionary men. Rather, this has been a successful experience that has materialised in the course of the struggles of many

colonised countries. This is a perspective that has accordingly assumed the status of a general law in the history of mankind, imposing itself in all wars of liberation. These wars pit technologically and scientifically advanced forces of occupation possessing massive arsenals against the forces of the colonised people fighting with primitive old weapons and tiny resources. This is why the principal aim of popular war is to marshal all the energies of the people in the service of the resistance against colonialism, not the least so as to fully isolate colonial forces from the masses so that they do not find amongst them any form of collaboration. Additionally, the war of the masses increases the anxiety, nervousness, and insecurity of the coloniser and ruins the aims underlying its presence such as exploiting the human and natural resources of the colonised country. Armed violence further reduces the possibility of bourgeois collaboration with the coloniser and it allows for destroying the collaborators and traitors upon which colonialism relies.

Colonialism will not easily leave and abandon its interests and greed just because the masses carry out political activities demanding its departure. Colonialism arrived by means of violence and oppression and it will only leave and be eradicated violently as well. Colonialism takes the logic of profit and loss as the measure of its interests. As such, whenever these interests are threatened, it tends to confront the threat by all violent means available, until it finally accepts the need for leaving the colonised country after securing the highest percentage of profit possible. The history of colonised peoples has often revealed to us how colonialism tries to strangle the patriotic fight for independence by precipitating splits or carrying out negotiations, settlements, and concessions; all of which are geared towards preserving its interests to the greatest extent attainable. On many occasions, the resistance movement suffers from fracture and division as a result of concessions offered by colonialism on the condition of abandoning armed struggle. Accordingly, patriotic movements must be conscious of the need for refusing to terminate armed struggle until the achievement of their objectives.

Even when a patriotic movement achieves the withdrawal of colonialism without being tied to any conditions prejudicing national sovereignty, it must be conscious of the fact that colonialism leaves behind rotten social residues. The extent of the rottenness and rootedness of the remaining colonial presence within society depends on the length of the period of occupation as well as the resistance capacity of the society in question and the vigour of its revolutionary immunity. The residues left by colonialism could take the form of economic, social, or cultural institutions; military bases or connections with foreign alliances; or aid that is tied to declared or classified political stipulations. These residues could also be embodied in the figure of an

individual ruler or a number of individuals; a reactionary regime; or a class, be it capitalist, bourgeois, or feudal.

From the above, it becomes clear that colonialism could strike deep roots in the life of society and in its psychological makeup. In the context of foreign military occupation, this is certainly the case. As for forms of colonialism that entail the settlement of a foreign population instead of the native people, the situation is even more severe. In those cases, colonialism removes the social imprints of the oppressed people and splits it from its natural environment. It may also reduce it to an exploited class that works in the service of colonial interests, servile to the new class that has taken the place of the people and started to carry out life on its land. As such, the defeated people becomes, in all its classes, a single class of exploited toilers.

History has witnessed one of the nastiest and most violent forms of colonialism that took the form of expelling an entire people from its country, the occupation of its land, the shredding of its social being, and the imposition upon it of the punishment of genocide. This is exactly what our Arab Palestinian people has suffered, and continues to suffer from.

The Zionist conquest represents occupation in its most extreme form. Through it, our people was replaced by dispersed groups coming from a wide variety of societies and united by an interest in colonisation. The colonists are led by Zionism, a racist colonial movement backed by the financial and military means of Britain and America, the greatest imperial countries. Complicit in the grounding of the colonial presence during the time of the *Nakba* is a band of conspiring and treacherous Arab rulers. In addition to its settler-colonial nature, this form of colonialism is characterised by its aggressive expansionism. This type of occupation further attempts to provide historical justification for itself and to build its society on the basis of intellectual precepts derived from the Jewish faith.

In its occupation of Palestine, Zionism was aided by numerous factors. These have included the weakness of revolutionary movements existing within the Arab nation at the time. Significantly, the nationalist concept lacked mature crystallisation during this period. This meant that Arab nationalism lacked a distinct strategy, a conscious revolutionary plan, and a specific ideology that was capable of mobilising and activating popular and organisational energies and channelling them towards repelling colonial aggression. In other words, that phase experienced by the Arab nation witnessed the collapse of the traditional Arab presence along with the entirety of its social and intellectual institutions.

Without question, the Zionist occupation represents a turning point in the history of our national development, and it is a source of enmity to our nascent modern civilisation. In the meantime, it is attempting to build a cohesive society from the social, political, economic, and intellectual points of view. This is despite the wide divergence in the culture, traditions, customs, and outlooks carried by the various nationalities that constitute the aggressive Zionist society in Palestine. The first aim of colonisation was to gain *de facto* recognition for a Jewish state. The second goal was to remove any forms and all material and human constituents embodying Palestinian meaning. These included Palestinian identity, Palestine as a geographic entity, and the political and social signifiers and markers of the Palestinian people.

Zionism further attempts to disfigure the Palestinian cause, misrepresenting it as a regional problem between independent countries as opposed to a cause arising out of human tragedy and carried by a people that has been violently expelled from its land. Through this mischaracterisation, Zionism aims to win over international public opinion and to ensure its backing. This is facilitated by removing the question of justice from the cause, and stripping it of any geographic or political foundation upon which specific popular and mass demands for justice could be centred.

The colonial enemy has been able to erase the geographic manifestation of the Palestinian cause by establishing the Zionist and the Jordanian entities. As such, the Palestinian entity was erased, losing its social and political unity. The Zionists were subsequently left with the task of suffocating the living character of the Palestinian cause by means of diluting the Arabs of Palestine in neighbouring Arab societies.

The aim here is to cause the disappearance of the genuine instrument of revolution, which is – when it comes to the question of Palestine and its development – nothing less than the point of departure or the unit of measure.

Zionist colonisation has deprived the people of Palestine from its riches, capabilities, and internationally recognised being. This has had the effect of prolonging the drowsiness of this people and damaging the incentives of revolutionary action in its midst, not the least because of the dispersion of its popular constituents. In short, the Zionist occupation has been able to tear apart the geographic, political, economic, and social unity of the Palestinian people. This was an essential pre-condition for consolidating its occupation of Palestine and its presence as a replacement for its people, acquiring its

corporeal form as an existing fact that cannot be doubted.

The danger inherent in this form of comprehensive colonialism lies in the completeness of its social configuration. Through its self-projection, it attempts to take an eternal form of a society that has its own political, social, geographic, and international constituents. Other factors contribute to the anchoring of this Zionist conception of the aggressive colonial society currently present in Palestine, the most important of which are the material and military means possessed by the Zionists, and their attempt to develop them in a white heat.

Our correct understanding of the reality of the Zionist occupation confirms that regaining the occupied territory cannot take place except through armed violence as the inevitable singular method that cannot be avoided or disposed of in the battle for liberation. Additionally, the process of liberation does not only lie in the removal of colonial bases, but in the withering away of colonial society. Armed violence must therefore take diverse forms. In addition to eradicating the military forces of the occupying Zionist state, it should also destroy the industrial, agricultural, and financial foundations of Zionist society. Armed violence must aim at terminating the military, political, economic, financial, and intellectual institutions of the occupying Zionist state, so as to prevent the possibility of the re-emergence of a new Zionist society. As such, colonial military defeat is not the only aim of the Palestinian liberation war, but also the comprehensive de- Zionisation of the occupied territory.

If we examine the Palestinian cause from all its angles, it becomes clear that, as we pursue a solution for it, we need to satisfy several parties. For instance, if we consider that international public opinion has some weight and relevance, then we must offer it a solution that it can be satisfied with or accept (even if only hesitantly). At the same time, seeking acceptance from international public opinion does not entail changing the substance of our solution to the Palestinian cause, but rather the manner in which it is pursued. International public opinion has no right to contest our need for solving this cause. However, it has a right to know the manner with which we intend to solve it, not the least so that we do not get accused of fascism, anti-Semitism, or other inhumane designations. Appealing to international public opinion is an important factor in securing its support for the solution we put forth.

If the Palestinian people has a vanguard role to play then it must realise this role for itself. Rather than being used as a tool that rigidly receives Arab directives without any critique or amendment, it must mobilise itself,

organise its masses, and carry out the battle with conviction and belief. And if the Arab nation has a national role in relation to the question of Palestine, then we must evaluate its position in the cause. We must not deprive it from its right to contribute to the solution in a manner that corresponds to its destiny and its unified and liberated future. Before all else, we must admit that a large section of the Arab nation is paralysed in its will, almost completely lacking in interaction with the Palestinian cause as a result of the political quarantine imposed upon it by collaborating ruling classes. This situation means that the free Arab peoples will have to carry the burden of liberation alone, without the participation of the remaining Arab peoples that are under the yoke of despotic reactionary regimes.

Based on this conscious position, we could say that Palestinian struggle is the starting point for the liquidation of the Zionist occupation. This saying corresponds to the fact that the Palestinian people has a vanguard role in the liberation of Palestine. Certainly, the Palestinian people is organically connected to the Arab nation. Yet, by taking the initiative, it will allow international public opinion to recognise its right to liberate its land and to achieve self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter. By no means would that open up any space for blame or denunciation on the part of international public opinion. On the contrary, it will increase its interest in solving the Palestinian cause.

By freely and voluntarily assuming its vanguard role, the Palestinian people will lead the Arab nation to awaken and mobilise its efforts towards defending its lands in the first instance. A subsequent phase, which entails attacking Zionist occupation, takes place as the bloody struggle between the Arabs of Palestine and Zionism intensifies. This will allow for the liquidation of the colonial state or at the very least- if initial feasibility is absent- bringing the expansionist spread to a halt through undermining the means of Zionist growth. Surely, limiting the struggle within the boundaries of Palestine will reveal the nature of the battle as a struggle between the Arabs of Palestine on the one hand and the Zionist state on the other. If the latter attempts to extend the fight to Arab boundaries, then the task of the Arab nation begins, taking the form of repelling the aggression and ending Zionist occupation in accordance with the international conditions prevailing at that particular juncture.

The arrival of the battle of liberation to the stage of direct clash between large Arab forces and the Zionist army of occupation will increase the chances of other parties entering the conflict. This ultimately requires expanding the battlefield beyond the 1949 armistice lines. It also necessitates the merger of

Arab revolutionary forces, the crushing of cowardly reactionaries, the erasure of division, and the unification of Arab ranks and their leadership – all of which are essential prerequisites for winning the battle.

For now, let us leave such projections of what could happen, going back to more important things that we are living in the here and now.

Solving the Palestinian cause requires, as its starting point, a complete reconsideration of the components, assumptions, and precepts of the cause. The aim

here is not to reject or sow the seeds of doubt. Rather, it is to investigate the substance of these elements and to assess their sway on the realities of the revolutionary struggle with an eye towards ensuring its victory within the Palestinian arena. For instance, one of the unchallenged basic suppositions is a slogan that was raised in the Arab region stating that “Arab unity is the path of return.” The masses were drawn to this slogan, its emotional pull gravitating them towards it. Alas, it led to the decline of the actual importance of the Palestinian cause and its descent into the pitfalls of liquidation. This is despite the fact that the cause was the main element in the slogan and the apparent object of concern within it.

At any rate, as the course of events progressed, popular struggles ushered in numerous achievements for the Arab revolution in all its local arenas. Accompanying these achievements were gains as well as mistakes. The latter caused the masses to lose their manifest enthusiasm for the cause of unity, as a result of the blow that was suffered in the aftermath of the Syrian secession from the United Arab Republic.

As revolutionaries, it is our responsibility to maintain hope and not to lose faith in Arab unity. However, a long time is required before this hope and belief could be translated into reality. This is due to the tepidity that has afflicted the morale of the masses and their will to struggle. Accordingly, unity must be arrived at by taking a different route: the trail of Palestine. The slogan that is raised at this moment is “Palestine is the path of Arab unity.” Switching the terms of the original slogan is underlined by a precise logic. Like any other revolutionary notion, “Arab unity” must create upon its realisation a situation that completely differs from, and even negates, previously existing conditions. A process of such magnitude cannot occur in the life of any nation in a short amount of time. This is unless it experiences a severe shock that leaves a deep impact upon the life of society, its citizens, and collective behaviour. In other words, for the slogan of unity to be

realised, a historic transformation must be introduced, and a radical transformation of Arab social patterns must take place. Nothing less than a complete overturn in the life of this society would suffice.

Historic transformations on this grand scale are usually caused by wars, catastrophes, or promethean economic leaps. The battle for Palestine, a decisive battle between the Arabs and Zionism, is the means within the closest reach for bringing about this existential transposal and great transformation in the course of Arab national development. Otherwise, we shall arrive at Arab unity in an evolutionary manner and, every now and then, at those occasional moments when revolutionary forces are able to achieve constancy in their convergence.

Some call – before anything else – for the creation of a state uniting all the countries bordering Palestine, arguing that such a state is the only possible anchoring point for a solution to the Palestinian cause. In other words, the struggle for building this unified state must begin before entering the battle for Palestine. There is some truth in this point of view. Indeed, it would have been correct if this unified state was beginning to be established, or if events and realities were to indicate that its creation is within sight. Unfortunately, experience has demonstrated that this unified state cannot be realised in the near future. Its appearance was particularly unlikely in the context of the relatively static conditions that were recently surrounding us, especially prior to the convening of Arab summits and the launch of *fida'i* operations.

Underpinning the current difficulty in attaining a unified state is the conflict amongst Arab revolutionary movements over various doctrinal precepts. This renders it difficult for the revolutionary movements leading the struggle in liberated Arab states to converge, something that may happen after long experiences that will eventually lead them to arrive at a common revolutionary ideology of modern Arab society. However, the current doctrinal debate or conflict may be terminated or postponed, and the concept of Arab revolution could be deepened amongst all sectors, if all those concerned sensed that there are issues that are of greater interest to them than doctrinal discussion. The presence of such issues would necessarily steer them towards serving- with all their energies, thought, labour, and resources- a goal that is more important than ideological conflict: repelling Zionist aggression and entering the battle of Arab destiny in Palestine.

The Arabs need to choose the time and place of the battle and this must be emphasised as an indispensable element in their strategy. Indeed, there is a dire need for a revolutionary strategy that is simultaneously defensive and

offensive, rather than solely defensive as practiced in the past. Otherwise the initiative would be left to our enemy and it can then assault us whenever it wishes, safe from the possibility of a sudden strike on our part.

In this vein, there is a thesis that is put forth across the region, expressing fear at the possibility of tampering with Arab security. The proponents of this viewpoint ought to be reminded that Arab security must be centred on the inevitable need for saving Palestine and getting rid of the Zionist occupation, which is the greatest danger threatening this security and tearing it apart. Alternatively, some voices call for mobilising the masses and preparing them prior to entering the battle. Whoever thinks that mobilisation and political preparation can properly take place in the absence of daily revolutionary struggles touching the realities of the cause and turning about its liberationist axis is mistaken in their view. The masses tend to see clearly what they feel and sense. They are accordingly closer to engaging with local problems, marching towards building their own national societies and achieving gains within each of their Arab states rather than interacting with the Palestinian cause. Their concern with local problems that they live and breathe on a daily basis will lead them to a state of revolutionary limpness in relation to the Palestinian cause. Material and political stability will become one of their deepest quotidian goals, and they will strive to achieve it, forgetting or ignoring broader Arab national goals. Here, we mean to say that the national goal (the liberation of Palestine) will contradict the local goal (achieving popular welfare and building socialism).

As such, there was an immediate need for escalating the armed revolutionary struggles of the Arabs of Palestine, so that the Arab nation and its masses do not become absent from the Palestinian arena, and so that their revolutionary anxiety could be heightened, propelling them to enter the battle at the right moment before the Zionist enemy could increase its human, material, and technological resources, which are growing at a rate that far exceeds the relative growth of Arab national capacities.

The Palestinian cause must be solved by means of a popular war that depends on the masses as its conscious instrument. Regardless of the tensions we witness on the armistice lines, the popular solution is the one that is capable of liquidating the occupying Zionist state politically, socially, and intellectually. This is due to the fact that classical war may achieve a decisive military victory, but it is incapable of decolonising a society in its entirety. As for popular war, one of its aims will be the gradual replacement of the aggressive colonial society currently prevailing in Palestine by means of returning the dispossessed refugees to it. This will happen after armed

revolution causes a complete transformation in the life of the Palestinian people, a people that has been afflicted with multiple social ailments as a result of the *Nakba*.

Finally, the aim of the revolutionary escalation of armed Palestinian struggle is to remove the negative residues that have calcified around Arab consciousness, rendering it incapable of evaluating the stages of national struggle. These residues include fear of the occupation of the West Bank. This fear arises out of the constant Zionist attacks on Arab lands, the occupation of additional parts on each occasion, or the achievement of imagined victories in the aftermath of sudden quick assaults.

This fear has produced a complex of deficiency. It has led Arab consciousness to be haunted for a long time by the crisis posed by the Palestinian cause and its pending resolution. So that these residues could melt away, and so as to free Arab consciousness from the complex of deficiency, there was a need for the emergence of a practice removing trepidation and exposing its illusory roots. That is why *fidai* operations have been launched, directly eliminating fear and curing the complexes of inadequacy and occupation.