



THE

POLITICAL

PROGRAM

DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

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NOTE TO THE READER

In what follows we offer a complete translation of the Political Program of the "Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine" (DFLP). This Political Program, adopted by the Central Committee of the DFLP in the fall of 1975, has already been given wide mass circulation in Arabic. The result of an intense internal debate over several years, the correctness of this Political Program must be appraised in the context of the growing importance and influence of the DFLP in the Palestinian struggle.

About the contents:

The present Political Program has three parts:

- I. The development of the Palestinian national question.
- II. The Palestinian Revolution: its nature, its tasks, its dynamics.
- III. The Transitional Program.

The first part gives the DFLP's historical perspective to the Palestinian national question in broad terms; the second, its evaluation of the present conjuncture of the Palestinian struggle; and the third, its proposed program of intervention in this conjuncture.

The reader should keep in mind that, in the DFLP's actual practice, this Political Program is supplemented by other documents and sectorial programs. It is therefore purposely left at a general level of analysis. It is also subject to transformation on the basis of the changing conditions of the conjuncture.

About the translation:

No conscious attempt has been made to amend, eliminate, tone down, or emphasize any of the ideas presented in the original Arabic. Only occasionally has the structure of a sentence or a paragraph been changed for stylistic reasons, trying at the same time to preserve the original meaning and gist of the passage. Nevertheless, most of the translated text follows the organization of the Arabic text, with a view to preserve the original content, which has inevitably led to some heavy stylistic and non-idiomatic constructions.

The only word in the original Arabic that may lend itself to an ambiguous translation is "watani." "Watani," derived from "watan" (homeland), may be given one of two distinct meanings, "national" or "patriotic", and sometimes both. In what follows, it has been varyingly translated as either one of the two English words, according to the emphasis of the context in which it appears.

The Translators

I. The development of the Palestinian national question.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PALISTINIAN NATIONAL QUESTION

At the turn of the Century, capitalism entered its highest and final stage: the stage of imperialism, international monopoly and export of capital, which characterized the deepening crisis of world capitalism.

The development of imperialism was accompanied by the aggravation of the contradictions between the advanced capitalist states, by the increased competition to dominate the colonies, and by the intensification of the class struggle within the capitalist countries themselves. The escalation of colonial exploitation and the plunder of the underdeveloped countries led to the beginnings of revolutionary national movements in these underdeveloped countries and to an ever-mounting struggle -- against imperialism, for national liberation and unity, and for the elimination of precapitalist structures.

At the same time, the Ottoman Empire became a focal point of interest for the European capitalist countries. Given its backward and decaying feudal system on the one hand, its vast possessions, wealth of resources and markets, and strategic location, on the other, the Ottoman Empire became a major cause of competition and conflict among the European powers which sought to divide it and extend their hegemony over countries suffering under the yoke of Ottoman feudalism on the verge of collapse. The Arab countries, and Palestine in particular, were among the most prominent places that saw an intense struggle develop between the colonial powers for increased influence in anticipation of complete hegemony over them.

19th Century Europe also witnessed the emergence of the Zionist movement, which gave a political, pseudo-national expression to the aspirations of the middle and lower Jewish bourgeoisies. Occupied in banking and professional positions, these classes sought to avoid assimilation into the rising capitalist nation-states. Nation-states which subjected them to pauperization and the threat of being reduced to a proletarian status. As world capitalism passed to the imperialist stage, the Zionist movement found its first real opportunity to realize its reactionary utopian aspirations and transform them into settler-colonial facts in Palestine. The Zionist plans for colonization now came to coincide with the interests of big Jewish capital, which needed to strengthen its position in the competition for new means of investments and exports to the colonies. These Zionist plans also agreed with the needs of the colonialist countries, particularly Great Britain, for the establishment of secure strategic bases to protect their colonial policies in the region.

The First World War epitomized, in a dramatic and most violent manner, the mounting crisis of world capitalism. It saw the capitalist order enter a period of decline and increasing decay on a world scale, and it opened up a new era for the rise of socialism and the steadily emerging struggle of oppressed nations against imperialism. Thus this war led to the victory of the socialist revolution in Tsarist Russia, while the European working classes were stepping up their attacks on their imperialist bourgeoisies in renewed forms of popular uprisings. At the same time, the national movements in many of the colonized and dependent countries were emerging and growing, in a general effort to achieve national liberation.

Our Arab region was not isolated from all these developments, during the First World War, and the few years prior to it, a widespread national awareness appeared against Ottoman oppression, striving to achieve the independence and unity of the Arab countries. The feudal leadership of the Hashemite family which imposed itself on the emerging national movement, however, was not long in bringing about setbacks, defeats, and frustrated hopes. This leadership led to the replacing of one form of colonialism with another, by following a policy of close alliance with colonialist Britain, and rallying under the banner of its imperialist war against the Ottomans.

In 1917, under the cover of its alliance with the great Arab revolution against Ottoman oppression, colonialist Britain entered the Arab Mashriq with its armies. It was thus setting the stage for carrying out the occupation of the Mashriq, breaking up its national unity, and dividing it into spheres of influence between it and its ally France.

The socialist October Revolution made public all the secret agreements that had been concluded during World War I, by the members of the imperialist alliance, for dividing up the world into spheres of colonial domination. The October Revolution thus rendered its first service to the national and patriotic struggle of our people by exposing the treachery of the British-French imperialist alliance and the truth of its deceptive promises. Among the most important secret documents signed by the imperialist, ready to plunder powers was that ominous one known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement. This Agreement predetermined the division of the Arab Mashriq into two zones of occupation, according to an arbitrary line drawn in consideration of the two colonialist allies' interests, which ignored the national unity and integration of our Arab region as well as the need of its peoples for independence and development. On the basis of this criminal Agreement, Britain imposed its rule over Palestine, East Jordan, and Iraq; whereas France occupied Syria and Lebanon. In this way, Britain and France could take advantage of the weakness of the Arab national movement, its fragmentation, and its subjection to the religious feudal leadership of the Hashemites whose policy was to preserve their alliance with the British colonialists.

On the 2nd of November 1917, one week after the dawn of a new international era -- the era of the victory of socialism and the decline of the world capitalist-imperialist system -- Britain announced its criminal intentions regarding the future of our country, Palestine, when it issued the Balfour Declaration which promised to the World Zionist movement the establishment of a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. During the following years, British colonialist policy completed the plans aimed at dissolving the national existence of the Palestinian people and substituting a Zionist settler entity on its land. This was achieved through British efforts which helped create the Emirate of Transjordan, which was planned as an entity that would absorb the Arabs of Palestine and alter their national identity,

thus forming a historical safety-valve for the Zionist settler undertaking. Under the Mandate rule that Britain imposed on our country, against the will of the Palestinian people and their national aspirations for independence and unity, Britain undertook to complete its plan with the Zionist movement's help and in collusion with the Hashemites who had been appointed rulers of Jordan and Iraq. Already at that time, the United States' imperialist role had emerged as a supporter of the British-Zionist project.

Under the British Mandate authorities' cover and support, Jewish immigration was encouraged on a large scale; peasants were dispossessed of, and expelled from, their lands which were later turned into Jewish colonial settlements; the growth of a closed Jewish economy was supported by capital investments from foreign Zionist sources, at the expense of destroying and blocking the development of the Palestinian national economy; and the build-up of Zionist para-military organizations was encouraged.

This policy came into sharp conflict with the interests of all the classes of our people: the peasants, whose lands had been expropriated and who were later forced to migrate and join the army of the unemployed in the cities; the professional bourgeoisie, which aspired to achieve economic growth but had to sustain the competition of Zionist capital, eventually leading to the destruction of its emerging industries; and the nascent working class, large sectors of which had been forced into unemployment as a result of Zionist policy calling for "Jewish labor" only. All this also came into contradiction with the national aspirations of our people as a whole, who saw in the mandate policy and in the Zionist penetration a threat to their national existence, leading to their eventual expulsion from their homeland, and a violation of their right to self-determination and independence.

Our Palestinian people resisted these colonialist-Zionist plans since the beginning of the Mandate. Their resistance crystallized through a succession of uprisings, which finally led to an all-out armed revolution that lasted from 1936 to 1939. But the feudal-religious notables, who came to assume the leadership of this struggle, followed a policy of compromise and collusion with the Mandate authorities. Their lack of determination, together with their fear of independent move-

ment by peasants, workers, and the rest of the poor popular masses, led the Palestinian struggle to eventual defeat and failure. The regimes supporting colonialism, in the Arab countries around Palestine, particularly the Hashemite monarchy in Transjordan, played a significant role in sabotaging the Palestinian national movement, in refusing to recognize its independence, in supporting the more reactionary factions within it, and in pressuring it to lay down its arms and to leave the fate of Palestine in the hands of "our ally Britain."

The budding working class and the masses of poor peasants played an important role in this national struggle aimed at achieving independence and at foiling the Zionist undertaking. It is they who shouldered the brunt of the well-known general strike that lasted six months and the courageous armed rebellion of 1936-39. But the still young Arab working class was unable to advance and assume the leadership of the national movement, to rid it of the indecisive and reactionary stand of its feudal leadership, and to guarantee its development to a victorious conclusion. The weakness and fragmentation of the working class was a result of: its young age, large unemployment in its ranks because of Zionist competition, and the Palestinian Communist Party's wide isolation from the poor peasant and working masses. Indeed the Palestinian CP, which ignored the correct recommendations of the Third International regarding the priority of the pan-Arab national question and the requirements for its democratic solution, lacked a clear and appropriate direction in its programs.

With the eruption of World War II, and despite the Palestinian feudal leadership's alliance with the Nazi axis, the masses of the Palestinian people participated in the international struggle against fascism, and strongly supported the Lebanese and Syrian peoples' fight for national independence against the forces of the Vichy fascist government. At the same time, the Palestinian people continued their struggle for independence and for the preservation of their rights in their own country. They also struggled to expose and foil colonial and Zionist designs aimed at taking advantage of the wartime circumstances as a justification for the continuation of British occupation and the escalation of Jewish immigration.

In the aftermath of World War II, while the aura of socialism was beginning to rise on increasingly wider areas of our world, in Europe and in China, and while the shadows of colonialism were receding from many parts of the globe as various peoples made their way to independence and liberation, the Zionist movement hastened the pace of its preparations for the implementation of its colonial-settler plans. Under the cover and indulgence of the Mandate authorities, and through its burgeoning alliance with American Imperialism which was coveting the riches of the Arab Mashriq and had started its neo-colonialist policy in the region, the Zionist movement crowned its efforts by partitioning the Palestinian land, appropriating the larger part of it, and by expelling the Palestinian people from the country in order to establish an exclusivist Jewish state on their usurped land.

The birth of the State of Israel on May 15, 1948, was the climax of the Zionist project, running counter to the spirit of the age and the course of history for the Jewish state had been established on the dismemberment of a Palestinian national entity. Its preservation presupposed the continued fragmentation of the Palestinian people and their state of uprootedness. The establishment of the State of Israel was accompanied by a wide Zionist campaign to eject Palestinian Arabs from the territories that came under its control so as to guarantee their complete annexation. This completed the displacement of half of the Palestinian people and its dispersal into the surrounding Arab countries.

Israel took advantage of the theatrical war launched by the reactionary Arab governments to allegedly liberate Palestine. It thus went beyond the borders specified by the UN resolutions and took control of large new areas of Arab Palestinian land. And it categorically refused to carry out repeated international resolutions calling for the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes.

The Arab reactionary regimes contributed to a large degree to the eventual success of the Zionist plan. These regimes resisted any attempt to help the Palestinian people carry out their national struggle on their own, just as they thwarted its efforts to establish their own revolutionary national army to resist the Zionist onslaught. They also refused to extend material aid and weapons to the Palestinian fighters. Instead,

under the cover of hollow slogans calling for the liberation of Palestine, they insisted on bringing in their disintegrating reactionary armies. Under the command of Hashemite King Abdallah who was in flagrant collusion with the British and the Zionists, these armies came to fight within the boundaries of the "partition" but soon gave Israel the opportunity to cross these boundaries. King Abdallah's troops were more concerned with disarming the Palestinian people and in dissolving their patriotic organizations than they were concerned with resisting Israeli aggression.

By gobbling up the eastern part of Palestine and bringing it into the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Hashemite reaction completed the imperialist-Zionist plan aimed at destroying the national existence of the Palestinian people. Under the annexationist union which had been imposed on the Palestinian people, the Hashemite regime played its role in the imperialist strategy for the region: depriving the Palestinian people from their national rights, erasing their independent national identity, suppressing their struggle to recover their rights in their usurped land, and subjecting them to regional discrimination and oppression.

The establishment of the State of Israel, together with the annexation of Eastern Palestine to Jordan, put the Palestinian national struggle in a new setting -- its main objective being to regain the Palestinian people's distinct national identity, to return them to their land, and to guarantee their right to self-determination, as necessary conditions to the eventual unification of their homeland under an independent democratic rule.

The weakness and fragmentation of the Palestinian national movement, as well as the degeneration of its feudalist and bourgeois leadership, did not permit the immediate resumption of the struggle for this fundamental democratic solution to the Palestinian question. For hundreds of thousands of Palestinians had been displaced and dispersed between Jordan, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. In their scattered places of exile, these masses of refugees lived under miserable housing, economic, and health conditions. They were subjected to very different political and legal circumstances, just as they were deprived in most cases of rights to residence, to

work and to travel. The reality of this geographic distribution led to the breaking up of Palestinian society, to an imbalance in its class structure, and to different forms of development in its various gathering places.

For quite a long time, this reality resulted in the total dissolution of the Palestine national movement into the framework of the then growing pan-Arab national movement. A consequence of this was the near complete effacement of the Palestinian national identity. In Jordan and the West Bank, Palestinian national forces conformed to their new regional situation, losing their distinct character and merging with the Jordanian national movement, which thus became the major mass base of their struggle for liberation and democracy in Jordan. Although the necessity of such an orientation was in principle justified, the Palestinian movement, including those organizations ideologically identified with the working class, failed to recognize another simultaneous necessity. This other necessity was to preserve the Palestinian movement's distinct characteristics and to include solutions to the Palestinian national question in its programs, and this, simultaneously with its participation in the struggle against Hashemite reaction, as an integral part of the unified national movement in Jordan.

In the other Arab countries, the rising national bourgeoisie managed to channel all the vital and active forces of the Palestinian people into its various patriotic and pan-Arab movements. Upholding an idealist nationalist outlook, this bourgeoisie viewed the task of resolving the Palestinian national question as depending on the emerging bourgeois regimes; it thus publicized, with much ado and empty slogans, its alleged preparations for the battle to liberate the "usurped homeland." This outlook helped to delude the uprooted Palestinian masses into an attitude of dependence and passivity. It neglected the need for the Palestinian people to take the responsibility for their own struggle, to maintain their own identity and the independence of their national movement.

But the Arab ruling classes' ineffectual stand in the struggle against Israel rapidly exposed the deceit of nationalist bourgeois thinking on waiting until the Arab regimes have completed their "preparation

for the battle." This exposure soon led to a renewed awareness among the Palestinian people of their distinct national question and to a re-emergence of their independent national movement. The Arab states, in part responding to the pressure of this Palestinian awakening, and in part trying to restrict its effects, took steps in 1964 to establish the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Also as a result of this awakening, but independently of the PLO, was the start of the present Palestinian armed resistance movement in the beginning of 1965.

This Palestinian national awakening coincided with a period of significant advance in the Arab national liberation movement under the new nationalist bourgeois leaderships. The struggle had intensified against imperialist and neo-colonialist hegemony, particularly against American imperialism's attempts to spread its complete hegemony over the region. Several Arab countries achieved and reinforced their political independence, while the influence of the reactionary, semi-feudal, and traditional capitalist classes were considerably weakened while at the same time, wide-ranging democratic social changes were carried out in the independent Arab countries. In spite of the fact that all these changes remained within the limits set by the bourgeois nature of the emerging nationalist leaderships, they still led to the intensification of the contradiction with and the struggle against neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism which was led by American imperialism and with its increased need to counter all these new developments.

Given this need of imperialism, together with an increased awareness of the Arab peoples to the reality of Israeli expansionist goals (exemplified by the crisis around the attempt to divert the Jordan River), and with the escalation of armed operations by the Palestinian Resistance, Israel hastened to launch an attack on the neighboring Arab countries in June 1967. Israel's objective was to expand into Arab territory and impose a capitulationist solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict that would guarantee a final liquidation of the Palestinian question. This coinciding with the objective of weakening the Arab movement of national liberation and preventing its further development, and thus leading the region back in the orbit of imperialist domination.

Israel succeeded in this war to occupy the remainder of Palestine, in addition to other Arab territories. This defeat led to the final collapse of bourgeois myths concerning the "preparation for the battle," just as it exposed the incapability of the various Arab national bourgeoisies to satisfy the requirements for a real and decisive confrontation with imperialism and a superior Israeli enemy. These bourgeois leaderships could not take upon themselves the tasks of wide mobilization of the Arab masses, of completing the requirements of the national-democratic revolution, of liquidating imperialist interests in the region, and of totally breaking their continued relationship with the local Arab reactionaries.

The defeat of June 5, 1967, led to a deep change in the balance of forces in the region, to the further advantage of Israel, world imperialism in general, and American imperialism in particular. For the first time since 1948, it made real the danger of a complete Zionist-imperialist liquidation of the Palestinian national question, whereby the process of dissolving the national identity of the Palestinian people and eliminating their rights in their homeland would be complete. Also as a result of this change in the balance of forces, the imposition of Israeli expansionists goals became an imminent threat to the Arab countries around Palestine. Israeli expansionism and annexationism, together with the attempts to completely liquidate Palestinian national existence, thus became the impending and immediate danger that required the mobilization of all forces available for its containment and eventual defeat.

The third Arab-Israeli war put the Palestinian national question, once more, in a new transitional and strategic framework. It dictated as an immediate goal the struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories, for the right to national independence and self-determination, and for the establishment of an independent state for the Palestinian people. The link became increasingly stronger between the struggle of the Arab peoples in the surrounding countries, on the one hand, and the struggle of the Palestinian people, on the other. For the Arab peoples, their struggle aimed at regaining their occupied lands and defeating Israeli expansionism. For the Palestinian people, the struggle at this stage was to foil the imperialist-Zionist plan to liquid-

ate its identity, to defeat Israeli occupation, and to establish a national entity on its own land and under an independent sovereign government, as the first step toward the complete defeat of the Zionist enterprise.

By exposing the impotence of the bourgeois Arab ruling classes, this war led to a qualitative jump in Palestinian national awareness. There emerged a wide mass support for an independent Palestinian movement, which now found its political expression through the different contingents of the armed Resistance. These contingents were soon to join the PLO which thus became the political framework embodying the unity and independence of Palestinian national existence.

The Palestinian Resistance grew and made great strides in the aftermath of the June 1967 War. It established deep roots in the midst of the Palestinian popular masses and played an important role in organizing, arming, and independently mobilizing them in the struggle against the occupation. The growing role and social weight of the laboring classes in the ranks of the resistance movement furthered the democratization of its social make-up. As the influence of the revolutionary democratic current widened within the Resistance, this current came closer and closer to acquiring the features of a proletarian party. The movement of the Palestinian working class thus succeeded for the first time to establish the ideological and organizational foundations, and to achieve a mass following, which would qualify it to assume its natural role as the vanguard of our national revolution.

The Palestinian Resistance also gained a deep esteem among the Arab masses, and played an important role in promoting their struggle for democracy, national liberation, and Arab unity. As a result, the Resistance constituted a crucial factor in offsetting Israel's superior position that had resulted from the defeat in the June 1967 War, and thus obstructed the attempts to impose a settlement at the expense of the people of Palestine and its inalienable national rights.

In Jordan, the Resistance formed an advanced expression for the struggle of the Palestinian masses seeking liberation from the oppression, regional discrimination, and policy of suppression of the Pal-

estinian national identity practiced by the reactionary Hashemite regime. The objective interaction between the tasks of Palestinian national liberation and the problems of the national-democratic revolution in Jordan unavoidably affected the presence of the Resistance in the East Bank, in spite of the bourgeois myths that the Resistance should not interfere in Jordan's internal affairs which prevailed among some of its leaders. This interaction imposed on the Resistance the tasks of representing the immediate national and class interests of the various sections of the Palestinian masses that make up the majority of the patriotic classes in the urban centers of Jordan. This unplanned development led to the enlistment of most of the active patriotic forces in Jordan in the ranks of the Resistance movement, thus ignoring the real objective differences between the tasks of Jordanian national-democratic liberation and the tasks of the Resistance in its struggle against the occupation, even though both kinds of tasks are closely interrelated. Although it was basically correct for the Resistance organizations in Jordan to assume the responsibility of defending the vital and immediate interests of the Palestinian masses there, and thus contributing to the struggle for a national-democratic regime that would put an end to the Hashemite annexationist-regional policy, the Resistance should not have substituted for the Jordanian national movement if it did not also take up the latter's national democratic tasks. The Resistance should have instead worked on building a Jordanian-Palestinian national front to mobilize the patriotic classes of both peoples in order to achieve Jordanian national liberation, abolish Hashemite annexationist-regional policy, and to build up Jordan's resources for the support of the Palestinian struggle against the occupation.

The situation of dual power in Jordan provided a golden opportunity for the realization of a national-democratic regime which would be a mainstay for the national struggle against the occupation. Events proved the correctness of the program to put an end to the state of dual power in order to establish a national-democratic rule which would liberate Jordan from imperialist domination and abolish the annexationist Hashemite role in the Palestinian question. The bourgeois leadership within the Resistance, however, was hesitant and re-

gionalist in its thinking, it wavered between a course of actively replacing the Jordanian patriotic movement by the Resistance and one of spreading false ideas about non-interference in the country's internal affairs. This gave the opportunity to Hashemite reaction, supported by American imperialism, to succeed in its bloody repression of the Resistance. Dual power was thus dissolved, and the Resistance liquidated, in favor of a complete return of Hashemite rule. The Hashemite monarchy could play again its annexationist role, disfiguring the national identity of the Palestinian people and usurping their right to representation and self-determination.

Despite the general right-wing tendency that prevailed in the Arab region after the bloody repression in Jordan, and despite the end of the War of Attrition after the Rogers' Plan, the Palestinian Resistance faced this temporary setback with a protracted and stubborn struggle of self-defense. It thus succeeded in preserving a minimal level of the gains it had secured for the Palestinian people. It foiled attempts at completely liquidating the Palestinian movement and its independent national identity.

The coming to a head of the contradiction between the national interests of the Arab people and the annexationist-expansionist aspirations of the Zionist enemy, together with the wide support of American imperialism to the latter, contributed to the success of the Palestinian struggle in that period for Zionist aspirations were exposing themselves with considerable arrogance in the then prevailing conditions of silence on the other Arab fronts.

This stepped up contradiction soon led to the national-patriotic October War that was waged by Syria, Egypt, and the Palestinian Resistance. Despite the limited political objectives set by the bourgeois leadership for this war, the bold determination of the Arab peoples and their armed forces inflicted heavy losses on the imperialist-Zionist alliance. It destroyed the myth of an invulnerable Israeli power, just as it shook the foundations of the Israeli theory on security and deterrence. It led to a deep crisis, political, economic, social, and on security matters, inside the Zionist state. It also stressed the importance of Arab solidarity for a serious national con-

frontation against imperialism and the occupation, it dealt heavy blows to imperialist influence and interests in the region, and it demonstrated the effectiveness of the alliance and the friendship between the Arab movement of national liberation and the socialist countries.

The October War equalized somewhat the balance of forces in the region. The new objective conditions allowed for the resurgence of the struggle to force Israel to completely withdraw from the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands, and to wrest the Palestinian people's right to national self-determination in the framework of an independent and sovereign national state.

American-Israeli diplomacy, benefiting from the tendencies among some of the right-wing Arab leaderships to compromise and give way, began an active political offensive to eradicate the positive results of the October War and to gain time. The aim of all of this was to enforce its own liquidationist settlement under the guise of partial and bilateral agreements, thus ignoring the demand for total withdrawal and seeking to isolate the Palestinian people's national movement as well as to bypass its right to self-determination. The national resurgence enhanced by the October War, however, provided the objective conditions and called for the immediate need to consolidate the unity of all the patriotic Arab forces with the Palestinian resistance movement. This unity is the basis of the struggle to thwart the American liquidationist solution, to end Israeli occupation, and to insure the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent national state on their land.

In the period following the October War, the Palestinian Resistance achieved outstanding political and diplomatic victories, both on the Arab and international levels. These victories helped to isolate Israel and its allies, and brought about a near total recognition of the Palestinian national rights as outlined in the Transitional National Program of the PLO. These successes also secured the recognition of the PLO as the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people. Palestinian armed resistance was stepped up and the mass struggle sometimes took the form of a widespread popular uprising. The unity of the patriotic classes of the Palestinian people was gradually increasing, inside and outside the occupied land, and within the frame-

work of the PLO. There was growing support for and growing membership in the patriotic and progressive organizations.

These achievements have forced the widest yet recognition of the Palestinian question as the heart of the struggle taking place in the region against the state of Israel and its ally, American imperialism. In spite of the deplorable concessions by the Egyptian right-wing government in collaboration with Arab reaction, and its growing involvement in the American settlement plans, the Palestinian Resistance continues its struggle in all fields and is becoming a pole of attraction to the Arab masses and to the patriotic forces which are opposed to right-wing retreat and capitulation. The Palestinian Resistance is likewise forcing a break in the state of continued stalemate which the Zionist-imperialist enemy is seeking to perpetuate, by counting on the collusion of Arab reaction and right-wing forces. In this manner, the Palestinian Resistance is keeping the road to victory open for our people and the other Arab peoples.

**II. The Palestinian Revolution—
its nature, its tasks, its dynamics.**

II. THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION: ITS NATURE, ITS TASKS, ITS DYNAMICS

A. THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER OF OUR REVOLUTION:

The Palestinian revolution is in its present historical phase a national-democratic revolution. Its strategic task is to achieve a radical democratic solution to the national question of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian national question is essentially the problem of the national fragmentation, and of the uprooting from their homeland, to which the Palestinian people have been subjected -- as a result of: (1) the Zionist settler-colonial invasion which led to the eviction and destitution of most Palestinians outside their homes, to their replacement by Jewish settlers, and to the establishment of the State of Israel as an exclusive Jewish state which defines itself as the country of world Jewry on the land of Palestine; and (2) Hashemite annexationist policy to which the rest of Palestine and the majority of the Palestinian people have been subjected.

This national fragmentation of the Palestinian people has led to the forced dissolution of their national existence and creates an obstacle to their national and social development. It has also led to an acute national contradiction between Zionism and its political embodiment (Israel) and the Palestinian people, on the one hand, and between Hashemite reaction and all the patriotic classes of the Palestinian people, on the other.

The future of the socialist development of Palestine, country and people, depends on the achievement of a radical solution to this national conflict by removing its root cause: the deprivation of the Palestinian people of their national rights, primarily at the hands of the Zionist state but also at the hands of Hashemite reaction. Until this solution has been achieved, the Palestinian revolution will retain its national-democratic character.

B. TOWARDS A RADICAL SOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION:

The radical solution to the problem of the Palestinian people's national fragmentation and uprooting lies in guaranteeing their right to self-determination in freedom over their entire national territory. This goal requires the achievement of national independence for the Palestinian people and the annulment of Hashemite annexationist policy. It also requires the struggle for the establishment of a unified democratic state in Palestine, opposed to Zionism and imperialism, where Arabs and Jews co-exist within a framework of complete national equality, far from any oppression or discrimination based on nationality, race, or religion. It further requires a state which is linked by integral relations to the countries of the Arab world. To arrive at this solution requires a struggle for the realization of a series of concrete political steps that guarantee the abolition of Zionism and all its political expressions. These steps consist of:

(1) Forcing, by practical measures, the recognition of the independent national existence of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination in freedom within the framework of an independent national state.

(2) The recognition of the right of all Palestinian Arab refugees to return to their original abode and their homeland, and to the repossession of their property.

(3) The abolition of the Zionist Law of Return, the limitation of Jewish immigration to Palestine, and the dismantlement of all Zionist institutions; military, political, economic, and social.

(4) The abolition of all forms of national, racial, and religious discrimination and the provision for political and constitutional guarantees for co-existence and equality within the framework of a unified democratic state.

The realization of this radical solution to our national question requires a comprehensive mobilization of all the forces of our national revolution, its allies, and its strategic resources. This will make it possible to inflict a decisive defeat on the material forces of Zionism and the allies of imperialism. This comprehensive mobilization can only be achieved given the following conditions:

(1) On the local level; A full mobilization of the revolutionary potential of the Palestinian people by the provision of a stable base on their homeland, in the areas where the majority of the people live and the emergence of a revolutionary proletarian leadership for the Palestinian national movement. A leadership which is capable of achieving an organized and complete democratic mobilization of the popular masses.

(2) On the Arab level; An unequivocal victory of the national-democratic revolution in a number of Arab countries, which makes possible the establishment of popular democratic regimes that will immediately fulfill the minimal requirements for a radical change in the Arab-Israeli balance of forces. This will be achieved by arming the people, by giving the masses their democratic liberties, by completely liquidating imperialism's influence and interests and by consolidating the alliance with socialist countries and all the forces of world revolution.

(3) On the international level; An unequivocal change in the balance of power that puts the initiative in the hands of the forces of world revolution and paralyzes the aggressive capacity of the imperialist powers.

C. THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES:

The Palestinian revolution faces, at the strategic level, a major enemy represented by Zionism and its political expression, the State of Israel. Zionism is a reactionary racialist movement which is firmly

tied to world imperialism and which constitutes a negation of the national existence of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination. Zionism proposes a false and reactionary solution to the Jewish question, placing it in a chauvinist and settler-colonialist framework at the expense of the Palestinian people's national existence and their inalienable national rights. The total defeat of Zionism constitutes the major strategic task of our national-democratic revolution.

The constant and principal ally of Zionism is world imperialism. The Zionist project grew and developed under the aegis of British colonialism, and it now maintains its racist and settler-colonial institutions thanks to the wide-ranging support of American imperialism. World imperialism finds in the Zionist presence an important pillar for imposing its domination in the Middle East and an instrument of aggression to weaken and repress the Arab national liberation movement. The struggle against imperialism, the ally and supporter of Zionism, constitutes a strategic and enduring task for our Palestinian revolution. The abolition of Zionism over Palestinian land necessarily means the liberation of Palestine from the orbit of world imperialism.

Side by side with Zionism, Hashemite reaction plays a complementary role in the dissolution of the independent national existence of the Palestinian people. Hashemite reaction draws its reason of being from the specific task it accomplishes in the service of imperialist strategy in the area. The essence of this task resides in the policy of forced annexation which is directed towards usurping the right to represent the Palestinian people, claiming sovereignty over the latter's national territory, suppressing its national struggle and subjugating it to regional discrimination and oppression. Thus Hashemite reaction constitutes one of the major forces antagonistic to the revolution. Abolishing the Hashemite policy of forced annexation, and forcing in practice the recognition of the national independence of the Palestinian people are then among the enduring strategic tasks of our Palestinian revolution. In order for the Palestinian people in Jordan to achieve their full right of return to their homeland, free and sovereign, the struggle against the policy of annexation and regional discrimin-

ation must develop into a common struggle with all the Jordanian patriotic forces for a national democratic regime. The establishment of a national democratic regime radically solves the problems of the national democratic revolution in Jordan, leading the national liberation, democracy, and social progress as well as constituting the principal and decisive guarantee for the right of the Palestinian people to independence and regional equality. The establishment of such a regime also provides the solid foundation for the renewal of a unity between Jordan and liberated Palestine, on the basis of democracy, equality, and free voluntary choice. It thus paves the way for a decisive victory in the struggle against Zionism.

D. THE CLASS FORCES PROMOTING THE PROCESS OF REVOLUTION:

The principal motor force of our revolution is the national movement of the Palestinian people in which all its patriotic classes are united. With respect to our people's various groups and social strata in scattered places of exile, the reality of decimation and national uprooting is affecting with damaging consequences their interests, just as it hinders the fulfillment of their aspirations to return and to be part of a coherent national existence. In Jordan, all classes are suffering from the policy of annexation and regional discrimination which comes to suppress their national aspirations and their immediate democratic and class interests. In the occupied territories, all the patriotic classes suffer from the reality of national plunder and from the settler-colonial and terroristic policy of the occupation authorities. With the exception of a handful of enemy agents and collaborators with Hashemite reaction, made up of feudal notables, self-seeking capitalists, and corrupt officials, all our people's national classes (workers, peasants, destitute refugees, the small bourgeoisie, the middle national bourgeoisie, and some enlightened groups of big capitalists) have a complete interest in the recovery of the right to return, to national independence and to self-determination in their homeland. All these classes participate in the struggle against Zionism, imperialism, and Hashemite annexation, but they participate in varying degrees of determination, consistency, and quality of leadership.

The bitter experiences that our people have suffered have underlined the fact that the traditional leaderships, comprised of members of the big national bourgeoisie and big land-owners, cannot lead the national struggle to victory in spite of their participation in it. This is due to their conservative nature, to their ties with imperialism and the reactionary ruling classes in the Arab countries, and to their faltering stand at times when the occupation authorities and Hashemite reaction exert pressures on their immediate class interests.

The middle national bourgeoisie and its various political expressions play at present an important role in the leadership of the national movement, both inside and outside the occupied territories. However, in the age of the decline of capitalism and of the victory of socialism on a world scale, this class lacks open vistas for further historical development and is incapable of providing the national-democratic revolution with a firm class leadership unto the end. Rather, its inclination for compromise and hesitation vis-a-vis the opponents of revolution is gaining ground due to its lack of confidence in the abundant revolutionary potential and initiative of the popular masses. As a result, this class is incapable of fulfilling the requirements for a widespread and organized democratic mobilization of the masses. To let this class control the leadership of the national alliance in spite of its active participation in the national struggle exposes the revolution to catastrophes and setbacks.

The small bourgeoisie and its various sectors play a vital and effective role in the national struggle against the occupation and against Hashemite reaction. This class constitutes the active majority within the base of the present national alliance and under a firm class leadership, it can become one of the principal forces that activate and sustain the national-democratic revolution. It lacks however the qualities of discipline, internal unity and cohesion that would enable it to become a class vanguard for the revolution and to lead it to victory. The inclination for adventurism, extremism, frightened and desperate retreats and spasmodic protests against oppression and destitution prevail within the ranks of this class. As a result of its wavering middle position among the other classes, it also fails to form a sound view of the relative strength of the different class forces and to define accord-

ingly an adequate program of struggle that would enable it to mobilize the masses on a wide scale under its leadership. It instead replaces such a view with extreme verbal slogans, with a preaching of despair putting the people and the revolution at a dead-end, and with the attempt to rely on its own forces as a substitute to a wide mobilization of the masses.

The working class, in its democratic revolutionary alliance with poor peasants, destitute refugees, and all other laboring people, is the only class qualified to lead the national-democratic revolution to a decisive victory over its opponents. The open vistas for the historic development of the working class; its increasingly stronger social position in the midst of the people, particularly inside the occupied territories; its qualities of discipline, cohesion and internal unity; its radical interest in liberation, independence, return and the realization of all the tasks of the national-democratic revolution; and its capacity to comprehend the interests of the people as a whole and to correctly assess the balance of forces between it and its opponents. All these qualities make the working class the most revolutionary and the best equipped to provide a class vanguard that would firmly lead the national-democratic revolution towards a victorious end. The struggle to organize the working class, to bolster its political weight and to enable it to fulfill its objective strategic role as a vanguard to the national-democratic revolution, is a basic requirement for the eventual triumph of the revolution.

The achievement of a radical democratic solution to the Palestinian question is, in the final analysis, in the interest of all the workers among the Jewish settlers in occupied Palestine. But the material and moral advantages that Zionism offers them at the expense of the destitution and exploitation of the Palestinian people, with the resulting penetration of Zionist ideology and sense of national superiority among them, hinders their awareness of this truth and constitutes a serious weakness of the democratic forces, opposed to Zionism or opposed to expansionism, inside Israel. The escalation of the Palestinian and Arab struggle against Zionism and its expansionist ambitions, the defeats inflicted on Israel by this struggle, and the resulting economic, social, and security crises will necessarily expose the illusory nature of

the solution proposed by the Zionist project and the transient quality of the advantages it extends at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs. It will also further the conviction that the only road to peace is co-existence within one democratic state. This will provide the objective basis for a common struggle for the abolition of Zionism and will increase the influence of the anti-Zionist forces in Israel, whereby they may become an important strategic resource to our national revolution.

E. THE FORCES ALLIED TO THE REVOLUTION:

1) On the Arab level:

The Palestinian revolution is an integral part of the Arab revolution which, in its present national-democratic phase, is struggling for national liberation and unity for all the peoples and countries of the Arab world. Success in inflicting a decisive defeat on the Zionist-imperialist alliance, with its military, technological, and civic superiority, is beyond the Palestinian people's own potential. It necessarily requires a comprehensive mobilization of the human and material resources of all the Arab peoples. The realization of this comprehensive mobilization is contingent on fully completing the national-democratic tasks now confronting the Arab revolution as a whole. The progress and eventual victory of the Arab mass struggle against imperialism, reaction, and backwardness and towards unity is therefore a necessary condition for defeating Zionism and for the achievement of a radical democratic solution to our national question. Such a development of the struggle of the Arab masses requires radical and more revolutionary changes in the class make-up of the leadership of the Arab liberation movement. It is therefore in the strategic interest of the Palestinian revolution that it be an organic part of the Arab national liberation movement, which in turn dictates participation in the latter's struggle for a radical solution to the problems of national-democratic liberation and unity at the Arab level.

On the other hand, given its colonialist, expansionist, and imperialist character, and its role as a mainstay and a striking force for imperialism in the area, Zionism embodies in the State of Israel re-

presents a constant threat to the national independence of the Arab peoples and to their aspirations for freedom and social progress, just as it forms an obstacle to pan-Arab unity. The struggle against Zionism in order to regain the Palestinian people's complete national rights is therefore an enduring and objective task of the Arab national liberation movement as a whole.

In the present phase, the Arab revolution is still confronting national and democratic tasks of a recent character. These tasks include: ending the influence of imperialism and neo-colonialism in the region; removing what remains of their military and political presence; the liquidation of reactionary regimes tied to them; the liquidation of their economic interests in the region; complete control by the Arab peoples over their national resources; the mobilization of these resources to build a cohesive and integrated national economy based on industrialization and the liberation of the peasant masses from the remnants of feudalism and backwardness; granting complete democratic liberties to the Arab masses and mobilizing and arming them to confront all imperialist and Zionist provocations; the realization of national unity for all Arab countries on a basis of democracy and free voluntary choice; active participation in the world struggle against imperialism; and consolidation of the alliance with the forces of world progress, at the forefront of which are the socialist countries.

To accomplish these tasks unquestionably calls for a radical transformation in the class structure of the Arab movement of national liberation, in a way that will enable the working classes and their democratic allies to play more of the vanguard role. This will also help to release the abundant revolutionary energies of the Arab peoples so that the conditions for a decisive victory against the Zionist opponent may be satisfied, thus enabling the Arab national liberation movement to completely fulfill its objective and strategic role as a principal ally to the Palestinian revolution. Any partial advance in the Arab national struggle will likewise help the Palestinian people to achieve transitional goals as explicated in the Transitional Program.

(2) On the International level:

The Palestinian revolution is presently evolving in a historical era characterized by the increasing downfall of imperialism and the world capitalist order and by the victory of socialism on a world scale. This reality stresses the historical contradiction between the Zionist enterprise, on the one hand, and the nature of this era and present direction of progress, on the other; just as it builds up confidence in the eventual defeat of this racialist and settler-colonial project.

The Zionist movement and its actual embodiment, the expansionist and racialist State of Israel, have formed and still forms an enduring ally of imperialism and reaction, both regionally and internationally. The State of Israel is participating in the obstruction of the worldwide movement of national liberation and the socialist revolution. This is what makes the struggle against the Zionist project a common international task for all the forces of socialism, national liberation, and democracy in our contemporary world.

The victories achieved by the socialist countries, the movements of national liberation, and the movements of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries are a sure contribution to our people's national and democratic struggle as they weaken the imperialist, Zionist, and the reactionary opponents of this struggle. The socialist countries currently furnish, on all levels, a support of great importance to the struggle of our people and their national movement.

The revolutionary forces that activate the movement towards progress on a world scale are represented by the socialist countries, by the movements of national liberation in the developing countries, and by the working class movement in the advanced capitalist countries. These forces constitute a direct ally and a great strategic reserve for our national revolution. The task of strengthening the unity and solidarity of these forces in our common struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and world reaction emerges as one of the most important internationalist tasks of our present era.

On the basis of proletarian internationalism, and of the unity of all the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, the Democratic Front commits itself to work for the consolidation of the alliance between the Palestinian revolution and all the other forces of world

revolution. This springs from the Democratic Front's basic belief in the realistic and historical necessity for such an alliance for building a wide confrontation front against imperialism, Zionism, and reaction on a world level.

III. The Transitional Program.

III. THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM:

The eventual realization of all the strategic tasks of our national-democratic revolution dictates, for the present, the following immediate tasks: to unify our Palestinian people, to protect and strengthen the unity of their national identity, to mobilize their resources in order to step up the struggle against the Israeli occupation, and to strengthen their alliance with the Arab movement of national liberation and with the progressive and socialist forces in the world.

The balance of forces in the present phase of the struggle, including all the local, Arab, and international elements, requires the formulation of a concrete transitional program that takes into account the geographical distribution of the Palestinian people, the corresponding variation in its class make-up and the differences in the conditions for carrying on the struggle among its various regional concentrations. This program aims at mobilizing all the regional concentrations of our people on the basis of their respective immediate and concrete interests. It also aims at drawing up a policy that will allow for an uninterrupted change in the current balance of forces and will provide the conditions for a decisive revolutionary victory.

The Transitional National Program for the revolution and the people, based on the right of our people to return, to self-determination, and to independence in a national state established on all Palestinian lands from which the Israeli occupation has been forced to withdraw, is the program that will allow for the maximum mobilization and national unity of our people, and will strengthen the com-

mon struggle with our natural allies, both on the Arab level and internationally.

This Program is defined on the basis of the different tasks and transitional programs of action to be taken up by the various regional concentrations of our Palestinian people, given that they should all contribute to the unified strategy in the struggle against Zionism, imperialism, and Hashemite annexation.

1. THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP

The struggle to put an end to Israeli occupation in the occupied territories, to wrest the right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to achieve self-determination within the framework of an independent national state -- presently constitutes the central pivot of this Transitional Program.

In the West Bank and the Gaza Strip the Palestinian people confront a direct enemy, the brutal Israeli occupation. The occupation authorities are pursuing a settler-colonial policy that destroys the interests of all the national classes. The most evident features of this policy are: the confiscation and purchase of land and the encouragement of Jewish settlement on it; the imposition of colonialist hegemony and economic assimilation; the destruction of the basis for a national economy; the concentrated exploitation of the working class; the confiscation of civil liberties and the disregard of the rights of the population under occupation; and the suppression of the national culture, the obliteration of the national heritage, and the desecration of the places of worship.

The Palestinian people also confront another enemy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, those collaborating with Israeli occupation and the pillars and agents of Hashemite rule, be they notables, malicious big capitalists, corrupt bureaucrats, or land speculators. Among these individuals are those who work in collusion with the occupation authorities to implement Hashemite and Israeli annexationist plans, aiming at dividing again the Palestinian land and at bringing back Hashemite rule under the guise of different schemes for a United Kingdom. Others among these individuals work to put into practice the occupation authorities' plans that seek to distort our people's

will to national independence and to co-opt it through different projects of civil administration. What these individuals work towards is threatening the fate of our people and its national existence with renewed oppression and decimation.

The Democratic Front struggles in the occupied territories to mobilize, organize, and lead the masses -- using all available forms of mass, political, syndical, and armed struggle -- in order:

(a) To resist all measure taken by the occupation authorities for the seizure and purchase of land, to return confiscated lands to their legitimate owners, and to evacuate Zionist settlements from these lands.

(b) To protect the national economy from steps taken to absorb and destroy it and from exorbitant taxation, and to preserve national economic projects, crafts, and agriculture.

(c) To organize the struggle of the working class against exploitation and discrimination, and to guarantee its right to have independent syndical organizations.

(d) To protect civil liberties, and to fight against the policy of intimidation, detention, expulsion, and collective punishment.

(e) To guarantee the right of women, students, teachers, youth, and other groups in the population, to establish their own independent mass and professional organizations.

(f) To protect the national culture and heritage, educational programs, and places of worship, from all Zionist policies of suppression, degradation and falsification.

The Democratic Front works towards connecting all the above struggles with the task of unifying the various patriotic classes and forces. Such a unity is to be within the framework of a Palestinian national front for the common fight to expel and put an end to Israeli occupation, and to guarantee the recognition in practice of the Palestinian people's right to return to their homeland and to self-determination. This right is to be exercised in the framework of a fully independent national Palestinian state, under the leadership of the PLO in its quality of sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, thus guaranteeing the establishment of a national authority in which all patriotic classes may be represented under a democratic system.

II. JORDAN

The national-democratic struggle in Jordan holds a particular importance with regard to the strategy and the future of the Palestinian revolution. The Palestinian masses in Jordan play an active role in the ranks of the Jordanian national movement. The common fate and the close interrelationship between the masses of both the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples on the land of Jordan are a permanent reality that must constitute the foundation of any national-democratic program of action. This reality provides the objective basis for an interdependence, which cannot be broken, between the tasks of national-democratic liberation in Jordan and the struggle against the occupation to secure the national rights of the Palestinian people. It dictates the establishment of a united national-democratic movement, comprising the patriotic classes of both the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples, which will lead the struggle for the realization of the tasks of national-democratic revolution in Jordan. The Jordanian ruling class alliance -- which includes big proprietors, the comprador bourgeoisie, the reactionary bureaucracy, and the royal aristocracy -- is the main obstacle to the country's national and democratic development. This ruling class follows a policy of allegiance to imperialism, of continued and deepening dependence on foreign aid, and of obstruction to the growth of a producing national economy. Its policy is one that is antagonistic to democratic liberties and in collusion with the Zionist enemy. It practices forced annexation against the Palestinian people, confiscates their national rights, subjects them to regional discrimination and oppression, and feigns their right to representation, self-determination and sovereignty on their own land. This policy is, in the final analysis, in contradiction with the real interests of the patriotic classes of both peoples.

The Organization of the Democratic Front in Jordan, which is the organizational framework for uniting the vanguards of the Palestinian and Jordanian laboring classes, works on mobilizing all the patriotic classes and on organizing their struggle in order:

(a) To put an end to imperialist influence, to achieve complete national liberation, to protect the country's independence from colonialist foreign "aid," and to build an independent, not service-oriented

national economy. This will correspond to the vital and immediate interests of the patriotic classes, chiefly the right of the working class to receive fair wages, to work limited hours, to have comprehensive social security, and to fight unemployment and arbitrary dismissal.

(b) To achieve a radical agrarian reform; to free the peasantry from the despotism of big landlords, merchants, and usurers; to prohibit large landholdings; to distribute the land according to the principle "the land to those who work it"; and to direct the agricultural policy of the state for the benefit of small and poor peasants, in terms of financing, irrigation, marketing, mechanization, and agricultural planning.

(c) To actualize democratic liberties; to prohibit any police meddling in the affairs of citizens; to guarantee the right to organize parties and associations, be they political or social; to guarantee the freedom of opinion and of the press and the right to public gathering and demonstrations; and to affirm rights and liberties in syndical action and organizing, including the right to strike for all workers and other sectors of the people.

(d) To guarantee complete national mobilization in order to participate in the struggle against Israeli occupation. This is to be achieved through: development of the army, elimination of corruption and bribery in it, ending its dependence on imperialist countries for training and armament, equipping it with arms from the socialist countries, eliminating of privileges for high-ranking officers, attending to the demands of soldiers and low-ranking officers, prohibiting the use of the army for internal repression, and establishing a close military alliance with patriotic confrontation states within the framework of a fighting eastern front against the occupation. This is also to be achieved through: granting the masses the right to be armed and allowing the Palestinian Resistance to be present in, and to launch forth from, the Jordanian front in support of the struggle inside the occupied territories.

(e) To obtain the unconditional recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people. This consists in the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people, the recognition of the latter's right to independence and self-determination in the framework of an independent national state, and the elimination

of regional discrimination and oppression against Palestinians in Jordan, which will guarantee their enjoyment of all civil rights on an equal footing while also preserving their independent national identity.

(f) To follow an educational policy, national and democratic, which will satisfy requirements for developing the productive base of the national economy, for opening the doors of education to all sons and daughters of the laboring classes, and for fighting illiteracy as well as unemployment and emigration among university graduates.

(g) To achieve women's liberation and their equality with men in all fields of political, economic, and social life.

In the pursuit of the above tasks, success depends upon the unity among all patriotic classes and forces of both peoples in the framework of a united national front. This front is to lead and organize the struggle for the establishment of a national democratic regime, which is responsive to those national tasks and provides the necessary conditions for completing the objectives of the national-democratic revolution. This is the road towards strengthening the unity between the two peoples and building it on sound foundations.

The struggle of the Palestinian people for national independence is not directed at breaking the fraternal ties and common fate between the two peoples. It rather aims at getting rid of regional oppression and the annexationist policy followed by the ruling class, just as it aims at bringing out the Palestinian national identity in the face of the Zionist project. The tasks of national liberation together with the establishment of a national democratic regime in Jordan will accordingly open the door for renewing and restoring the unity between the two peoples --- on a basis of democratic equality, free voluntary choice, and common struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and reaction.

3. COUNTRIES OF REFUGE

In addition to the occupied territories and to Jordan, a large part of the Palestinian masses are distributed in the surrounding Arab countries and inside the land occupied in 1948. The organization and mobilization of these masses is an essential requirement for the achievement of the highest level in building up the national potential of the Palestinian people against the enemy. It is also an essential require-

ment for strengthening the unity of the Palestinian people and their national cohesiveness.

The immediate tasks faced by the Palestinian revolution in the Arab countries hosting large concentrations of Palestinians (Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, etc.) generally consist of:

(a) Preserving and bringing out the independent national status of the Palestinian people by building professional, political, cultural, military (the militia) and mass organizations which promote this status and help to defend it.

(b) Guaranteeing the Palestinian people's right to pursue their struggle against the Zionist enemy, through their freedom to enroll in the ranks of the Resistance and their freedom to organize, to be armed, and to engage in political, informational and military activities.

(c) Defending the rights and pressing interests of the Palestinian masses, at the forefront of which are the right to equal opportunities with other citizens, the right to work on the basis of "equal pay for equal work," the right to travel and to move, and the right to have self-administration in the camps.

(d) Strengthening the relations of solidarity and building an alliance of struggle with the Arab national movements in these countries of refuge.

4. THE LAND OCCUPIED IN 1948

In the territory occupied in 1948, the masses of the Palestinian people confront immediate tasks that can be summed up in the following: the preservation of their independent national identity, the defense of their direct democratic and national rights, the battle against Zionist attempts at dilution and absorption, and the struggle against the measures of eviction, uprooting and land-appropriation. These come in addition to the task of organized participation in the national movement of the Palestinian people and the task of resistance to all policies of Zionist occupation and expansion.

5. THE ISSUES OF NATIONAL UNITY AND THE P.L.O.

All the various and distinct tasks of struggle, mentioned above, feed into the unified current of the Palestinian national movement

against occupation, Zionism, imperialism, and Hashemite annexation. They all contribute to the restoration and consolidation of the independent national existence of the Palestinian people. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) presently constitutes the actual political realization of this independent existence and the unifying framework for the entire Palestinian national movement. The Democratic Front is struggling on all levels to consolidate the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and as the sole expression of its national consensus. The Democratic Front is also struggling: to promote the unity of all the revolutionary and patriotic forces within the framework of the PLO; to democratically reform the political, military, and administrative institutions of the PLO; to strengthen the common front structure of the PLO on the basis of democracy, equality, and unity of the political program of national struggle; and to end unilateral actions, patronage, and domination from one group or another -- all this in order that the PLO may become a genuine framework for a united front of national liberation.

The conditions of uprooting, dissolution, occupation and discrimination, from which the various classes of the Palestinian people suffer wherever they are to be found, constitute the objective basis for the establishment of this united front, which includes all the national forces opposed to Zionism, occupation and annexation, regardless of their different class affiliations.

Within this framework, the Democratic Front is struggling to enhance the unity of the progressive and democratic currents that stand for the interests of the laboring classes. It is struggling to bring these currents together in a revolutionary democratic alliance which would form a solid vanguard for the wider national coalition within the frame of the united front. Such a revolutionary democratic alliance between the masses of workers, peasants, destitute refugees, revolutionary intellectuals, and the progressive sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, is the sure guarantee for the preservation and reinforcement of the united national front, and for its firm adherence to a radical national program.

The working class, with its great vanguard party, is the class historically qualified to lead this revolutionary democratic alliance as well

as the wider national alliance. This party, armed with scientific socialist thought, representing the classes that are most revolutionary and most conscious of the interests of the people as a whole, and encom-

passing the best among the people's militants among its seasoned leaders, is the only one that is capable of joining together the ranks of the patriotic classes and of leading them successfully towards victory. The struggle to carry on the task of building this party successfully is tied to the struggle for completing the unity of the people and the mobilization of its resources for the long-term effort towards victory.

6. IN THE ARAB AND INTERNATIONAL DOMAINS

An immediate goal of the struggle of the Arab peoples, particularly in the countries confronting Israeli occupation, is to force a total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all the lands occupied in 1967, as well as to guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people to return and self-determination and to the establishment of an independent national state. In the course of accomplishing this transitional goal, the task of defeating the American-Israeli-Hashemite solutions emerges as a pressing one, along with the task of exposing and isolating rightist Arab policies that grovel over these capitulationist solutions. These capitulationist solutions take the form of partial and bilateral settlements and aim at fragmenting Arab solidarity, striking at the alliance between the Arab countries and the socialist countries, and stripping the Arab patriotic forces of the various means of action that achieved their gains in the October War. The ultimate objective being the reaching of a liquidationist settlement that would guarantee Israel its expansionist ambitions in the occupied Arab land, confiscate the national rights of the Palestinian people, and guarantee a final liquidation of their independent identity and national question.

The Democratic Front is working towards consolidating an alliance with all Arab patriotic forces in the common struggle to provide the minimal conditions for the realization of this urgent task. Foremost among these conditions are: the strengthening of Arab patriotic solidarity on the basis of two demands, the complete liberation of the occupied territories and the achievement of Palestinian national in-

dependence; the mobilization of all Arab resources, military, economic and political for the battle against the enemy; the liquidation of imperialist interests; the deployment of the oil weapon and of other Arab resources in the service of the patriotic-national battle; and the consolidation of the relations of friendship and mutual support between the Arab movement of national liberation, the socialist countries and all the forces of progress in the world.