



**Political Program
of the PFLP's
5th Congress**

February 1993

Introduction

In short, the program is a general determination which reflects the general aspirations and interests of the people, as well as the needs of each stratum. In as much as it sets out clear aims that are in harmony with the general interests of the people, an exact evaluation of the stage and a convincing prediction of the development of the struggle, this will broaden the circle of those who adopt and defend the program.

Hence, the program in its capacity as a «general affirmation» must be carried out, and it is considered an extremely important document. It defines the thinking on which the party is based. It pinpoints the general aims which have been set and the relation between the present and strategic struggle. It defines the nature of the stage, its contradictions, forces and methods of struggle, the nature of the enemy and the alliances which make it possible to achieve victory.

Proceeding from these points, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) draws up its

program and introduces itself as a militant political party. It aims to mobilize and lead the struggle of the Palestinian masses for repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state. These are steps towards defeating the Zionist entity, liberating all the Palestinian national soil and establishing a democratic state where all citizens enjoy equal rights without discrimination on the grounds of race, sex or creed. This, in turn, would be a step towards establishing a democratic socialist society which is the PFLP's final aim.

The PFLP is guided by historical and dialectical materialism; the progressive aspects of the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Palestinian people and their glorious traditions of struggle; and the progressive aspects of the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Arab nation and all humanity.

The PFLP is considered a progressive vanguard organization of the Palestinian working class. It struggles along with the other leftist Palestinian organizations to build a working class party which recruits this class to shoulder its historical role in liberating the Palestinian masses from national and class enslavement. Included in its ranks are the elements of the peasants, toilers, intellectuals and national bourgeois who are most progressive, determined and ready to give sacrifices, as well as all who aspire to national independence, progress, democracy and socialism.

The PFLP struggles to accomplish the transitional aims of repatriation, self-determination and an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. It adheres to its strategic aim of establishing a democratic state on all the Palestinian soil. Its final aim is to establish democratic socialism in Palestine.

The PFLP's organizational unity is based on democratic centralism, collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism. Democratic centralism guarantees channelling all organizational energies and potentials in a single, united, active direction, after leadership, cadre and base organizational bodies have participated in a truly democratic way in charting the policy of the party and its positions and program of struggle.

The PFLP considers Palestinian national unity a necessary condition for accomplishing the Palestinian people's aims in the national liberation stage. Thus, it struggles continuously for firm and deeply-rooted unity among the forces of the revolution within the framework of the PLO. It struggles for consolidating unity on a democratic basis to guarantee a position for the working class that is commensurate with its size, weight and role in the struggle. It also strives to unify the energies of all classes, strata and ideological trends of the Palestinian people in a strong, deeply rooted national unity, regardless of any conflicts in their ranks. Our people are confronting Zionist settler-colonialism, expansionism and terrorism which aims to eliminate their very existence. It is

impossible to defeat Zionism and achieve victory unless we mobilize all the energies and potentials of all our people and involve them in the liberation battle.

The PFLP wages armed struggle against the Zionist enemy as the main method of struggle. It also wages all forms of political, ideological and economic struggle which are enshrined in international charters and traditions, in order to enforce the legitimate, inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The PFLP believes that the Palestinian people are an inseparable part of the Arab nation and the Palestinian national liberation movement is an inseparable part of the Arab national liberation movement. Thus, the PFLP struggles alongside other Arab progressive, nationalist and working class parties and forces, for freedom, democracy, unity and socialism, in order to liberate Palestine and occupied Arab territories.

The PFLP also confirms its deep conviction in international solidarity. It considers the Palestinian people's struggle an inseparable part of the struggle of the forces of peace, democracy, socialism, progress and liberation, for a world free of all forms of domination, oppression and hostility -- a world governed by peace, brotherhood, cooperation, equality, justice and the human values humanity has dreamed of and struggled for since the dawn of history.

Chapter One

The National Liberation Stage – Its nature, contradictions, aims, tasks and driving forces

The PLO

A. The nature of the stage

The present stage of the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, since it began in the early part of the 20th century, is designated as the national liberation stage. The Palestinian cause is distinct from others because of the settler-colonial, expulsionist nature of Zionism, supported by imperialism and many reactionary forces, which sought to occupy Palestinian land, expel the Palestinian Arab people and eliminate their existence, meanwhile bringing Jews from all corners of the earth to establish a national homeland for them in Palestine.

This resulted in the greatest conspiracy witnessed by modern history. Not only was a hostile, racist, Zionist state established at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people and their legitimate, inalienable national rights. Also, the Palestinian national struggle was placed in a uniquely complicated framework as compared to the

conditions under which other colonized and subordinated people struggled for freedom and independence.

While roughly half the Palestinian Arab people fell under the yoke of the racist, settler - colonial Zionist occupation, the other half was dispossessed, dispersed in Arab and foreign places of exile, and subjected to Arab regimes of varying orientations. In addition, the Jordanian regime annexed the Palestinian [West] Bank and many Palestinians were exiled to the East Bank [Jordan]. All this created severe conditions for the struggle. Yet despite difficult subjective and objective conditions, the Palestinian people did not stop struggling to defend their existence, their independent national identity and their historical, legitimate, inalienable national rights.

Proceeding from this reality and the nature of the stage, the PFLP emphasizes the prime importance of recruiting, mobilizing and organizing all Palestinian national classes and strata who are harmed by Zionism's colonial presence, in order to accomplish the aims of national liberation and save the Palestinian people from the yoke of settler - colonial Zionism. The PFLP also confirms that the national liberation nature of the current stage of struggle does not nullify its solid linkage and overlap with the tasks of the national democratic revolution.

B. Contradictions

The basic contradiction governing the Palestinian national liberation stage is the antagonistic contradiction between the Palestinian people, whether living in Palestine or in exile, and the Zionist entity which usurped and occupied our homeland. Meanwhile, the basic contradiction in the Arab region is between the Arab nation, supported by the forces of socialism, peace, progress and liberation in the world on the one hand, and the Zionist entity and movement, imperialism and reactionary forces on the other. However, at this stage, the main contradiction to be resolved is that between the Palestinian Arab people and the Zionist occupation of the Gaze Strip and Palestinian [West] Bank, including Jerusalem.

C. Aims

- The strategic aim

The strategic aim of the PFLP's struggle alongside the other forces of the Palestinian revolution is to liberate Palestine from Zionist colonial occupation. The PFLP aims for the establishment of a democratic state on the entire Palestinian national land, with its capital in Jerusalem. This state would guarantee legal rights and equality of opportunity to all citizens, without discrimination on the grounds of religion, sex,

belief or color. It would oppose Zionism and imperialism and be oriented towards democratic unity with other Arab countries.

Achieving this aim presupposes a radical solution for the Palestinian national cause and readiness to wage a prolonged, complicated and difficult struggle. The Palestinian people would spearhead this struggle, with the participation of the Arab masses led by their vanguard forces, aimed at inflicting a decisive defeat on the Zionist entity in Palestine. The Zionist entity is a racist, aggressive, expansionist, settler-colonial entity which aims at elimination [of our people]. It constitutes bridgehead for the imperialist forces to further their strategy of imposing total domination on the whole Arab region. This situation requires the creation of qualitatively new conditions in the international, Arab and Palestinian arenas, which would ultimately generate a decisive and radical change in the balance of forces in favor of the revolutionary forces. This entails a fierce, prolonged, complicated struggle and great sacrifices.

- The transitional aim

The transitional aim of the struggle waged by the PFLP alongside the other forces of the Palestinian revolution, is to regain the Palestinians' rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state on their national soil, with Jerusalem as its

capital. The option of confrontation, whereby the Palestinian people can achieve their strategic aims, requires a realistic political view, in order to see reality as it is and draw up a practical, scientific conception for dealing with this reality and changing what can be changed. The present disequilibrium in the balance of forces is basically due to the great complexity of the environment surrounding the Palestinian national cause. In view of the current Arab and international status quo, it would be extremely difficult and complicated to establish a democratic Palestinian state on all the Palestinian national soil at once. We must therefore rely on a transitional policy on the way to achieving our people's strategic aims.

The difficulties faced by the Zionist enemy in its attempts to absorb Jerusalem, the Palestinian [West] Bank and Gaza Strip into its racist entity, makes definition of the transitional aim and the struggle for that aim an extremely important issue. There are strong factors to support the national struggle and Palestinian revolution in pursuing the transitional aim' namely: increased Palestinian population density in the 1967 occupied territories; legal international resolutions supporting the Palestinian people's struggle and program of repatriation, self-determination and an independent state; and our people's continuous struggle against the occupation, crowned by the glorious intifada of 1987.

The particularity of the situation surrounding the

Palestinian national cause after the 1948 disaster and the completion of the occupation of Palestine in 1967, serves to highlight the prime importance of preserving the independent Palestinian national identity and confronting all attempts to eliminate, disperse or absorb it. The particularity of the situation also makes the struggle for achieving our people's transitional aims – – repatriation, self-determination and an independent state – – a central link in the Palestinian national struggle, which is related to the other links of the struggle for the Palestinian masses' strategic aims.

Through the years of their contemporary struggle, the Palestinian people were able to establish and adhere to their independent national identity. Through their struggle for repatriation, self-determination and an independent state, they were also able to accumulate many gains in this direction. The specified transitional aim of the revolution is distinguished by being a realistic aim which can be accomplished. It elicits the approval and support of the largest sector of public opinion and the international community. It recruits our whole people for the current battle with the enemy. It will also be able to recruit sectors of Israeli public opinion. Therefore, the transitional aim is the organizing principle of the Palestinian people's struggles in the present situation.

While waging different forms of struggle to accomplish our people's aims of repatriation, self-determination and an independent state, the

PFLP confirms that there is a dialectical relation between the people's transitional and strategic aims. Any effort by any Palestinian force to replace the strategic aims with the transitional aims will face strong resistance and insistence on continuing the struggle for establishing a democratic state on all the Palestinian national soil.

D. Tasks

While struggling in all fields and on all levels in order to accomplish our people's transitional aims, the PFLP views that the tasks of the Palestinian people everywhere towards accomplish these aims are as follows:

(1) To work to consolidate the role and status of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of our people everywhere. It is the political framework embodying their independent national identity and encompassing all the national classes and strata with true interests in accomplishing the Palestinian revolution's program and aims.

(2) To work to consolidate and develop Palestinian national unity in the framework of the PLO and in the ranks of the Palestinian people, because it is the sharpest weapon in the struggle for accomplishing the Palestinian national tasks in the present situation. It is

an essential condition for achieving victory against the enemy forces. Yet, working to consolidate unity does not abrogate conflict and differences between the organizations in the PLO, aiming to solidify national unity and establish a democratic, front - type basis for its work.

(3) To resist all liquidations political projects, plans and separate deals proposed by the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces in order to liquidate the Palestinian national cause and encircle our people's struggle for their national aims.

(4) To consolidate and develop the struggle of our people inside the occupied homeland, to provide for their ongoing needs and to raise their struggle to a higher phase in harmony with the view that the interior is the field of the basic conflict and the focus of the work of the PLO leadership and its various administrative, financial, military, informational and political institutions and bodies until the occupation is expelled, and freedom and independence is achieved.

(5) To develop the relation between the pillars of the revolution inside and outside [Palestine], in order to crystallize the means for increasing the weight and role of the interior in formulating Palestinian national decisions, in view of the interior's role in our people's struggle.

(6) To struggle against the Israeli occupation policies which aim to destroy the national economy. To participate in the efforts to develop productive national institutions and protect them from Israeli attempts to destroy or bankrupt them, or to compete with them in order to deprive them of reasonable grounds for existence. To foil the Zionist attempts to annex and merge the economies of Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Israeli economy.

(7) To consolidate the struggle against the policy of confiscating the land and stealing the water. To confront by all possible means the dangers of settlement - building and changing Palestine demographic nature.

(8) To protect the popular heritage and Palestinian national culture from the Zionist enemy's attempts to confiscate, distort and destroy them. To work for preserving and developing them by increasing the role of intellectuals in the Palestinian national struggle, and supporting and developing their unions and cultural, research and professional institutions.

(9) To struggle against Jewish immigration to occupied Palestine. To expose its dangerous consequences, most important of which is the renewal of the Zionist project and what this portends in terms of carrying out aggressive and expansionist plans and

accomplishing the dream of Greater Israel. This struggle entails organizing Arab and Palestinian informational and political campaigns to create international public opinion reflecting that freedom of immigration for Jews occur at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people's freedom and rights.

(10) To exert efforts to stop Palestinians from emigrating from Palestine in search of their daily bread and relief from Zionism's tyrannical, oppressive and terrorist policies, by providing for their needs, so they can remain steadfast and adhere to the land of their country.

(11) To convince Palestinians working abroad to return to their homeland if they are able to, by persuading them of the importance of returning and settling down permanently, and providing them with job opportunities to replace their work abroad.

(12) To link the different forms of struggle in a creative way. To avoid committing the mistake of using only one form of struggle for confronting the Zionist enemy. The comprehensive nature of the long and complicated confrontation which we are waging requires skillful administration of the conflict with the enemy on all fronts -- military, political, informational, economic, diplomatic and cultural. However, the task of propaganda against Zionism

remains to be a central task for us and all Palestinian nationalist and progressive forces.

(13) To adhere constantly to the revolution's strategic aims, linking them closely to the transitional aims and exposing tendencies that seek to lose them in a frantic search for immediate aims. To confront adventures and nihilist tendencies.

(14) To draw up a comprehensive plan for escalating and developing the different forms of revolutionary violence against the Zionist enemy from inside occupied Palestine and from across the surrounding Arab borders. To increase the struggle for opening these borders for military activities, even if this might entail delaying some other form of struggle at some stages.

(15) To carry out activities for mobilizing the potentials and capacities of the masses of the Palestinian people inside and outside [Palestine], involving them in different fields of conflict with the Zionist enemy, in order to ensure the greatest possible popular participation for accomplishing our people's aims.

(16) Our people in 1948 occupied Palestine are a part of the Palestinian Arab people and national struggle.

They therefore shoulder tasks to confront the plans of the Zionist enemy as follows:

- a. Struggling to consolidate the Palestinian national identity, and resisting all efforts to disperse it.
- b. Confronting all forms of discrimination and oppression; escalating struggle in all fields of life.
- c. Increasing the struggle against the policies of land expropriation, Judaization and expelling the original population.
- d. Protecting the national culture from efforts to erase, distort or disperse it; exposing Zionist activities which attempt to confiscate the Palestinian people's heritage.
- e. Developing the forms of struggle waged by the Palestinian masses in the 1948 occupied territories, so that they move gradually from a supportive role to total participation in the struggle of our people to exercise their rights to repatriation, self-determination and establishing an independent Palestinian state.
- f. Working for the establishment of a broad national front to accomplish the above-mentioned tasks; working to reinforce daily political and militant relations with progressive and democratic Jewish forces who support our people's rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

(17) To devote more attention to working among the

masses by varying and expanding the structures for mass work inside and outside [Palestine], and by unifying the trade unions and mass and profession organizations, overcoming their current state of division. To struggle for democratic relations, democratic elections and proportional representation in the unions in order to make them more democratic and thus more active.

(18) To increase Palestinian women's militant role and participation in Palestinian national activities in different frameworks and at different levels. To work for developing and unifying the women's organizations in the framework of the General Union of Palestinian Women. To exert efforts to free Palestinian women from social restrictions which repress their participation in the battle for national liberation.

(19) To work to mobilize, organize and unify the Palestinian working class; to provide all forms of support in order that it may fulfill its historical role.

(20) To work to increase the revolution's concern for Palestinian students and youth. To increase their participation in the struggle waged by our people inside and outside [Palestine], by supporting and developing student and youth committees and unions. To increase the number of cultural clubs and

institutions. To make education democratic and nationalist, and give broader opportunities to our youth. To provide the highest level of ideological and political mobilization; to mobilize the majority of the youth in the ranks of the revolution.

(21) To defend human rights and struggle for the release of Arab and Palestinian political prisoners and detainees, as well as internationalists who work in the framework of the Palestinian revolution.

(22) To mobilize concern for the cause of the Palestinian children since they are the generation of the future.

(23) To devote attention to establishing and developing various institutions inside and outside [Palestine]. To consolidate and unite all the national institutions of different orientations.

(24) To struggle to build a sound and healthy relation between the Palestinian and Arab nationalist factors in the formula for conflict with the Zionist enemy. It is true that the Palestinian national factor is the basic one, but this should not blind us to the Arab nationalist dimension of the Palestinian cause. If we wish to develop the achievements of our revolution and accomplish victory for our people, there is no alternative to developing the interaction, mutual assistance and integration between the particular and

the general. Reality shows the firm relation between the Palestinian and Arab nationalist struggle, which is dictated by the particularity of the Palestinian cause, the nationalist conflict against the Zionist enemy, and the severity of the dangers which the Zionist entity poses to all Arab countries.

(25) To work to consolidate and develop efforts to mobilize the Palestinian and Arab masses against Camp David. To expose the great dangers posed by the immediate and ultimate aims of the imperialist - Zionist - reactionary course.

(26) To increase concern for mobilizing the broadest possible sector of international public opinion, the international community and all the forces of socialism, liberation, democracy, progress, peace and equality in our battle with the Zionist enemy, in a way which will facilitate the accomplishment of our people's transitional aims.

(27) To work to establish and develop various forms of cooperation with democratic and progressive Jewish forces opposed to Zionism, regardless of their size, weight and role in the current battle, in order to defeat Israeli policies and practices, and accomplish the Palestinian people's aims.

(28) To work to establish supportive relations and

joint struggle with the Jordanian national democratic movement, based on the special relations between the Jordanian and Palestinian people, for the sake of a national democratic Jordan and accomplishing the Palestinian rights to repatriation, self - determination and an independent state.

(29) To work to ensure the civil and political rights of Palestinian refugees in all Arab host countries, as well as their right to struggle. To end all forms of discrimination in work, residence, freedom of movement and security. To confront all efforts at resettlement, creating alternative homelands and emigration., To work to ensure the rights of the Palestinian human being and community in all countries of exile.

(30) To work to confront the attempts at Zionist - Palestinian normalization.

E. The driving forces of the revolution

Zionist occupation by nature means annexation, racism, elimination and settler - colonialism. It severely harms the interests of all classes and strata of the Palestinian people, except for a handful of big

property owners, capitalists and collaborators who are linked to the occupation.

Therefore, at this stage of the Palestinian people's struggle - - the stage of national liberation - - the driving forces of the revolution are all classes and strata, because they have genuine interests in getting rid of the occupation and its destructive, usurping, aggressive and terrorist policies. But, naturally, there are differences in the degree of participation of the respective classes and strata of our people in the national liberation battle.

The working class is considered to have the broadest social base. It is distinguished by its determination, steadiness, patience and ability to shoulder the burden of struggle against the occupiers; because it faces the most national and class oppression. Its interests are linked to the higher interests of the Palestinian people as whole. Therefore, it is the most stable, persistent and decisive force in continuing the struggle. However, the Palestinian peasants are facing oppression, subjugation and repression because their land, which forms the basis of their livelihood, is confiscated by the occupation. They therefore constitute the main force among the forces of the revolution. The majority of peasants, especially the small and poor peasants, have genuine interests in the revolution and in a strong alliance with the working class. This alliance forms the base of the broad national class alliance which can decide the battle in

the interests of the people and carry the revolution to its final aims.

Also the various strata of the petit bourgeoisie are considered to be among the main driving class forces of the revolution. Reality attests to the active and dynamic role they play in the revolution's leadership and in the ranks of its base and cadre, in view of their large number.

The national bourgeoisie has interests in participating in the revolution to get rid of the hated occupation, which deprives it of power and markets by striving to destroy the Palestinian national economy and annex it to the Israeli economy. This gives the various strata of the national bourgeoisie interests in expelling the occupation and gaining national independence, with the exception of a limited comprador strata whose interests are tied to the occupation. The bourgeoisie vacillates; it fears the mobilized, organized, revolutionary mass movement. Still, the particularities of the Zionist enemy and its destructive economic policies against the Palestinian national economy and bourgeoisie, make the bourgeoisie one of the driving forces of the revolution in the national liberation stage.

Revolutionary and democratic intellectuals form a social strata with dissimilar class origins. They have genuine interests in national liberation. They are distinguished by virtue of their reality which enables them to undertake an important role in the service of

the contemporary revolution. They are useful in the fields of political struggle, information and ideology. Due to their theoretical education and knowledge of the experience of other people struggling for freedom and independence, they are able to play an important role in rectifying the revolution's course and spreading humanist, progressive and revolutionary thinking and culture. They play an important role in confronting the various forms of destroying thought and imperialist cultural invasion. They help the working class to assume its real position in the revolution.

Finally, there is the particular role of the Palestinian camps inside and outside the occupied homeland, where the Palestinian communities are characterized by poverty, toil and suffering. They are also distinguished by a great capacity for struggle and provide the revolution with strength and the means to continue.

The PLO

The PLO is considered the moral and political entity which represents the will of the Palestinian people, and the framework which embodies their national identity and independent character.

It is based on this fact that the PFLP views the preservation of the framework of the Palestinian entity, as embodied in the PLO, which has attained

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It is based on this fact that the PFLP views the preservation of the framework of the Palestinian entity, as embodied in the PLO, which has attained

official Arab and international recognition and the broadest mass following, making it the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It got to the point of occupying an important position in confronting the Zionist and imperialist enemy under the present conditions. The nature of the enemy plans and the particularities of the Palestinian cause make it essential to emphasize the Palestinian entity, to manifest an independent national identity and to insist on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. These are the fundamental principles of the PFLP's strategy and struggle to accomplish the strategic and transitional aims of our people. The PLO and its armed organizations have encountered a series of Israeli and Arab reactionary assaults, aimed at eliminating it and depriving the Palestinian people of a sole legitimate representative and independent national identity. However, the difficult, bitter struggle waged by the revolution, and the great sacrifices it made to defend its existence and accomplish its aims, enabled the PLO to protect and develop its achievements, it increased its political weight and activities, and acquired greater support on the international and Arab levels.

Therefore, the PFLP considered the PLO as a front-type alliance framework which includes representatives of all Palestinian national classes and strata who have genuine interests in the struggle against occupation. The PFLP emphasizes

continuation of the struggle to consolidate the unity of all nationalist forces, organizations, parties, trends and personalities in the framework of the PLO. That is the way to consecrate the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which embodies their political entity and expresses their national will for liberation and national independence. The PLO constitutes a strong barrier against the conspiracies to liquidate the Palestinian national cause.

In this framework, the PFLP strives with all its potentials to ripen the suitable objective conditions for uniting all revolutionary democratic forces, trends and personalities in the framework of the PLO. In the PFLP's view, this requires consolidating relations among the revolutionary democratic forces and increasing cooperation and coordination among them, in order to bring their points-of-view closer together and create a suitable atmosphere for uniting their efforts.

There is no doubt that consolidating cooperation and coordination between the revolutionary democratic forces will contribute to solidifying Palestinian national unity. It meets the demands for consolidating and developing the national course against the Zionist - imperialist - reactionary alliance and their policy of denying the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. It will safeguard and consolidate the PLO's achievements, and help to reorganize its bodies and institutions on a democratic basis.

Palestinian national unity is the sharpest weapon for confronting the efforts to liquidate the Palestinian national cause and negate the PLO. However, unity cannot be established and strengthened without democratic reform of the PLO's bodies and political, military, administrative, financial, informational and mass institutions and unions.

Proceeding from this reality, the PFLP emphasizes continuing the struggle for the following:

(1) To consolidate Palestinian national unity and work to develop it to a level commensurate with the demands of the national struggle. To form the leading and lower bodies and institutions of the PLO on a democratic front - like basis. To form a committed, collective leadership capable of taking and implementing decisions. This would put an end to the monopoly of power and ensure decisive commitment to the national program.

(2) To establish democratic relations among the different forces that are allied in the framework of the PLO. To solve any disagreements arising among them via democratic dialogue, avoiding that they become antagonistic contradictions that lead to a violent resolution. To adopt the law of «unity - conflict - unity» for regulating relations among the forces of the revolution. Unity is the

governing principle, but conflict is necessary when the bourgeois violates the common program.

(3) To work for the advent of real democratic reform in the PLO's institutions and bodies, so as to guarantee the participation of the democratic forces and make the PLO equal to its chartered tasks. To end hierarchical and bureaucratic forms of work, monopoly of power and organizational sectarianism, in favor of collective work.

(4) To consecrate the PLO's legitimacy and sole representation of the Palestinian people on the Arab and international levels. To resist all efforts to contain or besiege the PLO by strengthening Palestinian national alertness. To preserve the unity of the Palestinian people and their struggle everywhere to accomplish their aims of repatriation, self - determination and an independent national state on their national soil.

(5) To continue working to reinforce and develop the PLO's achievements on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels. To increase recognition of the legitimacy and justice of the Palestinian national struggle. To confront the Zionist - imperialist projects which aim to liquidate the Palestinian national cause and strike at the achievements it has made over the past years.

(6) To consolidate efforts to preserve the PLO's status and its role in the Arab - Zionist conflict. To solidify its political line in order to preserve its nature as a liberation movement opposed to imperialism and Zionism. To confront any violation of the common national program.

(7) To consecrate the independence of Palestinian national decision - making as part of the struggle for reinforcing the independent Palestinian national identity. To safeguard the right of each organization to preserve its ideological, organizational and political independence, as long as this does not hinder forming the broadest and most solid Palestinian national unity in the framework of the PLO. To develop the habit of putting the higher national interests above personal and tribalist interests.

Chapter Two

The Enemy Forces Opposing the Palestinian Revolution

The Zionist entity and movement International imperialism and social forces linked to it

The Zionist movement was born in the womb of the international capitalist system as the latter was transforming into its imperialist stage. By the end of the 19th century, this movement had begun working to establish its racist settler - colonial entity in Palestine, as a strategic base for protecting the growing Zionist and imperialist interests in the Arab region. Zionism exerted intense, multifaceted efforts to accomplish this aim, which took decades and culminated in the establishment of «the State of Israel» in 1948. The Zionist movement concentrated on the Jewish communities in Europe. It perpetrated crimes against Jews themselves in order to drive them to immigrate [to Palestine] and to stir up international public opinion in a way that would serve the Zionist idea. It took advantage of the tragedies which resulted from anti - Semitism and Nazi crimes in order to achieve its

own political projects and execute its own criminal plans. It used racist and reactionary ideas to mobilize Jews all over the world, propagating such concepts as «the Jewish nation,» «the national homeland,» «The promised Land,» and «God's chosen people.»

The thinking of the Zionist movement is in essence reactionary and serves the monopolistic interests of imperialist and Zionist circles. Thus, since its establishment, it has been met by condemnation and denunciation. At different times, socialist and progressive literature fiercely attacked the idea of «the Jewish nation», considering it to be both reactionary and totally erroneous.

The Zionist movement attempted to disguise the essence of its project and the service it rendered to imperialism by demagogically claiming that Zionism was the only solution for the «Jewish question». But experience has proven concretely that this claim is false. The Zionist movement is not a national liberation movement; and the Zionist entity, established with the support of British colonialism and the US administration, did not solve the Jewish question. Jews gathered from different parts of the world and settled in occupied Palestine cannot form a homogeneous nation where harmony prevails. They have not enjoyed stability and peace. This confirms the invalidity of trying to falsify history by contending that a Jewish nation existed or was in formation. The Jewish question can only be solved by Jews integrating

in the society where they live, as has been stressed by leading progressive international thinkers.

Material events have shown that the Zionist entity was not established in Palestine to solve the Jewish question. Rather, it was intended to serve as a forward base for imperialism, to confront the rise of the Arab national liberation movement and its struggle for independence and unity against Western European attempts to impose colonial domination and hegemony on the area in the wake of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

The British government's adoption of the Zionist project disclosed the real nature of this project and its service to imperialism in the Arab region. With the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the British government promoted the Zionist movement's efforts to establish a state in the territory under British mandate – encouraging Jewish immigration, facilitating confiscation of Palestinian peasants' land and offering all forms of aid to the terrorist settler – colonial Zionist movement. These acts disclosed the ugly nature of British colonialism's plan.

The US administration also embraced the Zionist entity immediately after its establishment, giving political, economic, military and human support. This attests to the exceptional importance of the Zionist state in serving imperialist plans in the Arab region.

The exceptional importance of the Zionist state has been highlighted over the past four decades by the

services it has rendered for imperialism. It has waged a series of aggressive, expansionist wars against the Arab countries surrounding Palestine. It has carried out a series of terrorist activities in different forms in many Arab countries, aiming to strike and weaken the Arab national liberation movement. It has contributed substantially to keeping the Arab region fragmented, preventing development and social progress, and generally reinforcing imperialist hegemony in the area. The scope of the Zionist state's conspiratorial and terrorist role was expanded to include many African, Latin American and Asian countries. It struck against many national liberation movements and progressive, democratic forces. Even the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, did not escape Zionist terrorist activities.

As a consequence of the Zionist entity's obvious service to imperialism, its repeated rejection of the international will and unanimous UN resolutions, and further disclosures about its racist and terrorist nature, campaigns increased denouncing the ideology and practices of the Zionist movement. This was crowned by UN General Assembly resolution # 3771, adopted in 1975, which states that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.

Since the adoption of this resolution, the US administration spared no efforts to cancel it from the UN record, at times employing pressure and at times threatening various forms of blackmail. This is an

expression of the US administration's support for the Zionist movement and racist entity, and a manifestation of the special relationship and strategic alliance that exists between the two. The US administration succeeded in having this resolution rescinded after the collapse of the socialist camp, having imposed its hegemony as the leading force in the world.

The US administration has entered into strategic security, military and political agreements with «Israel», highlighting the strategic importance of Zionism's increased international and regional role. The two states engage in various forms of technical and scientific cooperation. The US continues to give «Israel» virtually unlimited military, economic and political support.

US imperialism has no qualms about frankly announcing that the Zionist entity is a «strategic asset» and an essential forward base for ensuring its «vital interests» in the region. Nor does the Zionist entity hesitate to manifest its close link to imperialist strategy in the region and internationally.

Thus, the particularities and duties of the racist Zionist entity place it in a radical, antagonistic contradiction with the Palestinian and Arab people from the Atlantic ocean to the Gulf. Its duty towards imperialism means that it should be ever ready to strike at any upsurge of the Arab national liberation movement, in order to protect imperialism's strategic

interests in the region. Its expansionist and settler-colonial characteristics require it to stick to the strategy of denying the existence of the Palestinian people, considering them to be the antithesis of its existence and fabricated entity.

The duties and particularities of the Zionist entity make coexistence with it unrealistic, even possible. In practice, its nature and function generate violent contradictions and continuous conflict which cannot be halted without removing the objective cause.

The leaders of the Zionist movement understand that the Zionist entity's existence is conditional on performance of its imperialist-Zionist role and duties. Retreating from this role would endanger its stability and internal cohesion; with the passing of time, it would lose its reason for being. The Zionist entity is an artificial and alien phenomenon and cannot survive without infusions from Zionist and imperialist circles.

The main problem for the Zionist entity is its failure to wipe out the Palestinian people and their independent national identity. Thus, the Zionist entity's crisis will continue. It cannot be solved because of the political and militant presence of the Palestinian people and the dynamic continuation of their struggle, which generated the revolution and a series of uprisings in the occupied territories, crowned by the all-encompassing uprising that broke out in December 1987.

Confronting the Zionist enemy's policies aiming to defeat them, consolidating the steadfastness of the Palestinian people and developing the forms of struggle will remain decisive factors for depriving the Zionist project of the feeling of stability and permanency, and fueling its irresolvable historical crisis.

The PFLP views that the nature of the Zionist entity is expansionist, aggressive, racist and settler-colonial; it carries out joint Zionist-imperialist tasks. Proceeding from this view, the PFLP believes in the necessity of practicing all forms of struggle to destroy this forward base of imperialism. The PFLP emphasizes that the current conflict, which began over 100 years ago, is not a conflict between two nations. Rather, it is between the Arab and Palestinian national movement on one hand and the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance on the other. Whereas the former are defending their existence, rights and future, the enemy alliance is trying to bolster the Zionist entity as the point of departure for liquidating the national liberation movement, imposing hegemony and plundering the wealth of the Arab region. Those who believed that «Israel» could be separated from Zionism and live as one of the states in the region, free of Zionist dreams and aims, or that it could cease carrying out its duties for imperialism in the Arab region, have found out

that this was a delusion. «Israel», by virtue of its nature, structure and aims, is the living material embodiment of the Zionist project. Because «Israel» has joint interests and strong ties to imperialist and Zionist circles, it remains linked to imperialist and Zionist tasks in the Arab region and internationally. It has developed from being an instrument to being imperialism's junior partner, dividing the spoils with imperialism and bearing responsibility for executing joint plans.

The relationship that exists between the Zionist movement and imperialism is structural, based on mutual interests; it is a solid, historical relationship. This strategic relationship, based on joint interests, evolved due to objective necessity at the time when capitalism entered its imperialist stage.

In summary, there is no breaking the strategic bond between the Zionist and imperialist enemies. They need each other. Concrete experience has proven the importance of imperialism for «Israel» and vice versa. The best evidence of this is the political, military and economic cooperation between the two. Israel has proven its military effectiveness in accomplishing imperialist aims. American economic, military and political support has proven the US's capacity for stabilizing and sustaining the Zionist enemy.

Attempts to separate US imperialism and the Zionist enemy are futile, misleading and dogmatic,

ignoring the basic elements of reality. The Zionist entity has become an active element in the global strategy of White House leaders. Experience has proven that disagreements that emerge between the two parties are minor and secondary; they are quickly resolved in the framework of understanding and consensus on basic issues that exists between the two.

The course of the conflict waged by the Palestinian people against the Zionist enemy, its aggressive and expansionist plans and terrorist and repressive policies, has revealed the existence of progressive and democratic Jewish forces opposed to Zionism. It has also revealed the existence of Jewish forces who oppose Zionism's policies on more than one level. Regardless of their size, weight and role in the current battle to defeat Israeli practices and policies, and accomplish the Palestinian people's aims of repatriation, self-determination and an independent state, the principle of cooperation with democratic and progressive Jewish forces should not be underestimated for accomplishing the Palestinian revolution's transitional and strategic aims.

Developing and escalating the Palestinian and Arab national struggling against the Zionist entity, its plans and policies, and accumulating gains will serve to aggravate the contradictions in the Zionist entity. This will demonstrate the sterility and fragility of the solution which the Zionist projects offers for the

Jewish question.

Confronting the Zionist entity requires establishing different forms of cooperation with democratic and progressive Jewish forces who oppose the ideology and practices of Zionism, and with forces who support our people's rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state... as well as with those who condemn repression and terrorism against the Palestinians.

It is correct to emphasize constantly that the Zionist enemy's main characteristics are settler-colonialism, racism, expansionism and terrorism. Yet, despite these characteristics, it contains a set of contradictions which the leaders of the revolution should take advantage of in order to serve the Palestinian people's struggle and legitimate rights.

Alongside the Zionist movement and international imperialism, there are also the reactionary and bourgeois Arab forces and regimes that are allied with imperialism. They are part of the enemy camp opposing the Palestinian revolution and the Arab national liberation movement, despite differences between them.

There are differences between the Arab regimes related to the degree of their subordination and linkage to imperialism, and their degree of agreement or disagreement with the enemy plans for the region. However, this does not negate the general feature of

the Arab regimes as subordinated.

The ideological and class nature of the reactionary forces and capitulationist bourgeoisie, and the intertwining of their interests with those of imperialism, turned them into repressive authorities which aim to prevent the masses from continuing the struggle for their national aims. The basic contradiction for the reactionaries and the bourgeoisie is with the Arab and Palestinian masses, not with the Zionist and imperialist enemy. Experience has proven that there is an alliance between Arab reaction, Tel Aviv and Washington, for confronting the revolution, aiming to eliminate it and to abrogate Palestinian national rights and disperse the independent Palestinian identity. Consequently, the roles of the Zionist entity and the Arab reactionary forces and subordinated bourgeoisie are complementary.

Based on these proven and tangible givens, the PFLP regards the subordinated and reactionary Arab regimes and forces as being objectively part and parcel of the enemy camp opposing the revolution. Proceeding from this reality, the PFLP calls upon the organizations of the Arab national liberation movement to intensify the struggle to unmask these regimes and confront their liquidations policies against the Palestinian cause. The PFLP also calls upon these organizations to coordinate in order to confront the Zionist danger threatening their people.

and liberate their homeland from imperialist domination and exploitation.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the PFLP is aware that there are non-antagonistic contradictions among the regimes and the social forces that are subordinated to imperialism and Zionism. The existence of these contradictions does not alter the correctness of our analysis or the essential nature of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary alliance, but they can be taken advantage of. It is possible to struggle for Arab solidarity, and the Palestinian revolution and national liberation movement should do so, aiming to pressure imperialism and the Zionist entity to recognize the Palestinian people's rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state.

In the PFLP's view, the Palestinian revolution's relations with Arab regimes should be determined in accordance with their support to the Palestinian people's struggle for their national rights. Such support should be embodied in the following:

1. recognition of the State of Palestine;
2. recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, without any form of intervention, guardianship, containment or efforts at dissolving or confiscating [its status];
3. offering all forms of political, material and moral support to the Palestinian people's struggle against the

Zionist entity and US imperialism;

4. guaranteeing the Palestinian people's civil and political rights; and
5. non-recognition of the Zionist entity, «Israel».

... (The text is very faint and mostly illegible, appearing to be a continuation of the article or a separate section.)

Chapter Three

Forms and Methods of Struggle

Accomplishing victory in our conflict with the Zionist enemy requires that we use all the main forms and methods of struggle – ideological, political and economic. By virtue of its nature, characteristics and network of relations and alliances, the enemy enjoys overwhelming superiority in all fields. This imposes on us to excel in all forms of struggle and to work to develop them constantly in order to create a high-level revolutionary impetus. This will ensure continuation of the struggle and mobilization of the broadest mass potentials around different forms of struggle in order to accumulate achievements and victories as steps towards our people's transitional and strategic aims. However, the necessity of waging different forms of struggle does not abrogate the importance of demarcating the main form of struggle to be the lever and motive power of the other forms.

Proceeding from this point, the PFLP regards the armed struggle as the main method of the contemporary Palestinian national struggle.

The class and ideological nature of the Zionist enemy, and its aggressive, racist and settler-colonial practices, make the armed struggle the main method of struggle. Tangible experience has proven that armed struggle played a major role in arousing our people's national alertness and crystallizing their independent national identity. It enabled important national achievements, the most prominent of which is international recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights and sole, legitimate representative, the PLO. Armed struggle constitutes the basic lever for embarking on other forms of struggle and giving our national cause its important position on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels. Tangible, material events show that the contradictions between the Palestinian people and the Zionist entity are basic and antagonistic ones which cannot be resolved without violence.

Revolutionary violence is dictated by objective necessity as we mentioned above. It contains the noble human aims and demands of putting an end to Zionism's aggressive policies and the suffering of the Palestinian people; accomplishing the Palestinian people's legitimate national aspirations; and rescuing the Israelis from the tragedy of the deadly wars which

have continued for successive decades.

Revolutionary violence and armed struggle are the legitimate right of peoples confronting occupation, usurpation and settler-colonialism, as has been enshrined in international charters.

However, demarcating armed struggle as the main method does not prevent the other forms of struggle from advancing at a certain stage. Different forms of struggle are demarcated at each stage in accordance with the existing conditions, the degree of their suitability and the masses' response to them. The glorious intifada, which erupted in December 1987 as the logical result of an accumulation of experience in struggle, presented a new method of violent, but unarmed struggle, which came to dominate other forms of struggle. In addition, the uprising was distinguished by being able to combine simultaneously more than one form of struggle in a unique, creative way. It enriched international revolutionary experience by adding theoretical and practical innovations in the art and forms of uprising.

The principle of combining different forms of struggle is necessary because it enables moving from one form to another at the right time and in the appropriate situation, according to the demands of the stage of the struggle.

The nature of the Zionist enemy dictates that our battle be as comprehensive and multifaceted as

possible. The main form of struggle cannot accomplish its aims unless it is related to the other forms of struggle. Experience has proven the dialectical relationship between the forms of struggle, and the successfulness of linking them together. This makes it possible to deprive the enemy of its assets and superiority, and to reinforce its isolation on the regional and international levels. The broad, varied and comprehensive struggle, waged by the masses against the Zionist occupiers and their allies, limits the enemy forces' ability to maneuver and deceive.

Over the years, the Palestinian people have been able to broaden the mass, political and diplomatic struggles. They have also broadened the struggle in the fields of information and solidarity, and entered into new fields of struggle. The long militant experience of our people enables them constantly to create, change and develop the forms of struggle.

If now, the different forms of political struggle have taken priority on the agenda of the Palestinian national struggle and revolution, the economic and ideological fields of struggle should be no less important.

Chapter Four

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement is an Inseparable Part of the Arab National Liberation Movement

In the light of disclosure of the class, ideological and settler-colonial nature of the Zionist entity and its racism in occupied Palestine, its imperialist-Zionist duties and its aggressive practices throughout the Arab region, the Palestinian and Arab masses and national liberation forces embarked directly on their present struggle against it.

The PFLP believes in the necessity of joint work between the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements based on the following considerations:

- Palestine is an inseparable part of the Arab homeland; the Palestinian people are part of the Arab nation; and the Palestinian liberation movement is part of the Arab national liberation movement.
- Great qualitative changes have taken place in the

regional and international order, especially after the collapse of the bipolar order and the emergence of a multi-polar world under the leadership of the United States. Added to this was the Gulf war and its consequences for the Arab region and the new situation facing the Arab nation.

- There is an organic relationship linking the people of the Arab nation and their nationalist and progressive organizations, parties and forces, based on the national ties of language, history, culture, common interests and territory; and due to the serious challenges posed to their present and future by the imperialist and Zionist plans.

Based on the above, the aims of joint Palestinian - Arab work are as follows:

(1) To establish a correct relation between the local and [pan - Arab] national dimension, the specific and the general, in the struggles of the different Arab national liberation movements.

(2) The PFLP believes in the [pan - Arab] national dimension of the Palestinian cause. While confirming the particular role of the Palestinian people in the act of liberation, it considers the liberation of Palestine and the expulsion of Zionism as a [pan - Arab] national duty.

(3) To struggle jointly for ending the Israeli

occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied in 1967, on the basis of international Palestinian national identity and entity as embodied in the PLO; for defending independent Palestinian national decision - making; and for accomplishing the right to repatriation, self-determination and establishing an independent state.

(4) To work to correct the PLO's relations on the Arab level, by putting relations with the Arab masses and their vanguard organizations first and confirming the responsibility of the Palestinian revolution for bringing about an upswing in the Arab mass movement, which does not mean being a substitute for the masses or their organizations.

(5) To work for reviving the Arab liberation movement in view of the structural crisis in its bourgeois and working class wings. This requires broad, serious discussion among different organizations and the largest possible number of democratic intellectuals.

(6) To exert efforts to establish a democratic and progressive Arab front and a political and organizational formula for joint work among the Arab liberation movement organizations in the

countries surrounding Palestine; and to regard the struggle for the democratic rights of the Arab human being as a basic duty.

(7) To work to establish a united Arab working class party as a strategic duty.

(8) To struggle against all regionalist, sectarian and confessionalist tendencies.

(9) To work for establishing Arab solidarity based on opposition to Zionism and imperialism.

(10) To struggle side by side with all Arab democratic and progressive forces to mobilize the Palestinian and Arab masses for achieving Arab unity.

(11) To work jointly to achieve the Arab national civilization project; this entails constructing a democratic civil society and promoting economic development in order to solve the problems of poverty, starvation, desertification and all forms of economic, political, military and cultural subordination.

(12) To work to ensure comprehensive national security; to use Arab wealth for growth, economic wholeness and a common market. To confront the challenges of the new stage of world development on the way to establishing a united, democratic, socialist Arab society.

Chapter Five

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement is an Inseparable Part of the International Forces for Liberation, Progress, Democracy, Socialism and Peace.

Despite the great progress made by human beings during their long history, they have not been able to establish a world order in which all people, nations and individuals enjoy equal rights to self-determination, control over their own potentials and choice of their own path of development, free of all forms of hegemony, oppression, exploitation, terror, aggression and occupation.

This issue has become even more complicated in the new world situation, especially after the end of the Cold War and the replacement of the bipolar order with a multi-polar world. The United States is striving to entrench its leadership and impose its domination on the world. Capitalism has made a global advance after the collapse of the socialist camp.

All this requires increased cooperation among all forces struggling against repression and for freedom, justice and equality in the world and especially in the Third World.

In their concrete experience, the Palestinian people have suffered from various kinds of oppression, aggression, dispersal, uprooting and attempts at annihilation at the hands of Zionist settler-colonialism, with the support of imperialism and reaction. They persist in struggling for their inalienable, legitimate national rights. Therefore, the Palestinian national liberation movement is an inseparable part of the international camp struggling for freedom, justice and equality. In conditions where imperialism is freed of its shackles and increases its aggressiveness, escalating direct and indirect intervention to strike the forces of liberation, progress, peace and socialism, international solidarity becomes imperative. It is an indispensable weapon for confronting imperialism's arrogance continuous efforts to reinforce its position, liquidate its enemies and rearrange the world in a way which guarantees continued plunder of the people's wealth.

The immense qualitative changes on the international level dictate increased national self-reliance, without at all underestimating the support of allies and friends in our national struggle. The PFLP does not think that differing

point-of-view among the international revolutionary forces should impact negatively on the principle of international solidarity, which is based on independence and equal relations.

As one of the revolutionary forces on the international level, the PFLP confirms its adherence to the principle of international solidarity. It works continuously to reinforce the Palestinian revolution's alliance with nationalist and progressive forces, parties and governments in the Third World, with the forces of democracy and peace in the world, with the socialist countries and with working class parties in the capitalist countries. It strives to establish different forms of cooperation with all forces who support the Palestinian national cause and just struggle, and who defend freedom democracy and social justice. All this is grounded in the goals of the common struggle, namely:

(1) To struggle against imperialist aggression, especially US imperialism, for a new world order based on respect for people's rights to self-determination and choice of their own independent path of development. Such a new world order would direct its efforts against the dangers of nuclear war, ecological disasters and pollution. It would strive for a world where freedom, justice and equality among people prevail.

(2) To struggle to solve the debt problem in the interests of the people of the Third World, which has been plundered by the imperialist system and international monopolies. To resolve all forms of subordination which make the people of the Third World suffer due to the unequal political and economic relations on the international level.

(3) To struggle together with all progressive forces and organizations to prevent the dangers of nuclear war and to protect international peace. To struggle against all forms of coercion, repression and racial discrimination. To intensify the isolation of the Zionist entity and its aggressive methods. To unmask Zionism as a racist, reactionary movement politically, ideologically and in practice.

(4) The necessity of coordinating the efforts of different international forces in order to increase the role of the United Nations and all international organizations and institutions in establishing the basis for justice and equality in the world. To confront all forms of oppression, aggression and other acts which violate international traditions, charters and agreements. To defend freedom and human rights, which are being violated in occupied Palestine and other places in the world.

(5) From its position in the PLO, the PFLP calls for

elevating the role of the non-aligned states, the African and Islamic countries in support of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. The PFLP expresses its solidarity with the people [struggling] for self-determination, choice of their own social system and demarcating their path to development and progress, free of all forms of direct or indirect pressure and terror.

(6) To develop the efforts aiming to influence international public opinion to support Palestinian rights. To put pressure on the imperialist-Zionist alliance to accept the international resolutions which recognize the rights of our people to repatriation, self-determination and establishing an independent state in our homeland.

PFLP 5th National Congress February 1993

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