

twenty years, then you are wrong. The Amman accord means replacing the program of Palestinian consensus, the program for return, self-determination and an independent state, with a program for confederation with Jordan.

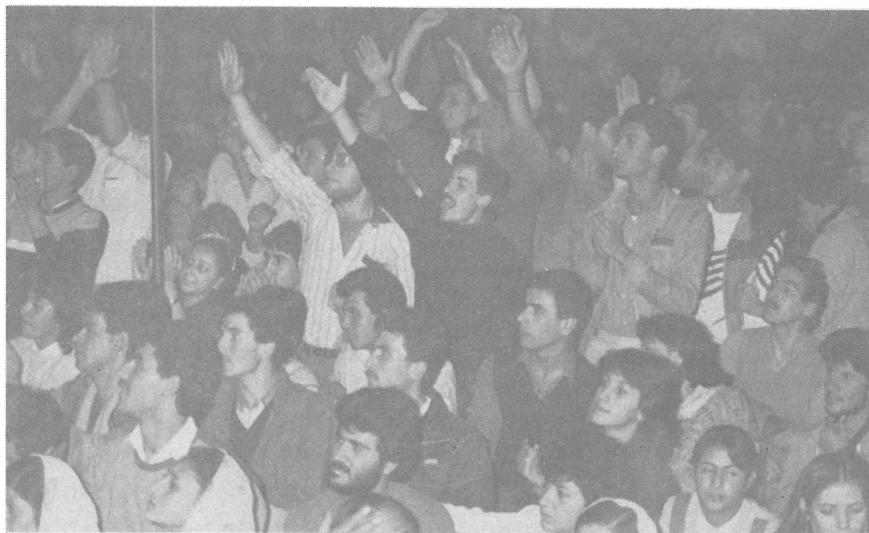
The Amman accord means relinquishing the big gain made when the PLO received official Arab and international recognition as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and their cause. Moreover, the Amman accord, in the minds of those who planned it, aims at being the second link in the chain of Camp David. It would become the second link after the heroic Lebanese people, together with Syria, abolished the May 17th agreement. By so doing, they negated the possibility that this agreement would be the second link in the application and Arabization of the Camp David accords.

1985-the most difficult year

I will be honest with you, with my comrades in the PFLP and the other factions of the Palestinian revolution, about the reality of the events which our revolution is now experiencing. The Amman accord means the collapse of the leadership that headed the struggle for the past twenty years, but this leadership still controls the path of the revolution and the PLO. That is why this year has been the most difficult ever. I wanted to say this clearly so that all democratic and nationalist forces, and all honest Palestinians, would prepare themselves to accept the responsibility that rests on their shoulders.

Still, there is no need to be frightened or worried, because the class forces that have borne the current revolution on their shoulders and given all the sacrifices, will always remain mobilized around the national aims. They will continue giving when there is a new class leadership that devotes itself to the masses. This leadership will continue the revolution despite all difficulties and obstacles.

In the course of the Palestinian national struggle, we have been through other critical stages - in 1948, 1967, 1982. Stages of this kind have special qualities. Since I have lived through this long experience, from 1948 until now, I have become aware of these qualities. When we face such difficult times, the masses may be hit by a case of temporary apathy. In the meantime, these difficulties also affect the vanguards, but in a positive way. The vanguards start drawing up plans for a new course for



the revolution, so that it continues and victory will be achieved.

It is important to realize that this process of salvaging the course of the revolution is not quick and easy. It is a matter of qualitative accumulation whereby the revolution becomes bigger and stronger and therefore able to continue.

Comrades, we all know that there are sectors of our masses and nationalist forces who still hope that things haven't reached this level. They think that those who chose this miserable road will change their minds upon perceiving the size of the concessions demanded of them, and the arrogance of the enemy with every concession they give. However, the experience of the past months has given a clear answer concerning this matter.

Will the right-wing return?

Let me explain this point: There is a group of people saying that the rightist leadership has given these concessions thinking to succeed in becoming a partner in the settlement; once this leadership finds that it is still not accepted, it will return to the national line in time to save the PLO. The last few months have given us the answer to this specific point. Murphy refused to meet with the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. The very same day, Yasir Arafat made a speech to the effect that the US had cheated him, for they had promised to meet with the delegation. Moreover, after Murphy's refusal to meet with the joint delegation, the PLO headquarters in Tunis were bombed; England refused to meet the joint delegation in London. Most people thought this would be enough to make the deviating, rightist leadership change its course, but did

this happen?

We will not discuss things on the basis of wishes and speculations, because there are plenty of these. Rather, the events themselves give the answer. At least three major events dealt hard blows to this leadership. What was their response? Did they return to the national ranks? No, their answer was the Cairo declaration in the presence of Husni Mubarak. The statement in Cairo, which is tied with the chains of Camp David, cannot be judged simply by reading the text. The statement told us that this leadership will answer Israeli and imperialist arrogance with more concessions.

We are a scientific organization that is not swayed by occasional comments or nice words. We work according to facts and reality. Yesterday, for example, Mr. Milhem (member of the PLO Executive Committee) said that the PLO will not recognize 242 even if we return to Jaffa. Every so often, Arafat declares that we will use armed struggle. Our duty is to protect our masses from such confusion. The course of events proved that, until now, this leadership answers the attacks of Zionism and imperialism with more concessions.

Thus, I would like to declare that when these concessions reach to the point of recognizing 'Israel' and direct negotiations with it, we will in no way permit the deviating right to continue saying they represent the PLO and the aims of the Palestinian people. At that point, we will feel that it is our right and duty to announce to the world that the national and democratic Palestinian forces who adhere to the national program, are the ones that represent the PLO.

We feel that the forces of progress, liberation and socialism in the world will