



despite all. If national unity is achieved later on, the rightist figures will be allowed to occupy only the modest position they deserve in the revolutionary process.

The toiling revolutionary classes will continue the struggle against the enemy and all imperialist and Zionist plans, both politically and militarily. At the same time, we will strive for the unity of the nationalist and democratic forces. As PFLP, we raise the slogan: «Unity of all patriots who support the Palestinian National Charter and the national program.» In addition we will implement unity in the field with all sincerity, raising the slogan: «All the toiling Palestinians, regardless of their organizational affiliation, against the occupation and its plans.» We do not say that there is a state of collapse, and invite all to cry over it. We say that, true, there is this condition, but we point to the alternative for continuing our revolution.

Aims in Lebanon

Brothers and sisters, in this difficult year, our masses in Sabra, Shatila and Bourj al Barajneh have been exposed to serious attempts to wrench away their guns. It is our duty to extract lessons from this painful experience, in order to prevent recurrence of fighting among those in the same trench. We, the Palestinians, along with the Lebanese nationalist forces and masses, should start by realizing that the aims of the PNSF, and all the Palestinian forces opposed to deviation, differ totally from Arafat's aims. We in the PFLP and PNSF do not wish to control the decision of the Lebanese nationalist forces, as Arafat did before 1982. We do not wish to exploit the Lebanese arena and mass struggle to better a bargaining position

at the negotiations table. The presence of the PNSF in Lebanon is for entirely different purposes. I do not wish to be content with saying that we will confront all misconduct; this goes without saying. On the political level, our aims differ.

What does PNSF want from Lebanon? It is our right to fulfill the duty of protecting our Palestinian masses and camps. No leadership can ignore this duty, especially after the trials of 1982-85. Our people have the right to clearly specified civil, political and social rights which would be realized if a national democratic government came into being in Lebanon. Until that time, the PNSF has the right to ensure the masses' security.

Another issue has to do with our right to fight the enemy from Lebanese soil. There are those who tell us: «Fight from within occupied Palestine. You will find all the masses there ready to support you.» I appeal to those people to understand the special and complex nature of our cause. Such a call means asking us to fight heroically for a few years without any political perspective. It would mean an end to the resistance.

Some of you remember well our experience in the Gaza Strip. Some of you actually lived that experience. You remember the Zionists' acknowledging that the fedayeen controlled the Strip by night, while they could only control it during the day. Gradually, however, after the clearance of large areas of orchards and a plan, supervised by Sharon personally, whereby new roads were paved, the enemy was able to affect our struggle.

We give first priority to our struggle in the occupied territories. However, we do not consider that sufficient. We will not leave our masses in the occupied

homeland to despair. The presence of the Palestinian resistance outside has always constituted a moral and material support to our people in the occupied territories.

If these are our goals, then there should be no contradiction between the Lebanese nationalist program and the Palestinian national program. Therefore, we hope that the agreement concluded in Damascus, after the camp war, remains the basis for relations between the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese nationalist forces. Any development should be dealt with through dialogue. I am sure that we will always reach a positive solution if we adhere to the primary conflict with the Zionist and imperialist enemy.

We and Amal still have the Zionist enemy to fight - this battle is not over. We want a solution to the problem which has arisen between the Palestinian resistance and Amal, because any confrontation of the imperialist assault should be based on consolidation of the Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian alliance. The situation clearly calls for the slogan: «All guns against the Zionist enemy in the South and the security zone.»

For a national front in Jordan

Brothers and sisters, in the light of this difficult situation, we must be aware of the role of the Jordanian regime. The cancelling of the Amman accord requires serious struggle in the Jordanian arena, and the formation of a national front. The slogan for this process is: «Close all doors to US solutions.» The Jordanian regime has four alternatives open to it now: (1) direct negotiations with 'Israel'; (2) the Amman accord with the rightist leadership; (3) Camp David - Hussein is still hesitant, but does not reject it; and (4) keeping the door ajar to Syria.

If Hussein receives US guarantees concerning the settlement process in March, the pace towards negotiations will quicken. This shows the urgent need for mass struggle in the Jordanian arena, aimed at closing the doors to the imperialist and Zionist plans, and at the same time strengthening cooperation with Syria and the other nationalist regimes, and with the socialist community.

Brothers and sisters, all of you are aware of the connection between the Palestinian and Arab national struggle. Without this connection, the national liberation struggle has no horizon. This leads us to the subject of the Palesti-