

stand with us and understand our position. These forces will agree to our position because their support is not committed to a particular faction or to Arafat; it is to the Palestinian people, cause and national independent state.

While relying on this analysis and expectation concerning coming events, our eyes will remain open to any contrary developments. I say this because some people until now still think that the rightist leadership will return to the national line. I would like to caution them against the balloons of confusion that are floated to distract attention from the rightist leadership's continuing deviation.

When the Amman PNC was held in November 1984, some said that we must be patient. They said that this PNC was only a question of where to convene it; that it had no political implications; and that there was no need to complicate things. They said the PNC will be held in Amman, and after that no more concessions will be given. Many delegations were sent to the socialist countries to explain that convening the PNC in Amman should not be considered more than a question of finding a site.

In May, some raised the slogan of national unity because of the tragic camp war. Everywhere we went we would hear that national unity was our main weapon for confronting whoever seeks to finish the Palestinian cause and armed struggle. But what about the Amman accord? Is it possible to unite with such a political program? We asked if they would cancel the Amman accord. Their answer was that it was already dead, but what happened afterwards? We all saw the relentless efforts to convene an Arab summit for the sole purpose of getting official Arab support for the Amman accord.

The latest example was the communique after the illegitimate PLO Cent-

ral Council met in Baghdad, calling for national unity. It said we must agree; the PLO is almost lost; we must all be responsible and stand together in order to save it. According to the communique, a committee was formed to pursue this task. Yet this same council that adopted the resolution to form this committee, adopted another resolution affirming the Amman accord and the Cairo statement. I worry about our masses' being exposed to this intentional and dangerous campaign of confusion. In the light of these campaigns, I say that return to the national position is only through declared and real cancellation of the Amman accord by those who signed it. Such cancellation is the criterion for judging the entire course pursued by the rightist leadership after the departure from Beirut.

The people's interests take priority

This is the right of all conscious, self-respecting people and nationalist organizations. The PLO was almost destroyed as a result of this rightist trend. Some are saying, «Don't set impossible conditions» or «Don't expect to get Arafat to admit that he was wrong.» Yet Arafat is not more important than the Palestinian people. *Abdel Nasser* criticized himself more than once. The interests of the Palestinian people take priority over everything. We have seen the individualistic way Arafat conducted the affairs of the PLO. This is why I emphasize that he is the one to be held responsible, first and foremost. Any self-respecting, revolutionary, nationalist force has the right to pass judgement on this trend and its destructive effects on the PLO. They have the right to demand the reconstruction of the legislative and executive bodies of the PLO, as a measure to protect the national cause.

Comrades, we do not see a possi-

bility that the rightist leadership will return to the nationalist position. I hope that this is clear. What we want is to provide a framework for all nationalist and democratic forces - both Palestinian and Arab - to confront the deviationist trend.

Another aim is to reassure friendly forces and our allies, especially in Democratic Yemen, Moscow and all the socialist countries, whose opinion we value very highly, that our past and present position on unity is a sincere one. Then they will concretely see that it is the rightist leadership that is splitting the Palestinian arena.

The Amman accord has dangerous effects on our struggle in the occupied territories. Jordan's puppets were revived, as were the village leagues. The enemy began the process of implementing 'autonomy' by appointing *Thafer al Masri* instead of *Bassam Shakaa*, the popular, elected mayor of Nablus. This is the start of implementing joint Israeli-Jordanian administration. The official Jordanian delegation which visited 'Israel', in addition to the secret ones, are other examples of how Jordan and 'Israel' are dividing the administrative role. All of this has begun to emerge as a result of the miserable political choice made by the rightist leadership, and the Amman accord.

Who throws the stones?

Yet there is another side to the picture. Our people's response is the escalation of armed resistance, as well as political and mass struggle opposed to the Amman accord and the capitulationist trend. The Zionists' declaration of the iron fist policy attests that they feel the reaction of our people to the deviationist trend. Thus, when I mention that this painful situation, suffered by our masses, must not cause fear or worry, I say this after having given my words much thought. After a time, we will witness a rectification of the revolution's situation.

I want to ask you this: Who has fought the battles? Who has thrown the molotov cocktails and the stones? Answer me that. Was it *Freij*? or *Shawwa*? or *Siniora*? or *Thafer al Masri*? If it was them throwing the bombs and stabbing the Zionist enemy, then we would have good reason to fear that our revolution is on the verge of collapse. You know, however, who the real fighters are - our toiling, revolutionary classes; they will continue the revolution.

In passing, I would like to mention that we will continue the revolution

Honoring the martyrs in Shatila

