

We will not suffice by programs alone, because this matter has existed since the year of 1979. We want to make sure that the tools of implementation of these programs are effective.

I don't propose this to complicate matters. I propose this because of my desire to celebrate - in the next PNC - the formation of Palestinian bodies which will eliminate and for ever bury the trend that led to the existing diseases within the Palestinian arena.

We will not accept less than a joint effective leadership and a clear national program that can be practically implemented and not just a written one. We have had our share of suffering from tragedies and diseases.

In your estimates, what is the extent of the battle waged for legitimacy in the realms of the existing struggles in the Palestinian arena?

In regards to the battle of legitimacy, the Aden agreement included a point to cover this issue in its full extent. We are not pessimistic as for the outcome of this battle. We know well that 125 members of the PNC have condemned Arafat's visit and 86 of them asked for his resignation. This force, when it works within the Palestinian circle, through the mass organizations and bodies - can its efforts and the outcomes in winning the legitimacy be undermined? It is true that these bodies to a great extent are made in «Arafat's kitchen». We don't ignore this fact, but on the other hand, we must realize our people's historical experiences, and we must realize that it is difficult for these bodies or the majority of them to agree on the deviation trend or the US path.

In the PNC's 16th session, we all know that Arafat had reservations regarding the point of dealing with the Reagan's initiative. We all know his position: he advised the political committee to draft the program in his ambiguous «La'am» (which means yes and no at the same time). This would mean that we neither accepted nor refused the Reagan plan. But we all know and evaluate the program from the 16th session of the PNC as drafted on a nationalist basis which cornered America's Palestinians. This is an important point which we must take into consideration, when we evaluate waging the battle for legitimacy and chances of winning it. But I want to draw attention to the fact that the battle for legitimacy may be one in two directions:

- To win the legitimacy through the bodies and have the nationalist forces prevail.
- To stop Arafat from speaking on behalf of the legitimacy and I want to clarify this point:

Why did the joint leadership abstain from taking part in the executive committee meetings after Arafat's visit to Cairo? Is it a position just to record in history? Is it a just reaction?

We all know the make up of the executive committee and that Arafat is always careful to have the majority in number in the executive committee. We were unable to change this even in the 16th session of the PNC.

We were quite aware and sure that we would not be able to take a decision of removing Arafat and condemn his trend or

change it through the executive committee. Therefore we decided to boycott the executive committee meetings to stop Arafat from speaking on its behalf and in the name of the legitimacy as 6 of its members were absent. This is what happened in reality, because the main rules of the executive committee state that its meetings cannot be conducted without the presence of two thirds of its members.

This means that we have won the legitimacy in the negative sense. In other words, that we stopped Arafat from speaking on behalf of the executive committee, and that any step taken by Arafat after this is an individual one which doesn't represent anyone but Arafat and those who agree with his trend.

Perhaps some will say that this will lead to the paralysis of the PLO and its effectiveness, and here I say in response that this is a very sad subject of great concern to us. But if we were to be given the choice between paralyzing the bodies or putting them in the hands of the US and Arab reaction, then we are forced to choose the temporary paralysis of the bodies in order to start working towards bringing them back to the nationalist position and their effectiveness towards the nationalist direction.

How do you evaluate the participation of the Yemeni Socialist Party and both Lebanese and Syrian communist parties in the Aden negotiations?

The Palestinian question has its own peculiarities which make it number one question for the Arab nation. After this, I would like to extend my appreciation to the role played by the Yemeni Socialist Party on the Palestinian level. We remember during the invasion and after it, this similar role of the Yemeni Socialist Party which was aiming first towards the unity and protection of the PLO. After this it is important to point out the historical relations that have existed between the PFLP and the DFLP on one hand and the Yemeni Socialist Party on the other. These relations we are quite proud of and continuously work to deepen and solidify them. To this we add the role which was played by our comrades in the Yemeni Socialist Party regarding the foundation of the Joint Leadership (experience). Therefore, it is very natural in stage, like the one the Palestinian Revolution is going through, to seek help from our comrades in the Yemeni Socialist Party in order to hear their point of view on how to confront this stage and resolve its problems.

As for both communist parties, the Syrian and the Lebanese, they both have good comradely relations with us, the PFLP and DFLP on one hand and between themselves as well, which we are careful to maintain and strengthen. We appreciate that the Lebanese Communist Party, as well as the Syrian Communist Party can play a role on the levels of the Lebanese National Movement, the Palestinian National Movement, as well as on the level of Arab and international liberation movements. A role that helps the Palestinian Revolution to come out of its crisis. Finally, I would like to state that these forces are very concerned about the success of the joint leadership experience - as we are concerned to seek their point of view regarding the existing Palestinian problems.