

of the PLO, to join its ranks, whether they accept or not. It is the PLO's responsibility to seriously continue with this dialogue and exert all possible efforts for the unification of all the Palestinian forces in order to confront the occupation. It's impossible to understand that such differences (in the Palestinian arena) can exist in the period of the uprising, whereas this might be understandable in other circumstances. It is our responsibility, just as Comrade George Hawi mentioned, not to forget that the enemy's plan aims at all of us. By taking this into account, it is possible to protect ourselves from many political mistakes. For example, we disagreed with a central point in the political statement and yet we chanted afterwards, «Revolution Until Victory» and «Unity Until Victory.» We were later asked, «How can you be like this?» We answered with two points: because there is an uprising and because events will prove, after one or two years, that the concession policy will not accomplish anything ; then we will return and unify on a decisive political program. I refer to a person with great experience, Comrade Ho Chi Minh, who said, «The more flexible we are, the more the bombs increase over Hanoi.» So the uprising imposes a ceiling on expressing differences of opinion, and the PLO is obligated to be open to every organization that wants to struggle via its framework.

THE NEED FOR REFORM

Also on the Palestinian level, I would like to emphasize a major task which will contribute to adjusting the balance of power in the PNC: This is the achievement of real reform within the PLO. This subject cannot be taken lightly. It is true, everyone is comfortable with what is happening in the occupied territories, but only a small percentage of our people's potentials are mobilized. Why don't we mobilize our potentials 100%? The answer is because the PLO does not yet have the organizational frameworks for mobilizing all the Palestinian masses' potentials, in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the US and everywhere. I hope that the Palestinian leadership will be on the same level of the masses and their enthusiasm, potentials, abilities and willingness to offer sacrifices. Why don't we aim for the PLO being like the Algerian National Liberation Front - a real front, giving every organization the right to its own ideology and organizational life. If this is our goal and hope, then it demands the following: collective leadership, respecting institutions, and democratic proportional representation. This battle for democratic reforms will be on the top of our list of priorities in the coming PNC sessions. We will work hand-in-hand with all the other organizations who feel the danger of not making such reforms and know what this will lead to in the long run. In this context, I ask: «Is it true that the size of the PFLP is the number that voted against UN resolution 242 in the PNC?» I am not convinced of this, especially when I hear that 78% of our masses in the occupied territories reject the equation of establishing a Palestinian state in return for recognizing 'Israel'. It is my right to say that the political line that the PFLP represents does not constitute 14%, as is the case in the PNC. We will work in order to reorganize and re-establish the PLO on the basis of proportional representation. At that time we promise that we will submit to the majority opinion. The representation of each organization will not be determined by prior agreements. The size of each organization and the strength of their political lines will be determined according to proportional representation. During this process, it is our right to convince the others that the PFLP represents the majority,

just as it is the DFLP's right and the Palestinian Struggle Front's and others. This is how we understand democratic reforms which are obligatory for the PLO.

Some believe that there is no relationship between the subject of reforms and the uprising, but this subject is related to the essence of the uprising. This is what Comrade George Hawi meant when he said he was pained about the lack of support to the uprising, in spite of its having continued for one year. This leads me to ask about the role of the Palestinian masses outside of Palestine. It is true that they responded to the uprising, but to what degree was their strength mobilized? Is this all of their potentials? Once again, we see the necessity of reforms.

What do we mean by spreading the uprising? We mean spreading it to include our masses in the territories occupied since 1948. I don't mean that the Palestinian state that we will establish tactically will include the Galilee. Rather, they should be included in order to increase the pressure on 'Israel' and force it to deal politically with the uprising. Despite the great value of international pressure, internal pressure must be increased, because 'Israel' and the fascist forces don't care about international public opinion. For example, South Africa is isolated and internationally boycotted, but yet it does not care. 'Israel' after one year of the uprising continues its policy of suppression. How can we force it to change its approach? How do we force it to agree to an international conference? The only way is increasing its economic and other losses as much as possible by preserving the mass character of the uprising. In Lebanon, there are 15,000 armed Palestinians; their responsibility is to support the uprising and pressure 'Israel' so that it submits to the demand of freedom and independence and even to the international conference.

Last May and June, the War of Fires took place in the 1948 occupied territories and the Palestinians threw tens of firebombs in many cities, which shook 'Israel'. I have read many editorials in Israeli newspapers which said: «If the uprising spreads to Israel, then we will have two disasters.» We want them to have four disasters, and it is our duty to use all means possible against them. We do not underestimate the importance of the Palestinian and Arab roles. We must struggle to change the balance of forces on the Arab level. The current lack of activity is not acceptable. The Arab masses have an honorable history of struggle against imperialism. It is incorrect to only emphasize the prevailing subdued political conditions on the Arab mass level. Revolutionaries should understand the reality in order to change it. Then and only then, will the US and 'Israel' feel threatened; both are observing with great interest the uprising's effect on the Arab and Palestinian levels. We should not despair nor surrender.

THE ARAB LEVEL

On the official Arab level, we call for the implementation of the decisions of the Algiers Summit, that were among the first political victories of the uprising. These decisions were good, but the important issue now is their implementation, especially on the material level, in order to secure that the people of the uprising have their basis necessities of life provided for. I am sorry to say that the majority of the Arab countries did not live up to their promises, but rather they implemented the recommendations of the US administration by reducing their material support to the PLO.

Palestinian-Syrian relations is a central point in the PFLP's thinking. The strategic interests of both Syria and the PLO