

there has to be an alternative authority. It is essential to provide an alternative authority that shoulders the responsibility of forming popular committees to cover every town, village and refugee camp. The present growth of the uprising indicates an orientation towards meeting such conditions. Our masses are fully aware of the fact that such a great uprising cannot take place every day. Therefore, they exert every possible effort to keep the uprising going until its objectives are attained. Continuity is essential. Yet, continuity alone is not sufficient. The enemy should be confronted by further revolutionary means of struggle that force it to pull out. The most significant means is civil disobedience. The occupation forces have confronted the popular actions, namely the protests, demonstrations and sit-ins with increasingly intense oppression. They met the stones with cannons.

NATIONAL RESISTANCE PROVIDED THE EXAMPLE

While proceeding with demonstrations, strikes, stone-and molotov-throwing, people should envision ways to force the occupation to pull out. Lebanon provided a good example. When the occupation authorities feel that their losses exceed their benefits, they will pull back. Civil disobedience represents a qualitative step in this direction. It is essential to understand that we are not able to stage such an uprising every day. Therefore, the uprising aims to fulfil the slogan of freedom and independence, or most of the demands closely related to this slogan, the result of which will eventually be freedom and independence. I feel very glad when I see that our masses and their vanguards are fully aware of these issues. In the recent days of the uprising, the political slogan was clearly defined and there was an obvious move towards civil disobedience.

What is the PLO's role in fulfilling the uprising's slogan?

First of all, I would like to affirm that our masses inside Palestine consider the PLO, the institution, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In fact, the Palestinian people have a high degree of political awareness: They make a clear distinction between individuals and various names on the one hand and institutions and organizations on the other. Regardless of how certain groups of our people view this or that Palestinian leader, all Palestinians unanimously view the PLO as their only legitimate representative. I think that the Israeli enemy is well aware of this fact, as are the foreign correspondents covering the events of the uprising inside Palestine.

What should the PLO do now to make the uprising a success?

First of all, the PLO must strictly abide by the provisional national program in order to assure the Palestinian masses who are offering their lives in defense of the homeland. They should feel confident that the PLO leadership will continue to fully abide by the provisional program, the program of repatriation, self-determination

and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. The PLO should also assure the masses that it will continue to adhere to the common denominators of unity, i.e., the resolutions that were adopted at the most recent PNC in Algiers.

The foremost service the PLO leadership outside Palestine should provide to the uprising is to bolster the morale of our people in this regard. The Palestinian people should have full confidence in the PLO leadership's adherence to the National Charter. Consequently, anything creating anxiety in the hearts of our people should be completely avoided. There is no need at present to propose or announce things like a government-in-exile. There is no need to hold contacts with the Egyptian or Jordanian regimes, because such contacts raise questions in the minds of our masses.

As I said above, civil disobedience requires meeting certain conditions. The masses should be provided with the essential means of sustenance, such as bread and medicine, to enable them to engage in total civil disobedience. Many of the luxury things might be overlooked, but the minimal living conditions should be provided. This is a task for the PLO.

ARAB PARTICIPATION AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Moreover, the PLO should shoulder the responsibility of surrounding the uprising with the broadest possible Arab participation and international solidarity on both the popular and governmental levels. Take note of the fact that I have referred to Arab *participation*, and international *solidarity*. We do not accept only solidarity from the Arabs, whether it be the governments, the parties or the people. This is our chance; it is the opportunity for all those who consider the Palestine question an issue of pan-Arab struggle, to see this translated into concrete reality, so that our masses will not sneer at this slogan.

THE UPRISING CAN FOIL POLITICAL SABOTAGE

Some say that certain Palestinian circles, both inside and outside the PLO, may try to exploit the uprising to activate diplomatic moves and prepare the atmosphere for a political solution, any political solution. How do you view this?

I hope not. The uprising with its scope and political slogans is, I believe, capable of bridling such moves. I am not speaking about the far-distant future, nor even the near future. Up to the present moment, the US moves overlook the PLO... The attempts to abort the uprising, as of now, are essentially coming from the US administration and its puppet regimes in the Arab world. The possibility you mentioned still exists. We have to keep our eyes open. Yet, at this political stage which we are speaking about, the uprising itself will be able to harness any move that might be made by certain Palestinian trends. At present we must be careful not to allow the US to carry out its attempts via