

ago in Stockholm, the talk was not about 242 but about recognition. No! Comrades, the PNC did not recognize the Zionist entity. I call on you to read the PNC's decisions well, study, understand and ask about them. When George Habash comes or Nayef Hawatmeh or anyone from the Fatah Central Committee, ask and discuss with them, so that we can feel we are a people alive, no one can deceive us and I am convinced that the Palestinian people are alive.

## THE QUESTION OF CONCESSIONS

Comrades, in the press conference that brother Yasir Arafat held at the end of the PNC, he said the following: «We gave all the possible concessions and the ball is now in the US court. If the US administration does not respond to this line, I will call for a PNC and tell them that I failed and that the moderate line failed, and you must review the decisions you took on this basis.» (I shouldn't say concessions because Arafat doesn't use this term)... We in the PFLP accept this approach and the judgment of the PNC. When we judge this concession policy, we must review its results, and the major yardstick is the response of the US administration and Europe. I am convinced that if we had told our friends we accept all UN resolutions but not 242, it would not have affected their support. I recall what brother Yasir Arafat told me when he returned from China. He explained to them the choices the Palestinians have. The Chinese General Secretary's response was, «Comrade Arafat, we will support you in any decision you take.» Was the US position influenced? Was the Zionist position influenced? Was the European position influenced? The US response to these concessions was banning Arafat from entering New York. The European countries' response was to write their ambassadors in Geneva and tell them to attend the session on Palestine.

Pay attention and be cautious about giving concessions other than 242 between this PNC and the next. The PFLP will put the responsibility on those who deviate from the PNC decisions and affect Palestinian national unity. We do not want them to underestimate the deep responsibility that the PFLP feels during the uprising. We will not see our cause stumble, and remain silent. What is the Stockholm statement? Who said that the PNC recognized 'Israel'? This is not what occurred at all. In the PLO we fought strongly against recognition... and not alone; the DFLP, the Palestinian Struggle Front, the Palestinian Liberation Front and some of Fatah did so as well. The PNC did not agree on recognition.

Recently, a European country sent a proposal stating their preconditions to the PLO: explicit recognition of 'Israel' and 242, and renouncing terrorism officially and clearly. These are the same as the US conditions. In return for what? In return for opening a dialogue with the PLO. They are ridiculing us. We aren't being overly skeptical; 40 years of experience has taught us to be careful. We see a clear distribution of roles: The reactionaries came, representing the Camp David thinking, and pressured the PLO until it recognized resolution 242. Then comes the US, pressuring us until they open a dialogue with the PLO and then they'll say at the end, well, Shamir doesn't agree. We are very much afraid of this tactic, because there are a lot of progressives who emphasize the importance of flexibility and tactics... We have experience. We are confronted by enemies who have a specific tactic, and want us to lose step by step. First they want us to lose our national unity, then the trust of the masses, and lastly, our relations and allies. It is true that some countries were at ease with the political statement of the PNC in regards to UN resolution 242, but others were not.



January 15th, West Bank - general strike and demonstrations

Not long ago, a major Nasserite group told me that they are no longer able to activate the Egyptian masses in support of the Palestinian cause when they see that the PLO gives these concessions. Here we must take into account the Palestinian and Arab mass movement when we take any step.

There is a point of view within the Palestinian arena that in order to realize concretely the Palestinian state that we announced, 90% of our work should be diplomatic and political. Undoubtedly, this work necessitates concessions. The PFLP has a different opinion concerning the establishment of the Palestinian state: On the Palestinian level, we raise the slogan of escalating, continuing, consolidating and spreading the uprising. This uprising should be deeply rooted in order to make it impossible for Rabin and Shamir to end it. Their dream of ending the uprising is not achievable, because it would mean exterminating the entire Palestinian people. History has shown this is an impossible task, even for the biggest colonial power in the world, and Vietnam is one example of this. The consolidation of the uprising involves the United National Leadership, the popular committees, the popular resistance committees and the strike forces. It means the unity of all the unions and national organizations, as occurred within the women's work. A while ago, the women's committees formed a coordination council. Unfortunately, in the occupied territories, there are four labor unions, four student unions, four unions for voluntary work committees and four women's unions. What we mean by consolidating the uprising is a unified, steadfast, organized base that secures its continuation. All unions should immediately begin with the formation of coordination committees as the first step towards unification. The UNL should review the past year's experience. We, in the PFLP, are committed to protecting the uprising and its victory.

We should invite HAMAS, whether it accepts or not, to work within the framework of the UNL; if this is not possible, then at least there should be a certain degree of cooperation guaranteeing agreement on the daily program of struggle that the UNL proposes to the masses. It is also necessary to continue to invite the organizations that are not in the framework ►