

positive effect on the results of the PNC. He participated seriously in the discussion held between the six Palestinian organizations that agreed on the Tripoli document (see *Democratic Palestine* no. 24 for text). This was one of the main documents discussed at the dialogue which preceded the PNC. On this basis, Libya welcomed the delegation from the Palestinian leadership after the PNC ended. Libya was also enthusiastic about the political results of the PNC, as was duly expressed by Libyan officials and the media. Libya is to reopen the PLO office as was agreed after Qaddafi's meeting with Abu Jihad (of Fatah's Central Committee).

While on this topic, we must also point to the efforts of other parties such as Algeria whose efforts complemented those of Libya and Democratic Yemen, and the efforts of our friends in the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. In short there were concerted Arab, progressive and international efforts which had a great effect on the results achieved during the PNC.

What repercussions will the PNC's resolutions have on the Lebanese arena, especially in terms of organizing Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist relations?

This matter was dealt with in the PNC. There was a special clause on the subject in the final political communique. Palestinian and Lebanese nationalist relations have passed through different phases. This requires that we deal with this matter in depth in order to learn from the lessons of the past.

In the phase before 1969, the national presence of the Palestinians residing in Lebanon was suppressed. They were oppressed by the Lebanese authorities more than anyone can imagine. The Lebanese authorities tried to enact the reactionary program for suppressing any Palestinian nationalist activity, even verbal political expression. This was an abominable stage unacceptable to any Palestinian or Lebanese nationalist.

In the second phase, the armed struggle against Israeli occupation began. This merged with the civil war which was ignited by the fascist, isolationist forces against the Lebanese nationalist forces and masses and the Palestinian revolution. There is no doubt that the patriotic Lebanese masses offered many sacrifices in defense of their nationalist position and the Palestinian revolution. This phase ended with the Israeli invasion of 1982. This phase was marked by faults. However, these faults do not negate the positive value of the patriotic trend that prevailed due to the presence of the Palestinian revolution and the joint Palestinian-Lebanese national resistance.

THE MAIN LESSON

One cannot but extract an important lesson from this phase. In our opinion the most important lesson is that the Palestinian revolution should not act in a way that undermines Lebanese nationalist decision-making, or try to dominate it. We have always struggled to establish correct Palestinian-Lebanese nationalist relations. It is our opinion that regarding Lebanese affairs, everyone must abide by the Lebanese nationalist decisions. Regarding Palestinian nationalist affairs, there is the decision of the PLO. In addition, there are joint issues, since one cannot mechanically separate the Palestinian national factor from the Lebanese national factor and the joint struggle against the common enemy. For such issues, there must be a basis regulating relations. This was missing during the seven-

ties and up till the beginning of the eighties. This should not, however, prevent us from making a critical review of this phase.

POST — INVASION STAGE

The third phase is that after 1982, which was characterized by a positive escalation of Palestinian and Lebanese national resistance against the Israeli occupation. There were many attempts to distort this struggle, especially during the camp wars waged against the Palestinian armed presence under a range of pretexts and slogans such as 'No return to the pre-1982 situation.' This is to insinuate that everything that existed before 1982 was wrong. Such demagoguery is intended to strike at the Palestinian nationalist armed presence and the Lebanese national resistance as well. It also aims to misrepresent the major role played by the democratic and progressive forces and parties, especially the Lebanese Communist Party (LCP). The LCP's heroic, militant contributions are known to the Lebanese people and all Arab progressive forces who followed the events in Lebanon. The post-1982 phase witnessed a rise in Palestinian-Lebanese resistance, supported by Syria. This resulted in the abrogation of the May 17th accord; it defeated the US forces and ousted the Zionist enemy from vast areas of Lebanon.

In the light of reviewing these three phases, we must derive the formula for joint militant, nationalist relations. The new formula must emphasize the role of the Lebanese nationalist movement and support its program for democratic reform, which underscores Lebanon's Arab identity, unity and independence. The new formula must also stress confrontation of the Zionist occupation and of the fascist, isolationist forces that are tied to the Israeli-US project. It must underscore the right of the Palestinians in Lebanon to nationalist armed struggle, and guarantee their social rights in this period. Our people do not aspire to more than being guests of the Lebanese people. They do not seek a substitute homeland or permanent residence in Lebanon as some claim in order to misrepresent Palestinian nationalism.

When relations have been established on this comprehensive basis, giving priority to the Lebanese nationalist tasks and to continuing the Palestinian national struggle, I believe that this will advance the process of benefitting from the positive aspects of the previous stages. It will suppress the negative factors which enemy forces tried to exploit to harm the Lebanese national movement and the Palestinian revolution. If we wish for a more thorough regulation of relations, then the Lebanese-Palestinian-Syrian alliance must be revitalized.

How do you view the escalation of Israeli aggression against South Lebanon and the Palestinian camps?

As efforts to restore the PLO's unity intensified, we noticed an escalation of the reactionary-US-Zionist aggression against the PLO and the bases of the Palestinian revolution, especially in Lebanon. The Israeli belligerence which we experience daily in Lebanon... is also being applied against the popular uprising in occupied Palestine. This uprising has spread throughout -Ramallah, Nazareth, Al Khalil, Gaza and Jenin - leaving the Zionists disconcerted. The Israeli officials have expressed their worry by tightening the iron fist. We are aware that the enemy's worries stem from the anticipated future rise in the struggle. This popular, militant, political movement in the oc-