

Please read this declaration so that we don't allow any Palestinian leaders to interpret these decisions as they want. We are ready to return to the text to judge and to fight political battles, not as the PFLP alone, but with the DFLP, the Palestinian Struggle Front and the Palestinian Liberation Front, realizing the importance of the text and the possible danger of tactics and the importance of monitoring them. In this specific period of the Palestinian revolution, the announcement of the Palestinian state is a correct decision. Each and every comrade in the PFLP, not only in Syria, but also in Lebanon, the occupied territories and everywhere, is asked to enter every Palestinian home until the masses are deeply convinced of the correctness of announcing the independent Palestinian state.

The slogan of freedom and independence was raised by our people in Palestine before the uprising. Moreover, in July, as a result of many months of the uprising, the Jordanian regime announced the severing of ties between the Hashemite Kingdom and the Palestinian land. Regardless of why the decision was taken, this posed major questions: Who, then, is responsible for this land? For whom is this land? The leadership of the PLO had to give answers to these two questions. In regards to the first question, our people raised the slogan of freedom and independence. To be realistic and not exaggerate, we all know that the uprising is in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the territories occupied since 1967. We cannot put upon the Palestinian masses in the West Bank and Gaza Strip the responsibility, in this period, of liberating all of the land. That is the responsibility of all the Palestinian masses, in the Galilee, the Triangle, the Negev, the Strip, the West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and abroad. It is the responsibility of all the Arab masses. Our masses in the West Bank and Gaza Strip want to end the occupation. They want the Israeli soldiers to leave the land they occupied in 1967. Jordan said, «I have no relation to this land.» What is the obligation of the PLO now? It is to say that this land is ours, to announce the establishment of the independent Palestinian state. Therefore, we support this decision which is represented by the Declaration of Independence.

Next, the PNC addressed the formation of a Palestinian government... The decision to declare the state in principle demands the establishment of a Palestinian government. Of course, in the light of the reality of the Palestinian arena, the interconnection between the Palestinian and Arab arenas, and the influence of the Arab reactionary forces on them, the PFLP asked many questions. We decided to tie our approval of the formation of the government with the sum of the answers to these questions: Is it true that this government will be formed with moderate personalities, and what is meant by this? What is the basis for the formation of this government? What is its program? Who are the members of this government? What is the relationship between it and the PLO? Will the PLO cease to exist, or be relegated to a secondary position in the event of the formation of the government?

It is necessary to pose all these questions and then take a decision. In fact, it was decided that the government would be formed of nationalist personalities from Palestine and the diaspora. It will be formed in a way that reflects national unity. It will be based on the Declaration of Independence, the PLO's national program of repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state, and on the PNC's resolutions. While removing obstacles to forming this government, it has become natural to think seriously about its

formation in the suitable political circumstances, after being sure of the detailed interpretation of all these decisions.

After that, the PNC addressed the question of support to the uprising. By implementing the decisions taken by the Uprising Committee, we can give the best and most correct support to the uprising, materially, media-wise and politically. One example of this is the decision to support the uprising by escalating the armed struggle across the Arab borders.

## THE POLITICAL STATEMENT — SUBJECT OF CONTROVERSY

Lastly, we reached the political statement. This is where there was disagreement. I ask of our Palestinian masses everywhere to judge after one or two years, whether the PFLP was correct of wrong in our point-of-view which can be summed up in two main points. First, we rejected UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, even though the term *self-determination* was added, as the legal basis for an international conference. Why should the PLO single out 242 and 338 in the political statement from among all the UN resolutions concerning Palestine? I cannot understand a leadership that concedes the rights accorded to it by international legitimacy, such as UN resolution 194 which is not a resolution of the PFLP or the DFLP. Resolution 194 is that of the UN. There is also resolution 3236; it is true that it does not give us our natural and full rights to the land of Palestine, but it does give us a certain level of rights. UN resolution 3236 gives us the right to establish a state, and 194 gives us the right to return. Why should we limit our rights with 242 and 338? In Algeria, when some journalists asked me if we represented an extremist line, I told them *no*; we know the current balance of forces in the Arab arena very well, and we know how this balance of forces can reflect itself on Palestinian tactics. We are ready to deal with tactics, but for the majority of the PNC to accept 242 and 338, plus self-determination, in the political statement means giving a concession and weakening the Palestinian national struggle in the international conference when we try to discuss all the UN resolutions and the demands of the international community to find a solution to the Palestinian cause and all its aspects on the basis of all these resolutions.

Pay attention to this subject and judge us on this, because hopes are one thing and reality is another. This is our tactic, but the enemy camp also has a tactic; it aims at stripping us of all our weapons. Until now, 'Israel' refuses the idea of an international conference; Shimon Peres and the Labor Party also refuse the idea of a real international conference, viewing it only as an umbrella for direct negotiations. The extreme right wing and the religious parties have just won in the Israeli elections. They want us, before we enter the international conference, to take off all our clothes, so that we enter the conference naked. This is the enemy's tactic. So we raised the slogan against gratuitous concessions. Why do we give such concessions, especially in this period of the uprising? I am warning about continuing this policy, because the enemy will not be satisfied with what was given. They will find excuses to ask for more concessions, to prepare for the next PNC in advance.

If we fought the 242 battle with strength, our comrades in the DFLP also fought with strength the battle against naming 'Israel' in the section on the international conference and secure borders for all the countries of the area. Why? We all know that a temporary settlement will not mean liberating all of Palestine. Why are we giving away all our cards? A few days