

nature of the struggle, the Arab dimension of this struggle has come to rotate around the main axis, that of the Palestinian-Zionist struggle.

The third feature of this stage, which appeared more clearly than in any other period, is the role of the masses in making history - their potentials, abilities, initiative and talents. We are now living in one of the historical periods that has tangibly manifested what this expression means. After 1982 specifically, the masses reviewed the long struggle and the results of the Arab-Israeli wars. They reviewed the October War and Sadat's deviation towards Camp David, and they also reviewed the crisis experienced by the Palestinian armed presence in the Lebanese arena. They asked, «What about all the sacrifices? What about the hope? What about my legitimate national rights?» Consequently, they armed themselves with rocks, knives and molotovs against the occupation, to prove that they will defend their rights and remain alive until the achievement of victory.

The fourth feature of the new Palestinian stage was crystallized in the first few months of the uprising, when a set of values was established by the masses in the occupied territories, which increases our belief in our ability to achieve victory. These values are self-reliance, international and internal solidarity, despising the life of exploitation, emphasis on economic self-sufficiency and boycotting Israeli products. A new set of values crystallized during the first year of the uprising which, all together, constitutes a new stage of the Palestinian national struggle, and paves the way for a new stage in the Arab struggle. This is the uprising. We must know what the uprising means historically and how to use it on the Palestinian and Arab levels.

On the Arab level, you all know that in 1978 began the stage of Camp David and the struggle against it, as it was correctly designated by the progressive forces and parties. The Camp David Accords meant the surrender of Sadat and the Egyptian regime, and its discontinuing the struggle against the Zionist offensive. This led to the establishment of a tripartite alliance, imperialist-Zionist-Arab reactionary, confronting the Arab mass movement's aspiration to uproot the Zionist invasion.

This is the Camp David stage and the struggle against Camp David.

What has happened during these last ten years? All formulas that were drawn up by the Arab League and the Arab nationalist governments failed. The Baghdad resolutions to isolate the Egyptian regime evaporated, as did the Syrian-Iraqi agreement... The Steadfastness Front? Where is it? All the tactical steps that were taken to face Camp David ended. This means that the Camp David regime, that raised the Israeli flag over the skies of Cairo, will attend the next meeting of the Arab League. We are now witnessing the complete deterioration of the official Arab position. The subject is not Sadat, because there will be a Sadat II and III, and IX and X. Now our masses in the occupied territories are introducing the model and example, not only to the Egyptian masses, but to all the Arab masses and Arab national liberation organizations. That shows that the masses can, despite all difficulties, fight for their rights and hopes. It is impossible for the masses to raise the banner of surrender. For this reason, we said that the uprising represents a new stage in the Palestinian national struggle and will begin a new stage in the Arab national struggle.

THE PNC

Comrades, I want to address the vital political subjects concerning the uprising and the PLO, which were the main topics of discussion before and during the PNC. The first result of the PNC was the Declaration of Independence. What is the Declaration of Independence? It is the responsibility of every Palestinian to read it, study it, and to ask about every phrase in it. The Declaration of Independence announced the establishment of a Palestinian state on Palestinian land, based on the natural and historical rights of the Palestinians to Palestine, and on all the legitimate international resolutions. The various articles of the Declaration of Independence cannot be interpreted separately. Some understood that the Declaration of Independence means the complete and final recognition of UN resolution 181 and thus of the partition of Palestine. ►

