

basis of completely eliminating political sectarianism alone can bring Lebanon and Lebanese into one national unit affirming the Arab identity of Lebanon and opening the way for democratic development in the country. It is only this kind of reform that today can serve the interests of Lebanon and the interests of the broad popular masses in all religious communities and secure the revival of Lebanon and its role in the battle of victory against the Israeli occupation, US domination and Phalangist domination. In all cases the victory achieved so far should be a motive for national and progressive forces to solidify their position and to forward the course of the Lebanese national democratic revolution enabling it to attain its national tasks and increase its democratic gains and make it possible to achieve progressive gains for the benefit of the Lebanese popular masses. Although the unity of the Lebanese and progressive forces is more urgent than ever before, still there is no doubt that to regulate the national Lebanese-Palestinian relationship is also extremely important in light of the present situation and the victory achieved in Lebanon. This victory is not only considered a victory for the national and progressive Lebanese forces, but is also a victory for the Palestinian revolution and the fighters of the Palestinian people. We see that regulating national Lebanese-Palestinian relations can be accomplished on the following basis:

1. The victory in Lebanon is a Palestinian victory. An essential part of Lebanese land was granted to serve as a main arena for the Palestinian national struggle to regain Palestinian national rights. We must support this in all its aspects in order to regain all of Lebanon so that Palestinians can utilize all their human, material, geographic and moral resources in the national struggle against the Israeli aggression and against the mere existence of the Zionist entity. This demands that all Palestinian revolutionary forces offer all their means in coordination with a plan to be decided upon by the national and progressive Lebanese forces. A plan that will be discussed with Palestinian forces will also be coordinated with the national leadership of Syria in order to solidify the victory achieved so far and to protect the victory and move it forward to achieve its goals.

2. The second principle is that the Palestinians in Lebanon are required to organize themselves and carry arms just as are Lebanese nationalists in order to defend the areas which were liberated as a result of the uprisings which began with the mountain liberation war and then the uprising in Beirut and the southern suburbs on February 6th. Indeed it is both a right and a duty for Palestinian nationalists to carry arms like Lebanese nationalists both to defend these areas and to carry out joint tasks. National Palestinians will never be denied the right to carry weapons to defend themselves and their Lebanese brothers and neighbors.

This will and should be implemented according to an agreed upon plan under the auspices of the national Lebanese leadership that takes into consideration the nature of the struggle in Lebanon. This plan takes into consideration the exis-

tence of the Palestinian camps and the necessity of their safety and defense against the enemy. There are no borders in West Beirut between a Palestinian camp and a Lebanese nationalist area. In the past, imperialism, Zionism and local Arab reaction wanted to transform all the camps into prisons to repress us, to terrorize us and to destroy our steadfast will. But they did not succeed. Here we would like to affirm in this framework that this right to carry arms should be organized in practice according to firm rules of commitment and on a clear basis that affirms the discipline and necessity of using weapons for the correct purposes and not indiscriminately. The correct national line governs everything that relates to the right of self-defense, the right to protect the duties and role of the national forces and above all the right to defend the victory.

3. The third principle is the right of the Palestinian people and their revolution to use the Lebanese arena just the same as any other Arab arena as a base for solidifying their armed struggle inside occupied Arab land, for strengthening their uprising. This is a right that must take into consideration the commitment to developing the Palestinian revolution as well as the revolution's alliances in Lebanon and in the Arab region.

4. It is the right of the Palestinian revolution to use all the Arab region as a base for entering the occupied territories according to geographical, human, material and moral priorities. This right must be used to develop the revolution and to enable it to cross the borders into occupied lands and not to establish other organizations which would work in contradiction to the struggle inside. This right must not be used for easy solutions, but instead the revolution should follow the steps taken by the PFLP, DFLP and other organizations in carrying out operations like those in Jerusalem and Askelon which advance the work inside the occupied territories.

ON THE PALESTINIAN LEVEL

1. Safeguarding the PLO and its unity is the result of continuous armed, political and popular struggle of the Palestinian people. The sacrifices made during the last 20 years have resulted in the expression of the Palestinian national identity which the Zionists and imperialists have been savagely trying to obliterate and eliminate with the aim of liquidating the national rights of the Palestinian people and their just cause. The expression of the Palestinian national identity through the PLO was one of the most important achievements of the Palestinian people and their contemporary struggle. Through the PLO the Palestinian people could crystallize their aims and affirm their national rights: the rights to return, self-determination and establishment of an independent national state on their own land led by the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. The PLO was able to organize the struggle of the Palestinian people and maintain their identity and unity in support of the PLO wherever Palestinians live, whether inside or outside the occupied territories. Over the past 20 years, the continuous military and political struggle of the Palestinian people has