

us and failed. The last time they tried, we were steadfast for 79 days under siege, and still they did not liquidate us.

We are now faced with another attempt to liquidate the PLO, and in this lies the danger of the current political moment...If King Hussein succeeds, and I'm confident that he will not — he will have offered the greatest service to imperialism, for imperialism and 'Israel' want the PLO's head! King Hussein wishes to boast of enticing the PLO leadership until it stoops and is prostrated. If the PLO refuses, he will cross it out, thus ridding the region of the so-called 'danger of the PLO'. This is the plan awaiting us. How do we confront it?

Husseins dilemma

It is my estimation that it is not easy for King Hussein to succeed because he knows he needs a Palestinian and Arab cover. This, by the way, was Reagan's advice to him when the seven-member delegation went after the Fez Summit. Reagan said: «I gave my plan and you must convince the PLO to mandate King Hussein.»...There will be a (pro-Hussein) Palestinian-Jordanian lobby. However, it will eventually become clear, as it did with the village leagues plot, that it is impossible for this lobby to be considered the representative of the Palestinian people.

The Arab cover won't be easy either. Even the reactionary regimes will find it difficult to give Hussein this cover, while they are so absorbed in the Gulf war. We all know the difficulty Hussein encountered at the extraordinary Arab summit in 1985. He attained only a partial cover. At that time, Hussein was a partner to the PLO. Now the reactionary regimes will ask: «What about your partner?»

Therefore it will not be easy to pull off his plan, but we would be greatly mistaken if we were to rely on these conditions. We must be determined to foil this plan relying on our own strength, our own plans and our ability to work to foil this plan...The PLO, our people and cause are in danger...How should we confront this plan?

The PLO is not Arafat

There are two main points for confronting the present danger: One is taking a very responsible stand on the PLO, its unity and restoring its national line. Shall we leave it to be swallowed by King Hussein, and dismantled? How do we save the PLO, our sole, legitimate representative?

The PLO is not Arafat. Whosoever has a grudge against Arafat should use his brain! We have strongly faulted Arafat...but the PLO is one thing and the rotten PLO leadership is another. Is Lebanon Amin Gemayel? Is Egypt Husni Mubarak? The PLO is not Arafat nor Fatah's Central Committee. The PLO is our hope, our national role, our only means for drawing the Arab national liberation movement into the conflict with the Zionist enemy. The PLO is the Palestinian people everywhere...

There are now suitable objective conditions for restoring the PLO's unity and national line...It is an unparalleled opportunity. Will they (the PLO leadership) take advantage of this or will they stand as an obstacle? It is the right of the masses to judge every organization and leadership. Who will work to restore the PLO as the Palestinian national force opposed to imperialism and 'Israel'?...Who will pose obstacles?

Cancelling the Amman accord

Taking advantage of this opportunity begins with cancellation of the Amman accord, publicly and clearly. Don't forget that Hussein kept the Amman accord. He acquired legitimacy

from the PLO, which he wishes to keep. Therefore, the will of the Palestinian people must be manifest in cancellation of this accord...There is no chance of genuine national unity before cancellation of the Amman accord...(This is the second main point in confronting the enemy plan.)

The leadership which signed the Amman accord is the one who can cancel it. We must struggle for the broadest national call for such cancellation. We must crystallize a popular will demanding cancellation. However, the one who can in the least time take advantage of the opportunity and provide the basis for restoring national unity, is the leadership which contracted this accord.

What has this leadership done up till now? To tell the honest truth, I am one of those who, despite scientific analysis, said after Hussein's speech: «I wish the leadership would think of the interests of the revolution and declare cancellation of the Amman accord.» But the hours passed, then days...We are waiting for the official statement from the meeting in Tunis. Up till now, nothing has been issued. At such a point, matters must be judged scientifically; responsibility must be designated. The channels for our people's struggle must be specified. The objective conditions for national unity must be complemented by subjective conditions, i.e., a stand by all parties of the Palestinian revolution...However, there is a great difference in responsibility between those who signed the agreement and can cancel it, and the other factions of the PLO...

The PFLP raises the slogan: Assembling the broadest national ranks to crystallize the popular will calling for cancelling the Amman accord, as a prelude to serious thought about the condition of the PLO...Cancelling the accord would constitute something qualitative, because this means cancelling the program of confederation with Jordan. Such a non-national program can only be cancelled on a patriotic basis.

After cancellation of the accord, all efforts should be channelled towards jointly concluding the lessons gained from the course followed by the present PLO leadership, through its dealing with US solutions...I remember when I was a child in the thirties, the common man used to say: «Our enemy is not the Jews. It is Britain.» Now we are in 1986. The official leadership forgets this great elementary lesson, the gist of which is that it is impossible to get anything for our national cause through colonialism or imperialism. We must update the experience to say scientifically: Betting on imperialism, to achieve our rights, is a tremendous mistake and must not be repeated in the future of the Palestinian national struggle. If the national forces do not learn this, then even if unity is achieved, it will be faulty from the start.

After that we must clarify the political line. Either we want this playing games, or we want to benefit from the experience of our masses. We must first stress the national program — the program of return, self-determination and an independent Palestinian state. Then we should take a number of clear political decisions that cannot be misinterpreted or played with by any party.

Still, this is not enough to guard national unity. There must be a trustworthy, collective leadership. Then our efforts should culminate in a Palestinian National Council — either the PNC with the composition of the 16th session, or a new one, because the composition of the 17th PNC was not as it should be for a national front. Then we can crown our efforts with genuine national unity...The PFLP will act on this basis...

Until national unity is achieved, we must remain steadfast in the face of the Jordanian regime's plans...Our task is to crystallize a popular Palestinian will in all places to declare con-